Fleeting Feast
Mapping and Accommodating Temporary Markets

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Mapping and Accommodating Temporary Markets

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Declaration

I certify that except where due acknowledgement has been made, the work is that of the author alone; the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award; the content of the thesis is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research programme; any editorial work, paid or unpaid, carried out by a third party is acknowledged; and, ethics procedures and guidelines have been followed.

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Bibliography
Introduction
Lorong TAR night market, Kuala Lumpur (Zakariya, 2009)
Narrative

My academic training came from two different but relevant fields. I obtained my undergraduate degree in Landscape Architecture and then pursued a master’s degree in Tourism Planning, both in Malaysia. After practising as a landscape architect in Malaysia, I became a lecturer in landscape architecture at the International Islamic University Malaysia. Since then, teaching subjects and studios in landscape architecture and tourism planning, as well as engaging in professional studies and research in both fields, have defined my academic career. Throughout my academic practice, I learned that the ideas of “localness” and “sense of place” are commonly discussed throughout discourses in landscape architecture and tourism. These topics became of great interest to me in understanding and exploring how design might reveal the localness of place.

However, as a designer and a user of space, I questioned how “local” places are actually designed. I refer to “localness” as the ‘qualities that reflect a particular culture’ (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989). In the context of this research, I consider temporary markets as one of these local places. In most cases, temporary markets are intervened less by designers and city councils, and more appropriated by vendors and visitors; until that is, they are seen for their potentials to be further developed, particularly for tourism. This is when markets have the tendency to be “designed”, or when some parts of traditional culture are represented through thematic design elements. My initial concern was that this approach might be reducing the richness of markets into a rather staged form of culture. I wanted to understand the breadth of complexities and characteristics that exist in markets and to acknowledge this through design. Departing from the conundrum between design and localness, I began to interrogate how designers might engage with the richness and intricacies of temporary markets.
Situating the Research

Temporary markets are a type of public market. Their nature of operation is temporary, which means that they utilise spaces such as the streets and vacant lots for a certain duration of time in the day or night using mostly temporary and unfixed structures. Night markets, street markets, farmer’s markets, art markets and flea markets are some common forms of temporary markets. In Asia, temporary markets function primarily as a source of income for small-scale entrepreneurs. These markets gradually become assimilated into the city’s culture as a social and commercial space. Markets are a form of informal space where residents and visitors can find a variety of local food and a range of goods and merchandise, while experiencing a festive atmosphere.

Studies on temporary markets in a number of Asian countries acknowledge how this ephemeral event contributes to the liveliness of the city (Walker, 2000; Lekagul, 2002; Ibrahim and Soh, 2003; Kim, Lee et al., 2004; Deguchi, 2005; Sholihah, 2005; Hsieh and Chang, 2006). These studies discuss the issues of rehabilitation, gentrification, commodification and overdevelopment of traditional and temporary markets. Although some of the studies focus on understanding the experiences and perceptions of visitors towards the markets and how vendors and visitors occupy the market spaces, there is still a gap in understanding how the markets operate and the ways in which they can be developed under changing conditions. Therefore, the focus of this research is to explore ways that designers and planners can accommodate temporary markets, while at the same time sustaining their dynamic and rich qualities.

Temporary markets are also one of Malaysia’s visible spatial cultures. They temporarily transform the streets and parking lots into festive market spaces. This phenomena occur on a daily basis in different locations around the country (refer to Section 1.1 for the history of temporary markets in Malaysia). Consequently, as a city like Kuala Lumpur becomes more developed and planned for tourism,
some street markets are gentrified to suit the needs of visitors and tourists. When beautification projects of temporary markets are done with tourism in mind, there is the tendency for designers to create market spaces with certain themes to reflect their local identities. An example of this can be seen at the revitalized Petaling Street market (also known as Chinatown) and Bazar Masjid India in Kuala Lumpur (both of these markets are discussed in Chapter 1). However, “designing to reflect local characters” can be reductive. In particular there is the tendency to display cultural motifs or thematic concepts in these designs, when the qualities of markets are much richer than their physical appearance.

As cities progress, there are also temporary markets which need to be relocated due to on-going development and changes taking place where they currently operate. The markets will be, if not already, under pressure from the processes of urbanisation. There are other factors as well, including: more stringent requirements for health and hygiene, changes in lifestyle and mobility, population shifts to suburban locations and changing values of economic and social space.

With these changes expected to happen, how can temporary markets continue to develop with their rich experiential qualities? What can we learn about temporary markets, to know how to accommodate and design with and for them? What do temporary markets tell us about the design and practice of landscape architecture, Asian urbanism, the notion of local and global, and processes of change?

**Research Propositions**

This research takes a position that temporary markets need to be examined and understood beyond their physical appearance. Although temporary markets are informal and fleeting in the nature of their operation, they contain a great deal of richness and complexity within them. The key research questions that frame this PhD are:
How do we value informality and localness through understanding temporary markets?
How can we map the markets to understand their qualities and how they operate?
What is the role of design in accommodating temporary markets and localness?

Doreen Massey (1993), a scholar and geographer, writes that places are unique assemblages of global and local processes, even under modern, globalising conditions. This assemblage of processes adds to the complexity of place and its characteristics, particularly when global trends in cities inevitably have influence on local identities whether directly or indirectly (Massey and Jess, 1995; Sandercock, 1998). Hence, it becomes problematic and limiting when designers try to characterise “local” characteristics of markets through superficial, decorative patterns. There are important systems of operation and infrastructures that enable markets to operate, as well as tangible and intangible qualities created by their spatiality and atmosphere. Vendors and visitors also shape the experiences of one another. The qualities of temporary markets are present in multiple dimensions. As described by Peter Lang (2003) in *Urban Flashes*, Asian cities are where “an apparent disorder and invisible order exist side by side” (p. 10); and this is especially relevant to temporary markets. Hence, this research aims to unpack temporary markets by extracting their characteristics at different scales, understanding how they operate, and examining design strategies that could accommodate them to progress with their unique qualities.

In this PhD, temporary markets are explored through techniques of observation, mapping and speculative design esquisses/propositions (further elaborated in the next section on Methodology). In the research projects, I experimented with multiple and iterative design propositions, as a way of interrogating and discovering alternative design and planning approaches to accommodate temporary markets in the developing city. The aim is not to find the “right” answer or the “best design
solution” because markets are dynamic places and they operate under different conditions and contexts. I utilised design as a way of opening up opportunities to design with, in, and for temporary markets. This PhD is as much about techniques for discovery as it is about flexible modes of engagement through design ideation.

Methodology

Most of the temporary market sites in this research are in Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya, as the larger context of the study is about understanding the phenomena of temporary markets in Malaysia and forms of Asian urbanism. At the same time, some design and mapping esquisses are conducted in Melbourne as a way of testing and refining observation and mapping methods that are employed throughout the research process.

Research through design

As this design research was conducted as a PhD by Project, the body of work was done by means of ‘research through design’. In Design Research (2003), Peter Downton suggests that design is a way of researching - that is a way of producing knowledge.

Downton writes:
For a designer to operate, to begin making design moves, complete knowledge is not necessary, although more knowledge is typically, but not always, likely to be useful. Minimally, an amount of each of the types sufficient to commence the design task is necessary; the need for more knowledge and the type and scope of what is required is typically understood during the process. Here design research leads to not only an increase in knowledge, but experiments and explorations that make the need for more knowledge clear. (p. 63)
Designing as a way of researching has been used as a research methodology by several other scholars and designers as a way exploring, experimenting and challenging existing notions about spaces and cities (Ware, 2005; Goodwin, 2007; Black, 2009; Helsel, 2009). Variations of techniques such as mapping, evaluating design ideas through drawings and modelling, curating exhibitions, observing and photographing, and interrogating personal design processes have been employed as methods in design research.

**Noticing, observing and photographing**

Techniques for noticing, such as observation and photography, and techniques of mapping were employed in this research as ways of gathering knowledge during fieldwork and interrogating the project sites. Observations were documented and photographed, and then mapped as a way of making connections between temporary markets, the city and the different users (Zeisel, 1984; Hood, 1997; Helsel, 2004). In *The Intention to Notice*, Lee (2006) uses her personal explorations in observing ‘constructed and natural landscapes’ as methods to understand and then respond to their qualities through her collections, installations, photographs and art works.

In *Taipei Operations* (2004), Helsel examines Taipei urban areas that began from personal observations. She writes, “the Asian city defies most conventional (western) urban analysis – identifiable structures and street patterns, or an easily traceable historical lineage – which often prompts generalist descriptions such as ‘dense’, ‘rapidly developing’, ‘chaotic’ and ‘ad hoc”’ (p. 4). She states that the aim of Taipei Operations was to provide an ‘alternative model’ to examine, speculate and project the city. The methods that were used are personal observation, observing certain spaces for 24 hours, conducting a survey and walking. The research emphasised on the awareness of designers towards everyday objects and activities through keeping an urban diary.
Similarly, the practise of personally experiencing the market sites with the intention to notice specific things and moments was carried out throughout my projects; and these methods are elaborated further in each chapter corresponding to the projects that are discussed.

**Collecting experiences**

Collecting insights from visitors and vendors through informal interviews and from following them in their visits to the markets was another method used to gain understanding of some parts of their experiences (Holloway, Brown et al., 2010). Guthrie and Anderson (2010) explain that, “from a research perspective, the stories that people tell, their narratives about their destination experience, are a remarkably useful way of capturing what was significant for them” (p. 111). The intention of applying this method was not to measure the level of experiences by visitors and vendors, but rather to gain an understanding of some processes involved in their experiences at the markets, to then guide the design projects. *(Note: Research ethics have been applied and approved for all studies of this nature throughout the PhD)*

A significant part of this research was also documenting my own experiences as a visitor, a researcher, a designer/planner and a vendor. My personal reflections of the design processes and being aware of my shifting roles in “wearing multiple hats” throughout the projects were deliberate. Downton (2003) explains how “research through designing are supported when there are reflective processes focusing on designing conducted at the same time designing is being undertaken” (p. 127). Most reflections in my projects are made after each project has been conducted, while there are some that are documented while the project is being conducted. Sections for reflections are embedded in each of the chapters.
**Mapping**

Mapping was adapted not only as a technique to record and reveal information, but to make invisible processes and characteristics visible. Black (2009) writes, “mapping constructs a way of seeing”, where “the notions of a site and to site are formulated and tested through drawn information - a process that leads to knowing how and where to intervene in a location” (p. 27). While traditionally maps are known for its utilitarian functions in recording information or routes, Harmon and Clemans (2009) acknowledge how maps also have the qualities to reveal invisible layers of places or people. Particular examples of this can be seen in artist maps through their forms of mapping (specific examples are referred in the projects). As the projects in this PhD evolved, I became more interested in experimenting with different techniques of mapping and the making of maps as ways of interrogating the information gained from my visits to the sites and my experiences. The maps not only became a technique of documentation, but offered a new reading to the site and the concepts discussed in this research. Consequently, the mappings became a series of design propositions as they allowed me to see markets in different ways. References and discussions about mapping are made at different points in this document, in parallel to their relevant projects.

**Speculative design propositions**

The design projects in this research were experimented hypothetically and speculatively through propositional drawings and mapping. This forms a significant part of the research process. The continuous refinement of design strategies and techniques were carried out to test new discoveries that are found throughout the process (Downton, 2003), whether about temporary markets as case studies, or about methods of interrogating and exploring how to accommodate markets. Each design proposition was speculated against earlier findings, and unresolved questions that resulted from the designs were carried forward to the next series of design
experiments. Collins et al. (2004) explain how ‘progressive refinement’ in design involves testing and evaluating ‘a first version of a design’, then “the design is constantly revised based on experience, until all the bugs are worked out” (p.18). However, when dealing with spaces and cities, designers and planners can only hypothesise and anticipate how the design might be used or occupied, and predict the ramifications of that design based on their prior knowledge. Hence the outcome of the design experiments not only offer different ways of engaging with spaces. Through constant reflections and awareness of the design process, they also reveal how new or improvised methods can open up multiple ways of designing.

Throughout the research process, the design propositions were analysed and critiqued based on the knowledge gathered in the fieldwork and the iterative design experiments. Personal reflections on each design esquisse have been critical in evaluating the design propositions against the findings from the fieldwork iteratively as well as the techniques I was utilising. The design ideas were discussed and evaluated together with my research supervisors, colleagues and panels of reviewers at RMIT’s biannual graduate research conferences. Some findings from the research have also been presented at international conferences, in Malaysia, China and Italy, as a way of disseminating knowledge and getting responses on the research.

The methods and techniques utilised in each phase of the projects are discussed in more detail in each chapter.

Structure of the Appropriate Durable Record (ADR)

The ADR is organised chronologically according to the development of the research projects. Hence, theoretical discussions also evolve as the projects progressed. References and discussions on concepts that are examined in this study (temporary markets, Asian urbanism, localness, and methods of designing and researching) are deliberated at different junctures in the chapters. Arranging the ADR in this nature
best reflects how the knowledge gained throughout the PhD shifts and how the design projects reveal new trajectories for the research.

Each chapter begins with a brief personal summary on the body of work for that particular chapter. The main structure of each chapter is divided into the main topics of discussion; which include my reviews of literature from other scholars and designers; reviews of relevant projects by designers and artists; texts and images that describe, critique and discuss my design projects; and my personal reflections throughout the process; and discussions. Personal anecdotes are included in the writing as a documentation of the research process.

The texts are written in two main voices: my scholarly voice which discusses and critiques the design projects and relevant topics in each chapter; and my personal voice in Italics, which shares my reflections and experiences during the research processes. These texts are aided by images, captions and extended captions.

**Chapter 1: Rediscovering the market and the city**

In this chapter, I start by discussing the first phase of the research project, which includes a series of projects in Kuala Lumpur and Melbourne where walking experiences and fieldwork were conducted to rediscover the market and the city from the inside. The markets selected in this phase were markets in Kuala Lumpur: Lorong TAR night market, Petaling Street market, Bazar Masjid India and Lorong Haji Taib street market. In Melbourne, I experimented with walking and mapping that started from my personal experience as an international student. Both in Malaysia and Melbourne, I used techniques of observation and direct engagement as ways of exploring the markets and the cities. The fieldwork and mapping led to the first series of design propositions at the scale of the street (1:100) and the stall (1:20). Key findings from this chapter are the identification of vocabularies that helped to describe qualities of the market, which led to further development of ideas and techniques in the next chapter.
Chapter 2: Unpacking the market and the city

In Chapter 2, I examine the markets by interrogating them from the scale of the city. As a trajectory from the previous chapter, I began to shift scales, from the scale of the stall and the street, to the scale of the city. The second phase of the work are discussed and reflected, which includes mapping and accommodating the markets at multiple scales. This stage was the most important shift in the PhD as I began to look at markets from the outside, rather than just within the site boundaries where the markets operated. Design propositions for Lorong TAR night market were further developed as a primary site, with the inclusion of two other night markets outside of the city - Jalan Kuching and Keramat night markets. To further understand the operations of night markets, I followed a vendor for five days, mapped his journeys and observed how he operates at the markets. Also in this chapter, I conducted a series of nasi lemak\(^1\) mapping projects in Melbourne. I used this familiar Malaysian dish to allow me to re-engage with the market sites in Kuala Lumpur through an understanding of systems and connections, and appreciating places as having multiple characteristics that also need to be progressive. From this, identification of hard and soft infrastructures became another important discovery. Design propositions in Chapter 2 include tactics of providing micro infrastructures and armatures, as well as relocating market sites as a strategy to accommodate markets.

Chapter 3: Locating the market in a new context

In this final chapter, I interrogate how a flexible policy framework can empower the development of temporary markets. The design projects shifted focus to Putrajaya, a new and planned city in Malaysia. Putrajaya was selected to further test the findings from mapping and accommodating markets in Kuala Lumpur in a different context. I chose to work on sites that were regarded by residents and visitors as “the hearts” of Putrajaya, which are: Alamanda Shopping Centre and the Boulevard

\(^1\) “Nasi lemak” is a Malaysian rice meal made of rice cooked with coconut milk, and typically served with chilli sambal, fried anchovies, fried peanuts, egg and slices of cucumber.
in the Government Precinct; and a third site was added, which is an underutilised community market. In these speculative design propositions, I tested how temporary markets can become catalysts to reactivate street life in other places, namely the boulevard, the outdoor plaza of a shopping mall and the community market building. Parallel to this in Melbourne, I participated as a vendor at the backyard Ramadhan\(^2\) market organised by Malaysian communities and students. Through these projects, I discuss the role of designer in accommodating places like temporary markets, in different contexts. I considered whether redesigning the sites, providing infrastructural support, strategically programming spaces for activities, or through creating more flexible policies can empower and ensure temporary markets and vendors their place in the city.

**Conclusions**

In the *Conclusions* chapter, I discuss key threads throughout the research. They include techniques of observing, mapping and reflective designing; designing with temporality and informality at multiple scales; temporary markets and the roles of hard and soft infrastructures; and the role of Asian urbanism in notions of place, local, and global. The contributions of this PhD are established in these areas.

\(^2\) *Ramadhan* is a fasting month for Muslims according to the Islamic calendar.
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Ware, S. 2005. *Anti memorials: re-thinking the landscape of memory*. PhD, RMIT University.
CHAPTER 1

Rediscovering the Market and the City
In this chapter, I begin to explore temporary markets, the city and their spatial qualities through ways of seeing, experiencing and designing. I used Melbourne as a laboratory to understand how I experience the city. The Melbourne explorations started with my role as a tourist, which slowly transformed to my role as a Malaysian Muslim woman and student who is temporarily residing in Australia. I realised that once I began to see things beyond my needs as a tourist, I was able to identify more characteristics of Melbourne that I had not recognised before. The way I learned to see Melbourne then had helped me to look at temporary markets in Malaysia with a fresher set of eyes and a sense of curiosity. Subsequently, I began my first fieldwork in January 2009, where I visited a number of temporary markets in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. I employed techniques of walking, observing, photographing and mapping to document and describe the different temporary markets that I visited, as well as how vendors and visitors occupied the markets. I then tested these findings through a series of speculative design esquisses, with the aim of better accommodating the existing temporary markets in Kuala Lumpur. Reflections and critiques on each design proposition are discussed at the end of each section.

1.1 TEMPORARY MARKET AS AN EVERYDAY SPACE

The everyday space

In the everyday life, there are places that people go to or pass by as part of their routine. People may use and stop by places like the streets, sidewalks, shops, cafes, roadside stalls, markets, parking lots, parks and plazas in between their homes and places where they work. It is at this scale of the street that people spend most of their time when they are outside. In The Practice of Everyday Life, Michel de Certeau (1984) writes, “the ordinary practitioners of the city live ‘down below’, below the threshold at which visibility begins” (p. 93). People spend most of their time in their
everyday environment, places where they live, where they work or study, and places in between those activities. However, as these ordinary places become embedded into their everyday routines, their functions and importance are at times taken for granted as people become familiar with the city and their surroundings.

Jane Jacobs (1961) and Jan Gehl (1987) assert a similar idea about the city and the streets functioning as social and communal spaces for its people. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs writes, “if a city’s streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull” (p. 273). What Jacobs is referring to is not the design appearance of the street, but rather a street with activities generated by people. Gehl calls it ‘life between buildings’, which includes all of the very different activities people engage in when they use common city space for walking, meeting, talking to others, shopping and other pursuits.

Temporary markets are one of these everyday spaces. They contribute to the city’s street life because most temporary markets operate outdoors. Markets become a type of place where people can engage in shopping and leisure activities. Although there are also temporary markets held indoors, the activities conducted at markets, like walking, buying and socialising are not much different from the activities described by Jacobs and Gehl. The roles of everyday spaces in the city as suggested by Jacobs and Gehl demonstrate why temporary markets are also important. However, temporary markets have specific ways of operating and offer a distinctive experience that make them different to other types of public space.

Temporary markets redefine public spaces in the Asian context because their spatial complexity is different from the Western notion of order (Edensor, 1998). The informality and chaotic appearance of a night market allows the visitor to be part of a spectacle. The aggregation of market stalls and vendors, the plethora of food and goods arranged and hung at the stalls, the smells and sounds of food being cooked, and the crowds of other visitors all become ingredients of the festive market atmosphere. Temporary markets are the kind of space that has a certain degree of
looseness and casualness that is different from the atmosphere in shopping malls and formal retail shops.

However, the challenge comes when designers and planners are given the task of designing or planning a place of this nature. Anuradha Mathur (2004) contends, "designers are so good at studying these spontaneous situations, but when they are asked to formalize it, the very dynamism they sought falls apart" (p. 17). There is a need to learn from temporary markets in order for designers and planners to know how to engage with this festive informal space, to ensure that its richness is not lost.

*How do I rediscover temporary markets, a place that is already so familiar to me?*

**Temporary markets**

Temporary markets commonly serve as places where goods are traded, while at the same time acting as a public or communal space (Tangires, 2008). They can come in the form of street markets, night markets, farmer’s markets, art markets and others. Their nature of operation is temporary, usually periodic or occasional (Yeung, 1974). They operate by borrowing existing public space such as the street, sidewalk and other vacant space in towns and cities.

The role of temporary markets in the city has been widely recognised as a social, commercial and cultural space (Lekagul, 2002; Ibrahim and Soh, 2003; Kim, Lee et al., 2004; Deguchi, 2005; Sholihah, 2005; Hsieh and Chang, 2006). However, the difficulty of designing or planning a market is in mediating its function as a trading space, adapting the needs of the current conditions of the city, while at the same time trying not to lose its rich qualities. This is the challenge faced by planners and designers when engaging with places that are rich with culture like a temporary market, as it is a valuable everyday space for the public and at the same time a potential attraction in tourism.
In *Asian Ethical Urbanism*, William Lim (2005) writes, “the modernity of each society must evolve from within its own cultural environment” (p. 7). Each place has different and diverse cultures, with varying economic stages. Therefore, as suggested by Lim, there is a need to produce ‘alternative modernities’. Temporary markets have specific ways of operating and there are certain conditions that would influence how they work in the first instance. Without taking into account the cultural environment, the development of markets could fail to provide a progressive solution and end up being an urban pastiche.

**Markets in Malaysia**

Night markets and street markets in Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya, as specific forms of temporary markets in cities and neighbourhoods, have been selected for this study (Fig. 1.1-1.2). Night markets started to operate formally in Malaysia in late seventies and eighties as a result of specific economic conditions caused by the New Economic Policy. They were used to revive the economic conditions of Malaysians through providing business opportunities for small entrepreneurs (Ishak, 2007). Gradually, the night market became assimilated into the culture in Malaysia. People go to the night market not only to buy food and goods at affordable prices, but also to enjoy its festive and casual atmosphere.

The city council of Kuala Lumpur (known as Kuala Lumpur City Hall, or *Dewan Bandaraya Kuala Lumpur*) has recognised the importance of managing the development of night markets that started to formally operate in the city in 1985. As a result of this, the Licensing and Traders Unit was established in the city council, and in 2005 a department to manage markets and petty traders was formed, known as Petty Traders Development and Management Department, or *Jabatan Pengurusan Penjaja dan Perniagaan Kecil* (2009). The city’s institutionalisation of temporary markets and other temporary vendor activities became a formal framework that supports the development and management of this informal sector. After realising
the potential of temporary market activities, the city council started to provide some basic infrastructures to allow markets to operate, such as electrical plug-points, water taps and assigning locations where vendors can operate.

However, due to the informal nature of how temporary markets operate and how they temporarily occupy the streets and other public spaces, markets are vulnerable to being perceived as causing problems such as congestions and pollutions. Taking Lorong TAR night market as an example (Fig. 1.2), according to the Vendor Association of Lorong TAR, the market initially operated on the main road, which is Jalan TAR, and not on the current backlane. Due to the traffic congestion that it had caused every Saturday night, the city council decided to relocate the market to the backlane. After the relocation, it took vendors more than five years to reactivate the night market as it once was, as people were not familiar with its new location which was not as visible as it was on the main road. But because the market was supported by the similar infrastructures that the previous location had, vendors persisted and visitors started to come back to visit the market over time.

While night markets are periodically operate once or twice a week at the same location, there are other types of seasonal markets such as the Ramadhan markets. Seasonal markets like this operate everyday at the same location for a specific duration of time, like for one month every year. Seasonality is not an issue, but rather an advantage to markets as they become events that visitors look forward to from time to time. While the temporal nature of markets make the susceptible to relocations, they are flexible to operate at different sites, provided that they have the necessary infrastructures. The infrastructures for markets are elaborated further in subsequent sections and chapters.

The planning for a temporary market is a collaborative process that is usually initiated by the vendor association and the local community, and at times the city council. The market proposal is submitted and evaluated by the city council before the market begins to operate. Vendors are given permits to use the allocated streets
or parking lots on specific days and times to operate night markets, farmer’s markets or other types of seasonal markets. Vendors also have to obtain a valid license to establish a stall at the market. This process is described in more detail in Chapter 2.

Figure 1.1: Temporary market sites – Kuala Lumpur (red dot) and Putrajaya (orange dot) (Google Map, 2010)

Figure 1.2: Aerial view of Lorong TAR night market, Kuala Lumpur (Zakariya, 2009)
1.2 METHODS OF EXPLORATION

Visiting temporary markets

In my previous training and practice as a landscape architect, site visits are conducted in order to undertake an inventory of the site before analysis and design are formulated (Booth, 1983; Simonds and Starke, 2006). The elements that are documented would comprise the physical features that are visible: surrounding buildings, circulation, existing structures, landscape characters, vegetation and site conditions. Although an inventory like this can be used as a method of documenting what is visible at the market space, it would most likely miss the finer grain of qualities and characteristics that the market may have. In Inquiry By Design, John Zeisel (1984) suggests that designers and researchers should look for “by-product of use, adaptations for use, display of self, public messages and context” (p. 90). Therefore, in this study I employed walking, observing and photography as methods of experiencing and recording the qualities of the markets. Each of my visits to the markets is done with an intention to notice specific qualities of the markets.

Walking

In Walkscapes (2002), Francesco Careri discusses walking as a critical tool and a way of looking at landscape. He writes:

Walking then turns out to be a tool which, precisely due to the simultaneous reading and writing of space intrinsic to it, lends itself to attending to and interacting with the mutability of those spaces, so as to intervene in their continuous becoming by acting in the field, in the here and now of their transformation, sharing from the inside in the mutations of these spaces that defy the conventional tools of contemporary design. (p. 26)
Walking is an ordinary activity that is used by people to navigate through the city. It is temporal, and it allows people to read the spaces around them. Walking is the main medium of experience for people visiting markets. They can experience and sense the qualities of the market by walking through it.

de Certeau also alludes to walking as a spatial acting-out of the place. Artists like Sophie Calle (Hoffman and Irmas, 1989; Calle and Auster, 1999), The Situationist (Sadler, 1998; Careri, 2002) and a group called the Stalker (Wiley, 2008) use walking as an agent of experience and as a critical practice in understanding cities, places, people and phenomena around us. The Stalker employed walking as an expression and as a method in their walk called *Giro di Roma* that started in 1995. The walk was made around the peripheries of Rome to learn about the conditions and qualities of these other spaces in the city. The Situationist used walking as a way to experiment with playful-creative behaviour where “constructed wandering produces new territories to be explored, new spaces to be inhabited, new routes to run” (Careri, 2002; p. 104). While walks done by The Situationist was politically driven, I was more interested in walks conducted by the Stalker and Sophie Calle to learn more about the conditions of temporary markets (some of Calle’s works are discussed later in the chapter). Walking therefore can be viewed as an experiential tool to make sense of place, and not just a habitual act of commuting.

Wunderlich (2008) proposed that walking could be distinguished through three different types: purposive, discursive and conceptual walking. Purposive walking can be described as a necessary activity, which Gehl defines as an everyday task that is more or less compulsory. It is a type of walk that is routine and habitual. Discursive walking is spontaneous, characterised by the walker’s varying pace and rhythm. In this mode of walking, the walker is aware of the external environment and consciously explores the landscape while sensing the experience. This type of walking allows the users to wander and explore the spaces that are drawn to them. The third type of walking is conceptual walking. This is a way of reflecting on the act of walking and as a creative response to a space. Its purpose is planned before the
walking is performed. The walks made by artists like Situationist and Richard Long illustrate conceptual walking, where walking occurs as an art. For instance, Long walks in landscapes as an artistic gesture (Careri, 2002).

Walking has been adapted as a critical tool in my field research, as walking is an interesting mode through which to experience a city (Careri, 2002; Basset, 2004). It allowed me to experience the market at the scale of the vendor and visitor. Becker (1998) writes, “if you want to write about society, you have to know about it first hand, and particularly have to know about the places respectable people have little experience of” (p. 16). Walking first enabled me to participate and interact with the market spaces and market users. When walking with the intention to observe specific things reveals something, then walking becomes a method of interrogation. In a way, walking becomes an act of mapping, where the information collected from the walks are documented and used in the subsequent design propositions. This is an experience that cannot be gained from looking at images or drawings, or by only reading academic accounts. In order for me to understand how to design temporary markets, I needed to experience it myself.

Observing and photographing

Through walking and experiencing the markets, observation was used as a means of systematically looking at the physical surroundings of temporary markets. During the walks, observations were documented by taking field notes and photographs of the spaces used by vendors and visitors (Zeisel, 1984). Observation and photography are important techniques to understand the market spaces. I observed the physical characteristics of the markets, and the activities by vendors, visitors and the surrounding users. Photos were collected to capture what I saw and were viewed afterwards to recollect and extract details that I may have missed during the walks.
Collecting experiences of users is another approach that was used to understand the meaning of a social phenomenon that focuses on ordinary, everyday behaviour (Holloway, Brown et al., 2010). I engaged in informal interviews with vendors and visitors of the markets whenever there was chance and opportunity. The intention was to get insights into their experiences at the markets. For both visitors and vendors, they were asked what they enjoyed and did not enjoy about that particular market, and what could be improved. These questions were kept general because they were meant to be informal and to encourage them telling their own opinions, rather than answering specific questions (Guthrie and Anderson, 2010).

The collected qualities of the temporary markets are discussed more specifically in the section titled *Exploring Markets in Kuala Lumpur*. Prior to the Kuala Lumpur fieldwork, I conducted two experiments on walking as a mode of explorations in Melbourne. These two projects, *WalkIN Melbourne Postcards* and *Walk-on-Meal*, are discussed in the following sections.

### 1.3 WALKING IN MELBOURNE

Prior to the first fieldwork in Kuala Lumpur, I experimented with walking and mapping in Melbourne. I needed to test new ways of noticing to help me revisit the market with a fresher perspective. The walks and maps done by Sophie Calle and the Stalker are suitable examples for this project because they are not my usual techniques of looking at a place as a landscape architect and planner.

I was also inspired by Guy Debord’s idea of *dérive* and Sophie Calle’s art experimentation of following specific sets of instructions. In *The Situationist City* (Sadler, 1998), Debord describes *dérive* as a drift through varied ambience that is different from the classic idea of a stroll (Fig. 1.3). In *Double Game/The Gotham Handbook* (Calle and Auster, 1999), Calle was given specific instructions by Auster
on how to improve life in New York City. She went on an instructed journey that included talking to strangers, occupying a phone booth by appropriating it with decorations and furniture, and setting a rule for herself that she will only eat food of a specific colour on each specific day in a Chromatic Diet (Fig. 1.4).

In Melbourne, I experimented with two walk projects in an attempt to test how I saw the city. The first project is WalkIN Melbourne Postcards that I designed for Malaysian friends who were visiting Melbourne at that time. The second project is a Walk-on-Meal, a self-curatorial walk inspired by a Ride-on-Dinner cycling project, organised by Melbourne’s The Cultural Transports Collective in 2009.
WalkIN Melbourne Postcards

*WalkIN Melbourne Postcards* project was done as an early experiment on techniques of noticing. This project was undertaken so I could learn how to see the city in different ways, and to experiment with how others can experience a place through its everyday environments. The initial idea of the guide postcards was to select places that I considered worthwhile visiting in Melbourne, and recommending them to two Malaysian friends who were visiting the city at that time. Places that were selected include iconic sites like Federation Square and Flinders Street Station, and other less iconic activities like walking along the Yarra River and having lunch or coffee at the local cafes. The inclusion of these other less iconic activities were my early attempts in making the “everyday” more visible, which is something that I needed to become aware of when visiting temporary markets.

This walking experience was created in the form of postcards, rather than a guidebook (Fig. 1.5). Each postcard has images of the place, a map to get there, and my personal anecdotes about the place.

*The 13 places in the postcards are places that I thought would offer my friends the feel of “being in a foreign country”. Most of the places were chosen because they would not normally be experienced in Malaysia. For example, I find the sight of people running at Birrarung Mar and along the Yarra River in the afternoon fascinating. I included Hosier Lane, a laneway that has been appropriated with graffiti on its walls, because graffiti as art in the city is not something that is found easily in Malaysia. Then for lunch, I specifically recommended that they have pancakes topped with a Barramundi fish fillet at the Pancake Parlour. Pancakes are not typically part of the Malaysian diet, and having them served with fish as a savoury dish was an unusual experience for me.*

Although the initial intention was to reveal and explore ordinary places of the city as done by the Stalker, most of the sites that I had chosen were still similar to the tourist sites that are included in other Melbourne guidebooks. While I have started
Figure 1.5: *WalkIN Melbourne Postcards* (Zakariya, 2009)
to privilege some ordinary places like the pancake place and a walk by the river, I realised that I was not yet fully aware of the potentials of other everyday places like my favourite cafes, where I get halal food, or buy my groceries. Accordingly, in the next project, I used food as a datum to continue exploring Melbourne.

Walk-on-Meal

The Walk-on-Meal is a subsequent project that assembled a Malay rice meal through collecting different dishes from different restaurants. This project was done to test how I could experience Melbourne by following an instruction for walking and collecting, as done by Sophie Calle in Chromatic Diet. The instruction was for me to purchase rice at one of the halal restaurants, and then continue my journey along Swanston Street in Melbourne (a street that I walk through daily) to other halal restaurants to buy the rest of the side dishes (Fig. 1.6, Images A-C). The goal was to assemble a typical Malay meal that is comprised of rice as the central dish, with a range of side dishes of meat, fish and vegetables.

The halal restaurants that were available to me to assemble my rice meal were three Indonesian and one Singaporean restaurants. The dishes sold at these four restaurants had similar flavours. The dishes were purchased as take-aways, and when I got home the rice meal was assembled onto one plate. The final meal looked and tasted similar to a typical Malay rice meal although each dish was bought from restaurants offering cuisine from different countries. The differences in the taste of each of the side dishes would only be noticeable to a person who is familiar with Singaporean, Indonesian and Malaysian food. Otherwise, their similar tastes were apparent. The assembled plate obscured what is uniquely Malaysian or Indonesian or Singaporean, and questioned what I considered to be a local dish of each of those countries. Since this particular walk was only intended to

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3 “Halal” food refers to Muslim dietary requirements
Figure 1.6: *Walk-on-Meal*, (Zakariya, 2009)

Image A: Locations of halal eateries that I visited during the walk

1 - Nelayan (Indonesian)
2 - Es Teller 77 (Indonesian)
3 - Minang Nasi Padang (Indonesian)
4 - Norsiah’s Kitchen (Singaporean)
Image B: Packed dishes that were purchased from each restaurant (Zakariya, 2009)
Image C: The dishes assembled on a plate (Zakariya, 2009)
collect the dishes, I did not scrutinise closely how each of the dishes tasted to document their particularities. If I had done this it could have revealed more of the individual characteristics of the dishes rather than just describing them as tasting similar, but that was not the objective of this experiment.

In this project, I began to acknowledge that the ordinary places I visit in the city is as important as the formal sites of Melbourne. Interestingly, the map of the four halal restaurants along Swanston Street that were revealed the different places in Melbourne that are relevant to me as a Malaysian and Muslim. These places would not have become important places to map if the self-curated instructions had not sent me to assemble a rice dish. The walk and food collection provided a technique of seeing the city differently by looking at specific things. The relationship between food and understanding the city is demonstrated in greater details through further explorations on collecting nasi lemak dishes in Melbourne in Chapter 2.

In these two experimental projects - the postcards and the collected meal - I adopted my roles as a tourist and as a Muslim-Malaysian woman in Melbourne as starting points to experience the city. In the subsequent field work undertaken in Kuala Lumpur markets, I continued to use walking as a mode of experiencing and noticing particular characteristics of markets.
1.4 EXPLORING MARKETS IN KUALA LUMPUR

In January 2009, I visited four temporary markets in Kuala Lumpur. Kuala Lumpur was selected as a site because gentrification projects were already taking place at Petaling Street and Bazar Masjid India. The four markets selected for this study are Petaling Street, Bazar Masjid India and Lorong Haji Taib daily street markets, and Lorong TAR weekend night market. They include daytime street markets that operate every day, and a night market that only operates every Saturday, respectively.

The aims of visiting and observing the selected markets were to experience the market as a visitor, while at the same time exploring the market as a researcher. I wanted to see the characteristics of the markets in a finer grain. Several methods were employed to observe the conditions of the markets, including walking through the markets on different days and at different times, noticing how the stall spaces were used, and taking photographs to capture the fleeting moments (Hood, 1997; Helsel, 2004). These methods were followed to understand how the market spaces are occupied across time. It was important to see how the space was used other than for the temporary markets.

For the fieldwork, a checklist had been created to provide instructions for the observation of to specific things at the markets, which includes physical characteristics of each market, entrances and exits, overhead structures and roofs, floor surfaces, types of spaces, zones of spaces, surrounding buildings and spaces, and vendor and visitor activities (Zeisel, 1984; Hood, 1997; Bertram, 2003; Helsel, 2004). At the same time, I allowed myself to go on a stroll, or a dérive, and to be drawn to other moments which might catch my attention.

Activities of the vendors were observed in an attempt to understand how they used the market spaces. I was particularly interested in the ways vendors appropriated the stall spaces and the kinds of infrastructures that they used. Observing visitors
was also important, as they are the consumers of markets. The intention was to see how visitors experience the market as they walked through it. Through the market walks and observations I discovered ways that the markets operate, vendor appropriations, and cultural food practices, and also gained some insights into the different experiences of visitors. These findings are discussed in the following section.
Market locations and operation hours

During this first fieldwork, four temporary markets that were visited included street markets and a night market. The market descriptions, locations and operation hours are illustrated in the following figures. (See Fig. 1.7-1.12)

Figure 1.7: Petaling Street Market (Zakariya, 2009)

Petaling Street is a street market famously known for its counterfeit designer products such as clothes, handbags and other accessories. This street market is surrounded by retail/commercial buildings that have operated since the 1930s. Its location is near to the LRT station (light railway transit) and Central Market (a building complex that sells Malaysian art and craft products) (see Fig. 1.11). In 2006, the city council conducted a beautification project for Petaling Street. The street was changed from a vehicular tarmac street to a pedestrianized street with concrete pavers. The sidewalks had been widened to allow space for fixed stalls. Temporary mobile stalls only started to occupy the middle of the street space in the late evening. The mobile vendors bring their carts from a storage space near the street and set up their stalls every night.
Bazar Masjid India is a street market that sells mostly accessories for women like scarves and handbags, but also clothes. It is immediately adjacent to Masjid India mosque and retail shops that sell traditional apparel for Malays and Indians (see Fig. 1.11). This street market has been fully pedestrianized with no vehicular access through it. The stalls are left on the street after the market operation and continue to operate the following day. Since Bazar Masjid India is located close to a mosque, the passage where people would walk in between two rows of stalls is appropriated as a spill-over congregational prayer space every Friday. With the presence of the crowds on this day, there are some “illegal” vendors who seize the opportunity of setting up makeshift foldable tables to display their small selection of products.
Lorong TAR night market is a weekly night market that only operates on Saturdays. This night market is famous to both locals and tourists because it is the only night market located in the city centre that also stretches for two kilometers in length (see Fig. 1.11). On Saturdays, vendors arrive at the back lane around midday to set up their stalls. Full operation starts around 3 to 4 pm and continues until about 10 pm. At this night market, visitors can find a range of local food and delicacies, as well as clothes and accessories.
Lorong Haji Taib street market operates every day in the evening until nighttime. Similar to Lorong TAR night market, this street market is also temporary. Vendors will bring their carts of goods that are stored at a nearby storage space and set up their stalls daily. At this night market, vendors sell mostly clothes, accessories and shoes (see Fig. 1.11).
Figure 1.11: Locations of the temporary markets (Zakariya, 2009)
Figure 1.12: Operating hours of each market (Zakariya, 2009)

Hours are indicated by the red bars

Lorong Haji Taib street market

Lorong TAR night market

Bazar Masjid India street market

Petaling Street street market
Micro infrastructures

*Electrical plug points*

During visits to the gentrified street markets, Petaling Street and Bazar Masjid India, I observed that the stalls were equipped with some micro infrastructures like electrical plug-points, ceiling lights and fans (Fig. 1.13). Since vendors operate daily at the same spots, these infrastructures are fixed and left on-site when the market is closed at night. The roof that covers both street markets makes it more climatically comfortable in the afternoon and on rainy days. This is suitable for Petaling Street and Bazar Masjid India because these markets operate daily at the same location. For Lorong TAR night market, boxes for electrical plug-points were installed on the sides of the street. Every Saturday, night market vendors utilise the sockets to get electricity for their lights.

*Lot Markers*

For each of the four markets, the city council has designated specific lots where vendors can operate and set up their stalls. The street is painted with lot markers, like the markers of a parking space. Vendors then set up their

Figure 1.13: Lights, fan and electrical plug-points as micro infrastructures (Zakariya, 2009)
stalls according to the markers assigned to them. The lot markers become the spatial framework that determines the overall layout of the market. I observed that the street surface for Lorong TAR night market has been designed with paving patterns similar to the lot markers (Fig. 1.14). Although the function of the lot markers is to indicate the space for each stall, vendors take advantage of the looseness of this framework by appropriating extra spaces around them as their storage or preparation areas.

**Storage**

Petaling Street and Lorong Haji Taib street markets require vendors to have storage areas not far from the site of operation. Vendors that operate at night would push their carts from a small alleyway. At Lorong Haji Taib, the same kind of operation occurred. These carts were taken from a storage area at an empty lot near the street (Fig. 1.15). This indicates that storage areas become another necessary micro infrastructure for a temporary street market that operates daily. For Bazar Masjid India, the carts and stalls are just left where they are over night since the street has already been designated for the market.
Spatiality

Spatial unevenness occurs when vendors utilise and appropriate more than their stall space with their products and props. Props, or “kit of parts”\(^4\), would include tables, containers, tents, chairs and umbrellas. Prior to the market operation, a vendor arrives at the market with his kit of parts. He then opens the umbrella thereby indirectly demarcating his vending space. The cart and table become armatures for him to store and display his goods, while at the same time they become edges for his stall space (Fig. 1.16).

Vendors extend their stalls beyond their allocated space, although the lot markers are there to indicate the size of space within which they can operate. The flexibility they have in extending their allocation makes the spaces in the street market irregular and inconsistent, which is quite different to permanent shops inside a shopping centre or mall. Each vendor’s kit of parts is not the same as that of another vendor. Also the different ways in which the stalls are set up by the vendors contribute to the market’s informality. One example can be drawn from my walking

\(^4\) “Kit of parts” refers to the vendor’s props, which might include tables, chairs, tents, umbrellas, containers, lighting, wires, chords, cooking appliances, merchandise to sell, etc.
experience through Lorong Haji Taib street market. The arrangement of the stalls and products colonised the edges of the walking lane and added unevenness to the character of the market. Despite the informality that is created from the irregular use of the allocated spaces, sometimes the walking lane between the stalls becomes so narrow that only one or two people can walk through at a time. The sketch diagram on the following page illustrates the areas for walking and the areas that vendors appropriate as their stall space (Fig. 1.17).
Figure 1.16: Field sketches of the expansion and contraction of stalls at Lorong Haji Taib street market (Zakariya, 2009)
Figure 1.17: Spatial unevenness (Zakariya, 2009)
Photographs from the walking experience at Lorong Haji Taib street market revealed that the width of the walking lanes for visitors expand and contract according to how vendors arrange their stalls and products. Each of the photographs above were traced and hatched according to the space walked by visitors and space used by vendors. The horizontal hatches illustrate the shifting widths of the walking lanes. The vertical hatches illustrate the space that vendors colonize by their stall arrangements.
Time-space operations

The streets used for temporary markets are occupied in multiple ways. Streets like Lorong TAR primarily function as a back laneway that is used as a service route for the shops and as parking spaces for customers. Lorong Haji Taib on the other hand is a vehicular road that connects two main roads.

In *Taipei Operations* (Helsel, 2004), overnight observations are made at a specific site to understand how a space is occupied over the course of 24 hours. In the Taipei project, the authors observed one street junction to document the movement of people and vehicles as a way of observing how the space is used. Olafur Eliasson, an artist and photographer, also employs time-lapse photography to document fleeting phenomena (Harmon and Clemans, 2009). In *The Domadalur daylight series (north) 2006* and *The Domadalur daylight series (south) 2006* (Fig. 1.18-1.19), Eliasson explored the changes of light through observing a landscape (2010). His techniques of photographing and presenting the movement of light on landscape in individual photographs and in a collection of photographs can allow viewers to observe how the light changes in specific moments and across time simultaneously.

I adapted a similar method of observing two street markets overnight through photographing how the streets were occupied over a particular time period. In the 24-hour stakeouts at Petaling Street market and Lorong TAR night market, I observed and compared the operations between a daily street market and a weekly night market. The documentation of these time-lapse photographs and descriptions of the phenomena are described in the next section, using Petaling Street street market and Lorong TAR night market as examples.
Figure 1.18: The Domadalur daylight series (north) 2006 by Olafur Eliasson (2010)

Figure 1.19: The Domadalur daylight series (south) 2006 by Olafur Eliasson (2010)
Petaling Street market

Petaling Street market combines the operation of both temporary and fixed-stall street markets. The observation was conducted on a Friday afternoon starting from about 3 pm and continued until the afternoon of the next day. Based on my walks in the afternoon and my observations at about 3 pm, the stalls that operate during this time are the fixed-stall vendors on the sidewalks on both sides of the street. During these hours, vehicles could still travel along the street, although they had to negotiate the street space with pedestrians and vendors transporting their goods. At around 4 pm, temporary vendors started to enter the middle section of the street with their carts and goods. This procession began to resemble a choreographed dance when the vendors parked their carts at their specific stall locations. Between 6 and 9 pm, Petaling Street was filled with stalls on both sides of the street and also down the middle. These are the hours that the street market operates to its maximum occupation. After that, vendors pack up their goods and uninstall their kit of parts. By 12 midnight, the street is cleared of stalls and the city’s maintenance service comes in to clean the street. The cycle of operation repeats itself the next day. (See Fig. 1.20)
Lorong TAR night market

Lorong TAR night market is a fully temporary market, where vendors only operate in a back lane every Saturday of every week all year. This is a typical model for night markets in Malaysia as vendors rotate their market sites every day. The intention was to observe Lorong TAR night market to see how the street is colonised by the vendors and how the accretions of stalls transform the street space into a market space. According to the signage placed in this lane, the trading hours allocated for the night market are from 6 pm until 12 midnight every Saturday. However, I noticed that the installation of stalls began as early as 1 pm. In the diagrams (see Fig. 1.21), the red dots represent the moving vehicles on the main road and streets around Lorong TAR. The blue dots represent the market stalls, while the green dots illustrate the movement and concentration of visitors around the site.

The accretion of stalls occur similarly to the assembling of stalls at Petaling Street market. Vendors enter the back lane with their vehicles and start to set up their stalls at their designated locations. Although some vendors start their business as early as 1 pm, the night market starts to fully operate at around 5 pm. Between these times until about 8 pm, the night market is filled with visitors. Around 10 pm, vendors start to pack up their goods and make their way out of Lorong TAR. At around midnight, the city’s maintenance service begins to clean and wash the streets. Similar to Petaling Street, this finding reveals how temporary markets operate in coordination with the garbage collection service of the city. This was an important finding as it revealed that the operation of temporary markets requires an external operational infrastructure such as the garbage collection service as part of its greater operation. This will be explored more deeply in Chapter 2. Lorong TAR continues to operate as a back lane during the day, and the night market process repeats itself the following week.
Figure 1.21: Time-space operation for Lorong TAR night market (Zakariya, 2009)

In the plan diagrams, the red dots represent vehicular traffic; blue dots represent aggregation of market stalls; and green dots represent movement of visitors.
Appropriations by vendors

Activities at street markets can suggest how a street can be transformed temporarily into a crowd-gathering event. The function of the road shifts into a commercial and social space. In my observations of the temporary markets I noted how street elements like sidewalks and planter boxes gave vendors the opportunity to appropriate them for their own use.

**Multiple reading of space**

Temporary vendors take advantage of spaces that they find and adapt them for their own use. During my walks to the markets, two female vendors appropriated the planter box at the Central Market as a place to sit and as a spot for them to set up their makeshift stall selling socks (Fig. 1.22). They laid a mat on the street to mark their vending space, and then arranged socks on this mat. Their spot was strategic because there were a lot of people walking through this part of the street.

Another vendor opened his stall and sold food in a parking lot, since there is no formal space for temporary vendors at the Central Market (Fig. 1.23). He parked his car near
to the pedestrian walkway, and then set up tables and an umbrella behind his car. In another example, a congregation of Muslim men appropriated the walking lanes of Bazar Masjid India as their Friday afternoon prayer space (Fig. 1.24). This spillover space utilisation is a common phenomenon during the congregational Friday prayers when the mosque or formal prayer space has reached its maximum capacity. Men bring their prayer mats and lay them on the street. The lines of the paving patterns at Bazar Masjid India indirectly become the lines that arrange the congregation into rows for prayers.

These three specific appropriations show how a space intended for one use is used for something else. They demonstrate how temporary functions of space are enabled by specific needs and conditions. The female sock vendors chose the planter box as their vending spot because that space was visible to pedestrians passing by and it had enough room to display their goods. The height of the planter box enabled them to sit and yet still have their socks within reach; while on the other hand, the lunch vendor took advantage of his paid parking space by setting up his stall behind his car. This spot is located at the corner of the parking lot, making it also visible to people walking by. Visibility and
convenience became opportunistic conditions to allow the street, the parking lot and the planter box to be used for temporary vending.

The Friday prayer congregation adapted the walking space to suit their needs. The ample width of the walking space between the stalls allowed three rows of worshippers to pray, and the extra walking space on the edges allowed people to pass through. The roof of this street market provides shade to the congregation, which is advantageous as Friday prayers are conducted in the afternoon when the temperature is high. Here, the wider space is put to multiple uses, with the condition that there is a greater overriding need.

**Tying-on to armatures**

While walking through the temporary markets, I noticed how many vendors take the opportunity to tie things onto other structures outside of their stalls. They create an extension of their stalls by tying tarpaulins to the sides (Fig. 1.25). To stretch the tarpaulins, vendors then tie them to any armatures.

5 “Armature” refers to a framework or structure

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Figure 1.25: Tying-on to armatures (Zakariya, 2009)
The stall frames are used as armatures for vendors to extend their tarpaulins, hang signboards and lights, and attach poles and hooks to display their products.
other structure that they can find, like the opposite vendor’s stall, or a streetlight. Cords become handy devices as they are used for hanging products up around the stalls, as well as for hanging signboards and lights. “Tying-on” therefore becomes a tactic, through the simple process of attaching one thing to another thing that is giving support, like tying a cord to a signboard and hanging that signboard under the stall by tying it to the stall frame.

Preparing and arranging products

Given the stall is their operating space, vendors optimize the area that they have at their disposal by setting up the sub-spaces to their own advantage. Under the stall, a vendor may have a space for preparation, storage of goods and display of products (Fig. 1.26). Their ingenuity is shown through the arrangement of their working areas. A night market vendor is given approximately a 2.4 meter-square space for their stall. Within this space, vendors need to fit their tables, props such as containers, table mats and crates, and utensils like pots, and packaging materials. The visual richness of the market is displayed through how some of the vendors prepare food using traditional methods mixed

Figure 1.26: Preparing and arranging products
(Zakariya, 2009)

At Lorong TAR night market, some vendors prepare and cook their food on-site, while some vendors pre-cook and pre-pack the food before coming. The food is stacked and arranged in different ways depending on the size of the containers and the types of food. This collection of images shows the variety of local food sold at the night market.
with modern materials, and then the stacking and arranging of the products in such a way that they optimize the tables and the stalls.

Collecting visitor’s experiences

Aside from observing and documenting the spatial characteristics of the markets, I was also interested in the qualities of the experience that the markets offer. This was important to understand because the atmospheres and the spatio-temporal qualities of the markets shape the experience of visitors. The spatial qualities that are created include more than the products, stalls, paths and wall. The scale and heights of the adjoining buildings also contribute to the spatial experience of the market.

Observing tourists

The observation of “tourists” was conducted spontaneously during one of my visits to the Saturday night market at Lorong TAR and Bazar Masjid India street market. This spontaneous observation was not meant to be a tourist survey, but rather to observe how visitors go about the market from noticing what they had bought and which stall they visited, regardless of their motivations. This ties back to the idea of capturing visitor experience (Zeisel, 1984; Holloway, Brown et al., 2010; Guthrie and Anderson, 2010).

In this task, I observed people whom I assumed were tourists, based on the premise that they looked like foreign visitors. The idea behind this observation was to see what market stalls they visited and what they bought. It was interesting to notice that tourists bought things that were more familiar or universal, like Coca-Cola, oranges and kebabs. Some of them seemed interested in the local food, but the experience remained at stopping, looking and then walking ahead to other stalls (Fig. 1.27). Some were attracted by stalls that were more animated, for example, where the vendor was cooking or preparing food at the stall.
At a stall selling clothing, a couple of tourists stopped to watch a vendor demonstrate how to wrap and tie different types of headscarves on a potential local customer (Fig. 1.28). Similar to the tourists, I observed how local visitors were also drawn to stalls that were more active and lively.

This observation found that visitors were drawn to stalls where vendors were more engaged in lively activities such as cooking, preparing food and demonstrating how to use their products. Watching those activities became an experience for visitors, although most of the observed tourists did not end in purchasing the products. However, this reveals how informal activities that are visible to visitors become an attraction. This findings later inform why designs of temporary markets need to have a sense of openness and visibility to them.
Informal interviews with local visitors

Since the night market is frequented more by local visitors, it was also necessary to get an appreciation of their experiences at the markets. The findings from these informal interviews are not a generalisation of all of the market visitors. However, they offer an opportunity to understand how other people relate and associate themselves with temporary markets.

Some of the experiences mentioned by the visitors concerned their sense of security while walking amongst the crowds. I became interested in the spatial experiences that they described. For example, a visitor described that she did not feel comfortable entering into Lorong Haji Taib street market because the market seemed secluded and it was difficult to find the main entrance into the market (Fig. 129a). Another visitor’s experience at Petaling Street market informed how he felt comfortable walking because the area was bigger than what he had expected (Fig. 129b). Here, visibility and spatial comfort can influence a visitor’s walking experience through a market. In another example, a visitor mentioned how she noticed the creative ways that vendors display their products at Lorong Haji Taib street market (Fig. 129c). A visitor to Bazar Masjid India made a similar comment, where she was attracted to the colourful atmosphere (Fig. 129d).

Figure 1.29: (a) Lorong Haji Taib entrance; (b) Petaling Street market; (c) Lorong Haji Taib product display; (d) Bazar Masjid India (Zakariya, 2009)
The descriptions made by these visitors show how their experiences of the market was shaped beyond how the market physically appear. Rather, part of their experiences were influenced by how the market is laid out, visibility, walking spaces, and the ways that vendors appropriate and decorate their stalls with their props and products.

**Evaluating what was noticed**

Noticing micro infrastructures revealed that temporary markets do not always operate spontaneously. In fact, the markets are planned to operate informally. Although they are loosely planned, the development for a night market occurs through the collaboration of different vendor associations and the city council, and this is discussed further in Chapter 2. Micro infrastructures like ceiling lights, fans, electrical plug points and off-site storage space are added to aid the operation of night markets as they progress. While the additions of these infrastructures are provided to temporary markets which the city council see as progressing well, more elaborate designs are prescribed to markets that are seen for their tourism potentials.

For example, in the process of revitalising Petaling Street market for tourism through its beautification project, the streets are pedestrianised, sheltered with a long expansion of roof structure, lined with street lighting, and adorned with a Chinese-themed gateway and ornaments (Fig. 130b). Although these are necessary infrastructures in making the street market more climatically comfortable to pedestrians, the “thematisation” fall back to making a *clichéd* tourist street market. And while these infrastructures may be suitable for street markets that operate daily at a specific location like Petaling Street, they may not be practical for a night market that only operates once a week like Lorong TAR night market. Speculative design esquisses that aimed at “de-thematising” Petaling Street are discussed in the next section (refer Section 1.5), then further interrogated in the subsequent sections.
1.5 DESIGN PROPOSITION: PETALING STREET MARKET

Questions about the gentrification of temporary markets began from my concerns over the physical transformation of Petaling Street. Petaling Street is located in Kuala Lumpur, and it is also known as Chinatown. The street trade activities at Petaling Street have been operating since 1913 (Bristow and Lee, 1994). Although trading activities are still a part of the current city activities, the nature of the trade and the physical environment have changed. In the nineties, vendors used umbrellas and makeshift tarpaulins as shelters for their stalls, while shops would extend their shading using a fixed tarpaulin awning. The image of the multi-coloured tarpaulins, umbrellas and lights create a vibrant image in Petaling Street market (Fig. 1.30a). This visual complexity provides a hint of the market’s festive atmosphere.

In 2003, Petaling Street underwent a major physical change. A beautification project was undertaken by the city council with the aim of giving Petaling Street a new image while creating a visible landmark for visitors, particularly foreign tourists. Petaling Street market is now more permanent on the site with fixed stalls with electrical plug points for fans and lights for some of the vendors. The long stretch of street is covered with a large-span roof that stands 12 meters high (Fig. 1.30b). The roof provides shade from the heat and shelter from the rain for both vendors and visitors. The entrance gateway is designed in the form of a Chinese pagoda and, at a glance, it is similar to the gateway at the entrance to Chinatown in Little Bourke Street in Melbourne. The beams are decorated with hanging red lanterns.

The physical and infrastructural changes that were made to Petaling Street have made the street market more convenient and comfortable for both vendors and visitors. However, I began to question the idea of uniformity, permanence and the cultural thematisation for a street market that is often associated with informal, temporary and serendipitous characteristics. The next series of fragmentary design interventions experiment different ways of de-thematising the street market.
Fragmentary design interventions

My design aim was to interrogate some of the qualities that I regarded as being “lost” due to gentrification. The following fragmentary designs were attempted in order to revive some of the characteristics of the street market, rather than the street’s Chinatown identity, in a more contemporary form to suit the urban setting. I did some quick design esquisses to assist in thinking through what I had been observing and the ideas I was concerned with in terms of market space gentrification. I wanted to test some of my early conceptions about how temporary markets can be redesigned, and then evaluate them based on the knowledge I have gained from the fieldwork. These propositions revolved around contesting the addition of a roof and the respective loss of openness; the standardisation of stalls and loss of variations; and the relationships between the street market and the shops behind them.
In *Design 1* (Fig. 1.31: Image A), I tested the idea of bringing back the open-air character of the street market by creating openings in the roof. The intention was to allow natural light into the market and make the night sky visible to the visitors. This design then led to *Design 2* (Fig. 1.31: Image B), where trees could be planted where the openings are created. The trees would act as a natural cooling system in the daytime. The tree trunks might then be utilised as armatures for vendors for their tarpaulins. This design takes advantage of the idea of pedestrianizing the street.

*Design 3* (Fig. 1.31: Image C), proposes additional structures be added beneath the roof to act as armatures for the vendors. The idea is to hang the umbrellas in order to give more floor space for vendor props and circulation. The hung umbrellas would also become a special feature of the market that could be adapted and improvised from the typical method of using an umbrella. However, raising the umbrellas might then change the “crowded” spatial qualities of the market.

*Design 4* (Fig. 1.31: Image D), looks into inserting “footprints” into the markets, since they only operate temporarily in the late evening and night. The footprints that would be proposed are recessed into the floor, like small holes, for insertion of the vendors’ umbrellas, table legs, and poles. The footprints also act as coordinates that would determine the layout of the market.

In *Design 5* (Fig. 1.31: Image E), I wanted to bring back the colour variety of the stalls by colour-coding the umbrellas and tarpaulins according to the products sold at the stall. Red stalls would mean that they sell entertainment related products like DVDs, blue for accessories and clothing, and yellow for food and drinks. The final fragmentary intervention, *Design 6* (Fig. 1.31: Image F), was aimed at emphasising the spatial adjacencies of the market and the shops behind them. A shared platform is designed from the corridors of the shops that would extend to the sidewalk to allow a sharing of customers and a sharing of space between the shops and the market stalls.
Figure 1.31: Fragmentary design propositions for Petaling Street market

Image A
Openings in the roof

Image B
Trees in the street

Image C
Roof armatures

Image D
Surface footprints

Image E
Colour-coded stalls

Image F
Shared platforms
Reflections

In these initial series of sketch design propositions, changes were made to the market through physically altering and adding physical things. Upon reflecting on these initial design ideas, I found that these physical structures were not able to address how a market could operate under changing conditions. Although Design 2, 3 and 6 started to test the idea of infrastructures that might be needed at temporary markets, the designs did not reveal the complexity of the market conditions beyond its physical appearance and functions. The street market operates under various complex conditions, which includes planning and management and the provision of some micro infrastructures that are vital to their operations in the first place. Stan Allen (Gastil, Ryan et al., 2004) remarks, “it is not the architecture, it is the way in which people use the architecture, and how open that architecture is to different uses” (p. 14).

I found that in the design esquisse, I was trying to redesign the street market superficially by changing different parts of its physical appearance and through adding various street components based on how vendors operate. This kind of design produces more elements on the street, but does not provide any significant improvements to how the market and the vendors could operate, or how visitors could experience it.

So how can the vendors use or improvise the architecture of the markets? Are there specific kinds of infrastructures that are needed by vendors and visitors of markets beyond what I explored here? Subsequently, the next design projects considered how markets can be accommodated beyond designing their physical appearance.
1.6 DESIGN PROPOSITION: LORONG HAJI TAIB STREET MARKET

In *Urban Diaries*, Walter Hood (1997) uses his observation methods in his study of the West Oakland community in California to understand how space usage changes across time. He observed each day and then began his design schemes (see Fig. 1.32). Wherever there is a change in the users’ occupations of the park, he took note of the new additions to the functions of the space and improvised his design work. For example, in the images below, Hood first noticed that people created gardens in the park by planting flowers and vegetables, and they had a tool shed. So in his first design, the space was meant for gardening. After observing again the next day, he noticed that children played in the gardens, which he then incorporated playful elements in the garden in his design. Hood’s improvisational approach and refinement of designs suggested that how people use the space cannot be generalised especially without understanding their specific behaviours and cultures. He observed the park at different times, and was able to discover how people used the park in different ways.

*Figure 1.32: Walter Hood’s design improvisations (Hood, 1997)*
Accordingly, the design propositions for Lorong Haji Taib street market are devised based on the observations that have been discussed in the previous section on walking and observing. Hood explains:

> In the context of improvisation, existing design archetypes and traditional forms are reshaped into new and unique forms through incremental transfer of ideas to provide familiar objects in space, reinforcing the image of the community, and extending the tradition. (p.6)

Lorong Haji Taib street market was selected for the next proposition because it is a temporary market that operates on a daily basis, different from Petaling Street market that had more fixed structures. This market has not yet been redesigned by the city council, other than the brick paved road surface and the fading lot markers. Lorong Haji Taib street market is included in the city’s plan for revitalisation, as it is one of the oldest trading areas of the city (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 2008). The brief that I had set for this design proposition was to give the street market a new image, and create new armatures that could function as shading devices and provide other micro infrastructures. The two design propositions tested maximal and intermediate propositions. In the context of this project, maximal means a great extent of physical change, while intermediate refers to changes that are relatively moderate.

**Maximal proposition: streetscape sculptures**

The intention for this design was to create a new “buzz” for the market as a way of giving it a fresher urban image. In this proposition, I proposed two rows of tree sculptures at the roadsides (Fig. 1.33). The intention is for these sculptures to become public art while at the same time acting as armatures for vendors to tie on their tarpaulins, as partial shading devices for the street, and also to function as street lighting. They act as visual markers for the site so that they can attract people into the site because of their unique forms, without thematising the street into any particular cultural identity.
Although this proposition was aimed at creating a new image for the street market, the design did not yet respond to the issues of spatial constraints. The placement of the streetscape sculptures have not addressed whether it is still physically viable for street market vendors to continue to operate there.
Intermediate proposition: planter boxes and surface tactics

The intermediate proposition attempted to celebrate the spatial irregularities that are present in the existing street market. The idea is to use surface tactics to encourage and discourage the spatial occupations. The “encouraging surface tactics” proposed grid-like patterns on the road surface to replace the painted lot markers (Fig. 1.34). This way, the vendors can still use the surface patterns as a guide for their lot. Planter boxes can be utilised as street furniture for vendors and visitors, while the trunks of the trees function as armatures.

The “discouraging surface tactics” use textured pavement at specific junctions of the street market to hinder illegal vendors from obstructing the entrance to Lorong Haji Taib street market (Fig. 1.35). This strategy was proposed to open the market out to create more visibility and a sense of security. The main entrance to the street is often blocked by illegal vendors who arrange their carts and stalls at its front entrance. Their appropriation makes the street market both physically and visibly less accessible. Vendors were concerned that visitors do not know much about what the street market offers and that their stall locations are hidden. In addition, some visitors reported that they felt insecure walking through the street market because it seemed enclosed.

Since illegal vendors colonise the edges of the market, textured bumpers might be placed at the entrance to the street with the intention of disabling the space thus not allowing illegal carts to appropriate it. The long benches can also become seats for visitors. The expected result would be that the illegal vendors would have to shift their carts and stalls onto the buildings’ sidewalks rather than at the street’s entrance. However, since most of the market’s legal vendors also use mobile carts, the textured road surfaces could actually become obstructions to these vendors. This could lead to the failure of the overall market operation. I realised that these propositions do not necessarily deal with the complexity of the market environment.
Figure 1.34: Intermediate proposition - “encouraging surface tactics”
Planter boxes and surface coordinate patterns mark stall locations in encouraging surface tactics.

Figure 1.35: Intermediate proposition - “discouraging surface tactics” (Zakariya, 2009)
Textured pavement and long benches are used in discouraging surface tactics.
1.7 DESIGN PROPOSITION: LORONG TAR NIGHT MARKET

Intermediate proposition: surface tactics

I continued to experiment with surface tactics at the back lane where the night market operates. The existing back lane is paved and painted with yellow markings to indicate the lots for the stalls. There is an overlay of two painted lot markers: one for the Saturday night market, and the other for the annual Ramadhan market. These lot markers are functional in helping vendors to identify their vending spaces and for the city council to plan and manage the stalls that operate in this lane. However, the painted marks are not integrated with the street patterns. Visually, with these markings, the night market may be seen as an informal activity that encroaches on a public space, rather than co-existing as part of a public street.

The design proposition works with the idea of inserting small floor plates to act as markers for the stall lots, as found along Swanston Street in Melbourne (Fig. 1.36). These floor plates can be used like coordinates that can display the lot numbers and lot markers without being obvious (Fig. 1.37). It is a surface tactic to provide a loose framework that can be flexible for appropriation, but at the same time, retain some degree of order. The surface tactics can offer more heterogeneous use of the street space by making very minimal changes to the design, as illustrated in the matrix of different market configurations diagram (Fig. 1.38). The plates could also contain fragments of history and narratives about Lorong TAR night market as a way of providing visitors with information about the night market when it is not in operation.
Figure 1.36: Floor plates on Swanston St, Melbourne (Zakariya, 2009)

Figure 1.37: Intermediate proposition – surface tactics

Figure 1.38: Intermediate proposition – Matrix of possible market layout based on surface coordinates
1.8 DESIGN PROPOSITION: CONNECTIVE SPACES

Minimal proposition: space markers

The previous three designs have tested propositions for the market sites. This minimal proposition looks into enhancing spaces that connect two different markets. Minimal proposition refers to minor changes to the site. The idea is to create “connective tissues” to encourage new temporary occupations of space as a way of seeding potential markets to operate in the future.

One of the sites for this proposition is a wide walkway connecting Petaling Street to Bazar Masjid India (Fig. 1.39). The existing space has already been designed with paving patterns that could function as markers for vendor’s lots. In this design, concrete platforms at seat height are proposed in a linear arrangement (Fig. 1.40). These platforms could be utilised as a place to sit, and they could also become areas where temporary vendors can set up their vending position. Pedestrian street lighting is added to light the walkway at night, while at the same time functioning as armatures for vendors to tie their tarps and hang their banners. The idea of creating multifunctional street elements is not new, but placing them in spaces that connect markets could enable new kinds of temporary spatial uses to occur.

For the connective spaces, I tested the idea of creating “markers” as a way of demarcating spaces where temporary vending could take place. This idea is borrowed from a type of marker that is used by Malays at weddings, where colourful shiny streamers are placed with the makeshift wedding signboards at specific junctions of the road to provide directions for the guests (Fig. 1.41). It is similar to how balloons are used to inform people about a garage sale in streets in the suburbs of Melbourne.
For the connective tissues, I employed ordinary street elements in the space, like the rubbish bins, which can be transformed to markers. Projects by two artists in Brazil, 6emeia, make use of ordinary objects and ordinary surfaces by giving them new entertaining characteristics. 6emeia painted elements like drain covers and rubbish bins (Fig. 1.42). Since littering is often associated as an after-effect of temporary markets, vibrant rubbish bins could encourage people to be more aware of throwing their litter in the bin (Fig. 1.43). At the same time, the designed bins act as a signifier of the temporary market space.

This proposition has brought focus to spaces outside of the actual market operation site. However, when a design is tested on a site that has not yet been appropriated for temporary markets a very important question becomes apparent. What does a market need in order to operate in the first place? Although robust street elements like platforms, street lighting and rubbish bins could become useful for the operation of
a market, the conditions that allow vendors to operate at markets are still underdeveloped at this point. The “illegal” vendors influenced me to consider extending the market boundaries. However, this raised the following questions. While this could lead to less congestion, does the city really need more market spaces? Furthermore, why do temporary markets arose where they did?

*I recognised at this point in my design works I was simply still adding things to the street. While street amenities and flexible armatures are important, I did not feel that this approach really investigated the spatial-temporal observations I had made. I discuss this point further in Chapters 2 and 3.*
1.9 KL STREET MARKET WALK MAP

In addition to speculatively proposing design strategies at the market sites, I experimented with making maps as another way of offering experiences to the market visitors. Curating an experience through making maps and guides is another technique that I was interested in exploring in terms of the role of the designer in accommodating temporary markets. Maps and guidebooks do not physically change the market sites, but they can become powerful tools for revealing specific things about a market which can allow visitors to see it in different ways.

As developments from the *WalkIN Melbourne Postcards*, the objective of making the map was to further explore the sort of richness of the market that I have noticed and wanted to make visible. Although tourists can discover a lot of things themselves, a map functions as a guide, or a “door” that lets them into the less obvious things at the market through how I, as the local, see it. The map making and picking out specific moments from the market became an experiment of noticing and making the less visible more visible.

In *KL Street Market Walk Map* (Fig. 1.44-1.45), I suggested specific routes that visitors can take from one street market to another street market in one day. Within these routes, moments in the market that they could experience were selected, such as tasting specific food at a particular stall, or seeing a vendor demonstrate how to wear a head scarf, as observed during the fieldwork. In the map, visitors are advised to do the walk on a Saturday as it connects three markets: Petaling Street, Bazar Masjid India and Lorong TAR night market. The moments to experience and observe suggested to the visitors are based on my own observations of tourist activities at the market.
You’ve Never Really Been to KL Until You’ve Walked Its Street Markets!

As recommended by Lonely Planet (2007)...

"The best way to get a feel for KL’s vibrant atmosphere is to walk." As locals, we’d recommend you to start walking in the evening after 5 pm. It’s much cooler and breezer after this hour.

"Leave time to explore the city’s many colourful markets."

We are locals. And as locals, here we are giving you all the inside stuff for you to have an even greater street market experience!

1. Start your walk after 5 pm from Jalan Petaling @ Chinatown. You can choose from the many fake handbags and shoes. But if you’re looking something small and cheap, there’s always the ‘branded’ coin purses. Surely handy for you to keep all your Malaysian coins and finish using them before your next currency change.
   + Bargaining phrase: “Murah lagi la...”
   (Cheaper please...)

2. Continue your walk towards Central Market. You can start browsing for mementos to bring home, or just go on with your stroll through the thoroughfare. If you’re lucky, there might even be street musicians and street artists.
   + Compliment phrase: “Seronok lagi”
   (Fun to listen)

This "Street Market Walk" is an independent project and initiative by locals who enjoys sharing their local experiences. Please visit our blog at http://walkwalkmalaysia.blogspot.com for comments and suggestions.
**3** Catch your breath while enjoying the views of Masjid Jamek mosque. If you want to enter this mosque, make sure that you are dressed properly. For women, you can purchase beautiful cheap scarves at Little India for RM10 (makes great neck scarves for your winter or summer later on; and also as an alternative of borrowing the robe provided at the mosque).

* Strike conversation with locals: “Masjid cantik” (Beautiful Mosque)

**4** Buy a scarf at Jalan Masjid India @ Little India. Scarves here are cheap and pretty! Other than typical souvenirs, long scarf makes a great gift for yourself or others. You can even ask the vendor to demonstrate how scarves are worn and styled just for the fun of it.

* Ask to demonstrate: “Macam mana pakai?” (How to wear?)

**5** Have a food feast at Jalan TAR Night Market! This is the ultimate place to taste a whole range of local Malay food and snacks. Here are some of our recommendations:

- **Local Malaysian Burger**
  - buns, beef/chicken patties, lettuce, onion, cucumber, mayo, chili sauce

- **Otak-otak**
  - literally translated into “brain-brain”, otak-otak is just made from fish and chilli, then grilled in coconut leaves.

- **Ayam Percik @ Grilled Chilli Chicken**
  - mildly hot & sweet.
  - Can be enjoyed on its own, or with rice. The rich flavour of marinaded chicken will surely wake your tastebuds!

- **Chendol**
  - a sweet dessert made from coconut milk, palm sugar syrup, and green bean flour dough. Served with crushed ice. Best eaten while it's cold.

- **Apam Balik**
  - a must-try Malaysian crepe with crushed peanuts, butter, sugar and corn inside. Get the small crispy ones at 50 cents a piece and eat it there and then while it's hot and crispy!

- **Laksa**
  - a must-try rice noodle in fish soup, sweet sour taste and mildly hot, garnished with sliced cucumber, onion and boiled egg. Eat at the seating area provided behind the stalls.

**6** Walk up to Dataran Merdeka @ Merdeka Square for a night picnic as an end to your Street Market Saturday. After savoring all the tasty food, be sure to buy some fruits, light snacks or peanuts for a night picnic at this boulevard that is closed every Saturday night for pedestrians. Enjoy the lights of Sultan Abdul Samad building and the cool night air (which is probably the only time you can stay outside to actually relax).

Now you’ve really been to KL, Tenima Kash!
One of the night market walks that I experienced when visiting Kuala Lumpur was walking from Lorong TAR night market to Dataran Merdeka (Independence Square). On Saturday nights, the main road to the square is closed for vehicular use to allow for pedestrian activities. Visitors can walk to the square after their visit to the night market. However, during the time that the fieldwork was conducted, the square was not visited by as many people as it was in the early 2000s when I was a frequent visitor to the area. A local visitor at Dataran Merdeka informed me that the square had been inactive on weekend nights since the city council had stopped turning on the big screen television. So the inclusion of Dataran Merdeka in the walk map was intended to reactivate the square as a place of activity on Saturday nights. I tested the walks suggested in the map myself to see exactly what experiences the map had curated.

The **KL Street Market Walk Map** was curated as a linear experience, similar to the **WalkIN Melbourne Postcards**. Reflecting back, as a visitor, I would have wanted a guide or a map that I could customise to my own time. A map that is planned based on particular sequences could limit the spontaneous nature of this experience. This resonates back to thinking about how markets might be planned, where a highly programmed layout could potentially diminish the market’s informal and serendipitous nature. In his study about Indian streets, Edensor (1998) believes that the “urge to rationalise and regulate” resulted in “expungement of material and social qualities” of the informal streets, as in the West (pp. 205-206).

The making of this map also began to reveal more particularities of the markets, like suggesting to visitors to notice how some traditional delicacies are wrapped in coconut leaves. The intention to get people to notice these small moments was for them to experience the market at a more detailed scale. As I reflected from the propositions that have been conducted thus far, I had expanded my understanding and reading of the markets at multiple scales. The qualities of the markets that have become more visible were found to operate at more than the street scale. The locations and vicinities of the market at the city scale and the details of how vendors operate at the stall scale demonstrate were equally important.
1.10 DISCUSSIONS

In this chapter, the projects started from my critique of the physical characteristics of a gentrified temporary market, using Petaling Street market as an example and a departing point. The observations and experiences collected from visiting Petaling Street market found that the market’s operations were not hindered by the improved and thematised streetscapes and the additions of micro infrastructures. While the market can be regarded as continuing to function properly, or even better from the development that it has had, the bigger goal behind this research is not to stop at accepting a singular or a “one-for-all” approach of accommodating markets. More precisely, I wanted to explore other ways of accommodating markets; and this requires a different way of seeing and examining them.

Given the fact that over time as cities change markets also need to change, a more extensive understanding on what encourages a market to operate is needed. The provision of facilities alone at this point is not sufficient in informing how markets might be accommodated shall they need to be relocated. As contended by Lang (2003) and Lim (2005) earlier in this chapter, there are certain conditions and cultural environments that need to be discovered in order for designers to know how markets can adapt under different conditions.

The design works that were developed in this chapter examined some characteristics of temporary markets from the inside. In this first tranche of work, techniques for observing and documenting were experimented and refined through analysing how they might offer a new reading of markets. Experiments on collecting and mapping, inspired by artists and scholars like Calle, the Stalker, de Certeau, Zeisel and Wunderlich, were adopted as they provided a new way for me to explore markets. While a conventional site inventory might be also able to collect similar information, the mapping projects that I conducted offered multiple ways of critiquing both the methods and my understanding of the city.
As the design propositions develop, they reveal that the operations of temporary markets are supported by various infrastructures that are found inside the markets. Vendors need certain micro infrastructures that they can appropriate for their own uses. These micro infrastructures include street lighting and electrical plug-points which are subsequently adapted as armatures for vending. To operate, vendors come into the site with their own kit of parts, which include things like foldable stalls and umbrellas, tables and chairs, portable gas and their products or wares to sell. Discovering that the market operates in a “borrowed” space with these specific kinds of infrastructures was revelatory. Temporary markets are mobile, flexible and adaptable to the site that they operate within, and these characteristics create the informality in the market layout. The ingenuity of the vendors appropriating their stall spaces and their creativity in displaying their products also adds to the visual richness of the market.

Reflecting back on Massey’s (1991; 1993) idea that places are made of global and local processes, at this point of research, temporary markets are only understood in terms of the physical things that they need to operate. The markets operate within their own self-organising systems, and involve a more complex process between the vendors and visitors, the products, the market sites and the city. Massey looks at places as having connections to other kinds of processes, and this is an interrogation of the markets that is expanded in the next chapter. Because there are still unresolved questions that arose from the design propositions, one of the challenges of designing in this phase was in trying to design “for” temporary markets, which resulted in the tendency to add-on elements to the sites, or falling back to a minimalist position where there is almost no impact on how the market can operate.

In the maximal proposition, the streetscape sculptures that were proposed for Lorong Haji Taib street market attempted to revitalise the appearance of the market by making a bold design statement. Although the idea of infrastructure and armature has been considered in the design of the tree sculptures, there is still the question of whether public art is what the site needs in order to function better. This design
intervention is similar to gentrifying the market site in order to make it more attractive for the city. It is also a bit facile and really may only operate as a “face-lift”.

In my design works, there was always an inclination to “overdesign” a space. This conundrum is particularly prevalent when designers are involved in designing temporary markets for tourism. In *The Tourist*, MacCannell (1976) suggests that there is the desire to transform and the desire to retain when dealing with places and tourism. This becomes problematic when sites like temporary markets do not really need a lot of design elements in order to operate. As Mathur (2004) argues, some rich qualities of informal places are often loss when designers try to rationalise them. Even without the tree sculptures, Lorong Haji Taib street market would still be able to operate as it currently does; so the concern was that I was just really “dressing up” the street.

In the intermediate and minimal propositions that followed, more subtle design gestures were used to revitalise the streets. However, the additions of armatures like planter boxes and robust street furnitures to the market sites and the adoption of surface textures as encouraging and discouraging tactics for vendors were still focusing at combining existing patterns of use with physical infrastructures. The realisation that temporary markets operate on such minimal infrastructures has propelled these design propositions. But are landscape architects relegated to the role of designing decorative pavement or placing street amenities in the case of designing street markets? Will adding more physical elements generate the street life that would make cities interesting, as advocated by Jacobs (1961) and Gehl (1987)? This conundrum brings me back to an important point in this research study, which is to expand the role of the designer.

The existing designs that have been implemented in the current street markets in Kuala Lumpur are working. Although Petaling Street, Bazar Masjid India and Lorong TAR night market have been transformed to different degrees, I find that richness
is still present in each of these markets. The markets retain the essence of their informality and festiveness, even though their physical appearances have been changed and are more structured. While standardised designs may work for street markets that operate at the same site daily, the same approach might not work for temporary night markets. This leads to the following question: how can a temporary night market be accommodated, given that their sites of operation change daily?

In the next chapter, I investigate other spatial conditions, processes and systems that enable the market to operate at shifting scales for a more effective analysis.
References


CHAPTER 2

Unpacking the Market and the City
Nearing the celebration of Malaysia’s 52nd Independence Day, a television advertisement displayed a scene at a night market. Three male adults - a Malay actor/comedian, an Indian singer and a Chinese film maker - met at the market. While they walked, they talked casually about living in a multi-cultural society; equality and stereotyping; what it felt like to have been colonized; buying local products and the future of the nation. They spoke a mix of English, Bahasa Malaysia and local slangs interchangeably. They engaged in the night market activities by browsing at the stalls, buying the products, talking to the vendors, and later singing at a karaoke stall. From an eye-level, viewers could see a familiar scene of a typical night market in Malaysia. The background sounds were noises from the movement of crowds, voices of vendors and visitors bargaining items, and the surrounding market activities. In the last scene of the advertisement, the camera zoomed out to give a view from the top. Viewers were then able to see the varieties of stalls, umbrellas, vans and incandescent light bulbs aligned in an orderly manner.

Figure 2.1: Screenshots from 1Malaysia-Proton television advertisement (1malaysia-proton, 2009)
This chapter continues the look at temporary markets by unpacking how they work as a system. Since temporary markets are transient and mobile, they occupy different spaces in the city. In these spaces, visitors and vendors from different parts of the city and various products of different kinds gather. Here I explore mapping as a method to understand how night markets operate at multiple scales. But in deciding what to map and how to map, I used my experiences in Melbourne through a series of mapping experiments. I came to understand that mappings can evolve into propositions and that they can reveal certain relationships. In this process, the market and the city begin to make connections.

2.1 MARKET AS A PROCESS

Temporary markets’ process\(^6\) of operations involve a flow of people and products that convene at a specific place for a specific time. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the way a temporary market operates is unique because a group of vendors congregates at the market site for about five to six hours in a day. After the market operation is finished for that particular day, they pack up and disaggregate. The following day, the vendors reconvene with a different group of vendors at a different location. The ephemerality of the operation and the constant change of settings is a process that requires an understanding of the market outside of its operational site. The changes in the market do not only happen physically through how the markets operate. The products and how the vendors sell their products also change according to time and the development of the city and its people (refer Fig. 2.1-2.2).

\(^6\) “Process”: a series of action or steps taken in order to achieve a particular end
During my visit to Lorong TAR night market in January 2009, I saw a vendor who was selling pizza. Pizza is not a typical Malaysian food but its popularity among Malaysians is growing, hence making its way into the night market to be sold and purchased at a price lower than in restaurants. The pizza sold at the night market usually has ingredients which are more “localised”, making it taste a bit sweeter and maybe even a little spicier. The vendor’s stall is equipped with a portable gas oven to bake the pizza, an aluminium table for preparation and display, and a handheld pizza slicer. This change of trend in product affected the way the vendor operated, his kit of parts and consequently his space utilization at his stall.
Lang writes, “the greatest perplexity is the result of a confusing mix and mismatch of geographies, cultures, local and global trends” (Boyarsky and Lang, 2003; p.12). Anthony Cohen (1993), an anthropologist, discusses that in the past, culture was understood as integrated and similar characteristics of a group. He says that in the previous notion of culture, we are shaped by what our culture gives us and that an individual replicates the larger community. However, now, culture is treated more loosely. Culture is an ‘aggregation’ of people and process, rather than ‘integration’. Cohen asserts that culture is a process and a product of social process. Because of these processes, markets accumulate changes in their characteristics and how they might operate.

Furthermore, the emerging global and multicultural trends in cities demonstrate how globalism expands local boundaries and identities (Massey, 1993; Massey and Jess, 1995; Sandercock, 1998). Massey (1991) relates place as points with trajectories, where “what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalised history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus” (p. 28). Accordingly, a temporary market can be seen as a place with trajectories: of mobile vendors, visitors, products and connections with other market sites and the surrounding contexts where they operate. Changes that occur within or outside of the market – whether through products, trends or mobility – eventually change the way a market operates. The pizza vendor is just one example of how globalism changes the products sold at the night market, which in turn changes the types of kit of parts and infrastructures the vendor needs.
Temporary markets in Melbourne

Melbourne has a wide range of temporary markets, although contextually different from those in other Asian countries. Some of the markets that I visited comprise flea markets, art and craft markets and community markets. One example is the Rotary Sunday Market in Camberwell that operates every Sunday morning until afternoon on the open parking lot at Station Street (Fig. 2.3-2.4).

Two other temporary markets that demonstrated the use of specific site infrastructures are the Melbourne Design Market and the Arts Centre’s Sunday Market (see Fig. 2.5-2.6). Their spatial characteristics, locations, surrounding contexts, time of operation, products available for sale and the infrastructures that support the operation of the market were recorded. Observation made on the vendor’s kit of parts that include equipments, furniture and armatures was important as it revealed the kinds of internal and flexible infrastructures that are needed. From the photographs taken, I identified infrastructures that were fixed and those that were temporary through the techniques of using line drawings in different colours. The objective was to pick out how vendors appropriated the existing space and infrastructures to assist their vending activities. This exercise found that the temporality and adaptability of these Melbourne markets make them similar to temporary markets in Malaysia. However, they operate accordingly to their cultural and spatial context.
I visited the Melbourne Design Market held in 2009, inside the parking complex structure of Federation Square. Vendors at the design market sold products like notebooks, t-shirts, cards, decor items and gadgets. This market is an annual event that is held in conjunction with the State of Design Festival that is sponsored by the Victorian State Government.

Federation Square is located in the city, near to train and tram stops. The parking lot itself is able to provide parking spaces for vendors and visitors. The market was located inside the parking complex. As a space, the parking lot has concrete floor surfaces, ceilings, beams, walls and openings that allowed lighting and ventilation. Inside, it is equipped with infrastructures like lighting, marked parking spaces, plug-points, rubbish bins and public toilets.

For the market to operate, the stalls were arranged according to the parking spaces. Beams were appropriated as armatures to erect posters and signboards, as well as to hang products. The lights of the parking lot and natural lighting from outside provided a certain kind of ambience. The availability of these support infrastructures that also include public toilets in Federation Square make the site “market-ready”. Vendors come to the site with their kit of parts, which includes tables, tablecloths, display racks, chairs, additional lights, signboards and the products that they want to sell.
This market is held outside of the Arts Centre every Sunday, from 10 am until 5 pm. Visitors can find a range of crafts and art works at this market. The location of the market is strategic, similar to the Melbourne Design Market, as it is located near to train and tram stops. However, compared to the Design Market, this Sunday Market is more visible as it operates outdoors.

The market appropriated the upper level walkway outside of the Arts Centre and on the walkway underneath Princes Bridge. Outside the Arts Centre, vendors arrange their stalls in line with the partially covered walkway. The columns of the partial roof become armatures for vendors to tie their banners and hang their products. There are roll-up screens installed on the roof of the walkway which are used by the vendors as a sheltering device to protect their stall from wind or rain.

The market stalls continue to operate from the walkway at the street level down to the walkway at the lower level underneath Princes Bridge. The physical characteristics of this underpass not only provide the market with a ceiling and two walls, but it also creates a unique atmosphere as its location is under a bridge. The location of the market, which is partially on the sidewalk alongside the Arts Centre, makes the market visible and accessible from a larger pedestrian walkway system, both from Alexandra Gardens and along Southbank and the Casino. The vicinity of hotels in the city and on St Kilda Road, and its immediate adjacency to Flinders Street Railway Station and tram stops also become support infrastructures that help to draw crowds to the market.
2.2 MARKET AS A SYSTEM

Temporary markets can be seen as a system\(^7\) because in order for them to operate, they need a market site, certain services and micro infrastructures that support their operations, including the vendors and their products, as well as the visitors. Above this operative scale, temporary markets also need an urban framework that enables this system further.

In *Tsukiji: the fish market at the center of the world*, Bestor (2004) when referring to the Tokyo fish market, writes that there are “critical issues of organising social relations around production, commodification, exchange, and consumption – activities determine ownership, distribute surpluses, legitimate property rights, and structure access to common resources” (p. 13). The operation of the fish market includes the involvement of ‘producers, brokers and consumers’, which coexist with the “informal, self-organising processes and provisional spatial arrangements” (Wilkins, 2007).

Temporary markets operate in a comparable way, although transitorily. As an informal commercial space, they cannot be detached from their social, cultural and spatial contributions to the city. There are processes and relationships between the vendors, their products, the chain of distributions, the location of the market and the interactions that occur between the market, the visitors and the surrounding context. In the sections that follow, I explore in more depth the systems of a night market and techniques of mapping to reveal these complexities.

\(^7\) “System”: a set of connected things or parts forming a complex whole’ or ‘a set of things working together as parts of a mechanism or an interconnecting network’
2.3 METHODS OF MAPPING

Maps by definition are utilitarian, as they normally bear implicit information of routes to somewhere or where places are geographically located in relation to other known places (Harmon and Clemans, 2009). Cartographers use artistic skills and techniques, and visual creativity to make their maps more compelling. As collected by Harmon (2004) in You are here: personal geographies and other maps of the imagination, the use of maps has also found to document experiences that reveal less visible layers of a place or a person.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a common practice of documenting a site’s characteristics is by recording what is visible. An inventory plan on a greater scale may map transportation networks, infrastructures and the different types of land use. Prominent landscape planners like McHarg (1992) (Fig. 2.7) and Steiner (1991) evaluated regions through an overlay of maps to derive some sort of measure to guide planning and design decisions. In Agency of Mapping (1999), Corner explains that mapping unfolds potential and should reveal something new. In his map Pivot Irrigator 1 (Fig. 2.8), Corner uses the map from United States Geological Survey, and cut it as a “circle without scale, place names or geographical coordinates” (p.247). His intention was to ‘de-territorialises’ the map for it to offer a new reading. Corner believes
that mapping functions to actualise potential, not just to see certain possibilities. However, I find it difficult to reveal the relationship and connectivity that a site has with other places and infrastructures using methods that map what is only visible from the site scale or data from a regional scale. Particularly with temporary markets, there is a process that operates in between the site scale and the regional scale that enables their operations.

Black (2009) contends that “mapping is more than just making representations of place – it should also be speculative and generative, suggesting how to intervene” (p.21). He further writes:

Rather than just replicating what is already known, mapping unearths hidden aspects of a place, allows its working parts to be seen and understood; it can bring a collision of scales and time frames into relationship. Mapping can thus become a strategic part of the design process. It not only reviews and re-assesses the found conditions of a place but constructs new realities. It brings together analytical and propositional thinking. (pp. 21-22)

While my observations, experiences and design propositions of markets thus far have generated insights into the kinds of physical infrastructures that are useful to their operations, a more rigorous way of revealing the processes of the market is needed. This is because other approaches of intervening have not yet been tested at this point. da Cunha and Mathur (2009) discuss how it is hard to map the Indian bazaar. They suggested that a bazaar must be walked and experienced because of its elasticity and ephemeral qualities.

In demonstrating some techniques of mapping, in one of their studies of a fort settlement at Mahim Beach, they employed a ‘photo walk’ as to map the conditions of the settlement (Mathur and da Cunha, 2009; Fig. 2.9). The photos are used to construct sections, rather than using a plan. They wanted their drawings to convey ‘multiplicity’ through maps, sections and photos all at once. They remark
that “landscape architects should be initiators rather than planners”; and that “we should engage in messiness” (da Cunha and Mathur, 2009). The mapping methods that they employed are visually complex, and may only fully understood by them. Nonetheless, the complexity and creativity of the maps have potentials to also offer others a different reading of the fort settlement, and consequently, enabling multiple ways of analysing and engaging with the site.

Further discussions on mapping are done throughout the chapters according to relevant projects.

Figure 2.9: Mahim Crossing Project by Anuradha Mathur and Dilip da Cunha (Mathur and da Cunha, 2009)
2.4 MAPPING EXPLORATIONS IN MELBOURNE

As a trajectory from my early experiments on walking and mapping in Chapter 1, I continued to explore mapping as a technique to reveal characteristics of a place. Melbourne remained my laboratory. I collected and documented my daily routines in Melbourne, as a Muslim-Malaysian woman, who is a resident and also a student/tourist. The mapping projects are the Guidebook, Nasi Lemak Melbourne Map and Nasi Lemak Ingredients Journey Map, which became more complex and deeper the more I started to really investigate the power of making maps as a design technique. The reflections from creating these maps are discussed collectively at the end of this section.

The Muslim, Malaysian, Melbourne Guidebook

The guidebook project is a further development of WalkIN Melbourne Postcards and KL Street Market Walk Map in Chapter 1. I continued to become interested in exploring these kinds of mapping, which were not about temporary markets, because they generated certain revelatory qualities that gradually shift how I continue to look at the city. Thus, it was important for me to test different techniques of mapping and notating the everyday, as a way of enabling myself to understand the city through other perspectives.

In the guidebook project, places that I often visit in Melbourne were recorded (Fig.2.10). Most of these places are relevant to me as a Muslim-Malaysian woman, such as halal eateries, halal butchers, Asian supermarkets and Muslim prayer facilities.
As I often feel that I am a tourist in Melbourne, I am likely to take photographs to capture scenes and objects that I see. Usually, I would not have taken a photo of ordinary places, but thinking that I am a tourist made it seem relevant to do so.
Guidebook in the making

Photos and location plans of each place are compiled in a folder. They are arranged into five categories: Islamic clothing shops and prayer facilities; Asian and halal groceries; Islamic and Malaysian events; my activities; and halal eateries. (See Fig. 2.11)

After accumulating a substantial collection of places for the guidebook, I realised how this project exposed other layers of Melbourne - the Malaysian, Muslim, female versions of the city. The locational maps of these Malaysian-relevant or Muslim-relevant places show the diversity of Melbourne, as in Marco Polo’s different descriptions of Venice in ‘Invisible Cities’ (Calvino, 1974).

This guidebook can become a tool for visitors or locals to see and experience Melbourne, as a reflection of how I see and experience it. Accordingly, I uploaded the contents of the guidebook online on a blog called ‘Walk Walk Melbourne’ (walkwalkmelbourne.blogspot.com). From the collection to the blog, I employed mapping not only as a tool of recording, but as a way of revealing specific layers of Melbourne. This project began to reveal what it means to intervene. I started mapping places in Melbourne initially as a way of recording, but from the guidebook and the blog, I realised that I was changing how I, and possibly others, see Melbourne. Through Walk Walk Melbourne, I continue to reveal the different characteristics of the city.

Figure 2.11: Collection of places for guidebook (Zakariya, 2010)
Walk Walk Melbourne Blog

I started the blog by transferring my collection of Muslim-Malaysian-Melbourne guide online (Fig. 2.12). I uploaded the digital photographs and used Google Map to mark the locations of each place. With every entry, I wrote a description of the place and provided information for visitors; like opening hours, website links and how it could be reached via public transportation. As the blog become more well-known to my friends in Melbourne and Malaysia, more people started visiting it to find information on halal eateries in Melbourne. Some blog visitors left comments and e-mailed their opinions on how Walk Walk Melbourne helped them to find halal eateries.

Visitor 1:
“Indeed your blog, WWM, is a godsend. There are very useful info especially on halal eateries and restaurants around city centre, not to mention the halal butchery outlets (we intend to bring some steak back from our upcoming hols to Melbourne in June this year).”

Visitor 2:
“I am a student in Swinburne Uni. I came across your dearest blog when I was looking up Ramadhan in Melbourne :) I have not found a bazaar here before and its good to know there is one now :) Makes me miss home a lot. Happy Ramadhan to you and your family.”

With the demand for information on halal eateries, Muslim prayer facilities and places to buy groceries in the city, I designed the ‘Walk Walk Melbourne CBD Halal Map’ (illustrated in Fig. 2.13-2.14 on the next pages).
Chilli Padi Mamak Kopitiam

It has definitely been a while since we visited any new Halal eateries around Melbourne. With Malaysian food trends coming into Australia within the last few years (not to mention also on Masterchef!), another Kopitiam-concept eatery has opened in Flemington.

Our good friends Shaliz and Din introduced us to Chilli Padi Mamak Kopitiam. Thanks to them Walk Walk Melbourne can now add another Halal cafe into our collection :)

Figure 2.12: Screenshot of Walk Walk Melbourne blog (Zakariya, 2009a)
Figure 2.13: Walk Walk Melbourne CBD Halal Map - Side 1, 2010

Locations of landmarks, Halal eateries, groceries and prayer facilities
Prayer Facilities

23  RMIT Swanston St
    Spiritual Centre, Bldg. 11, Level 2

24  RMIT Bourke St
    Level 2

25  Melbourne Uni Musolla
    Little Pelham St

26  ICV Mosque
    66-68 Jeffcott St

City Circle Tram Route (Free Tram)
Figure 2.14: Walk Walk Melbourne CBD Halal Map - Side 2, 2010
Images and addresses of the mapped places
Reflections

Reflecting back on the collection of places in Melbourne that are important to me as a Muslim-Malaysian woman, I found that these places act as infrastructures that enable me to conduct my day-to-day routines as a student. The map revealed an invisible layer of Melbourne that was personally relevant to me as a Muslim visitor. The revelatory findings of this personal mapping as suggested by Harmon (2004) were not only useful to me, but also to other Muslims and Malaysians (Fig. 2.15).

For example, the locations of halal eateries in the Melbourne CBD became one of the factors for Muslim and Malaysian tourists in deciding the location of their accommodation. From knowing where they can eat, pray and how to get to the places that they want to visit, tourists can plan their trips. This information might also be useful to tour operators and the city council, shall they plan to develop niche tourism for the city in the future. The places identified in the map, other than as attractions, are also actually infrastructures that aid Muslim and Malaysian tourists in Melbourne. As Black (2009) asserted, the map ‘unearthed’ an invisible layer of Melbourne. In reflecting back on temporary markets, it is expected that there are also specific infrastructures around the vicinity of the markets that vendors and visitors need. The discoveries of relevant infrastructures for temporary markets at the larger scale is demonstrated in Section 2.5.

Figure 2.15: Walk Walk Melbourne CBD Halal Map, 2010
Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map

From the *Walk-on-Meal* project discussed in the previous chapter and the guidebook project, I continued to become fascinated in experimenting with food as an object to map. I perceive the rich qualities of food are as complex as that of a market.

In *Floating Food: Eating ‘Asia’ in Kitchens of the Diaspora*, Duruz (2009) uses Asian food as a form of ‘otherness’ to explore the narratives of food and how they relate to everyday experiences. Duruz finds that through food, memories of home are evoked through the aromas, tastes and experience that it gives. In a study of Filipino women in Hong Kong and how they adapt themselves in a foreign country, Law (2001) describes, “senses tell us something different about the politics of diasporic experience and give diverse space new meanings” (p. 266).

Following my mapping of *halal* eateries in Melbourne from the previous guidebook project, I was intrigued to expand my reading of localness through exploring different ways that I might interpret a local Malaysian dish in the foreign context of Melbourne. In this project, I took a closer look at places that sell *nasi lemak* (Fig. 2.16). This dish was chosen primarily because it is one of my favourite Malaysian foods that remind me of home; and I wanted to use just one particular dish as a datum that could lead to me knowing more about the city.

Nasi lemak is typically eaten for breakfast, but over the years stalls and shops selling nasi lemak for lunch, dinner and supper have appeared in Malaysia. One of the best experiences of eating nasi lemak, personally, is when it is wrapped in a banana leaf as it gives a distinctive taste and aroma to the warm rice, while also keeping it moist (Fig. 2.17).
Figure 2.17: Nasi Lemak wrapped in banana leaf and brown paper
Photo from Lorong TAR night market in Kuala Lumpur (Zakariya, 2009)
A drive to Forest Hill: in search for nasi lemak

It is not common to find nasi lemak served in a banana leaf in Melbourne as the leaves are quite costly, so when some friends told me there was a shop in the suburb of Forest Hill that served nasi lemak like this, I went on a weekend lunch excursion in search of it with my husband and friends. The cafe is located about half an hour by car away from Melbourne’s CBD and forty minutes from where I lived in Prahran (Fig. 2.18). The cafe was simple, and as we entered a Malay woman, who was the cafe owner, greeted us. The conversations with the lady in Malay and the thought of having nasi lemak served on a banana leaf at a cafe on a Sunday morning felt like a very familiar Sunday activity with my family back home.

To start the collection of nasi lemak in Melbourne, I created a checklist of what to document at each of the places I visited: how the dish was composed, taste scales, descriptions and names given to the nasi lemak, and the characteristics of the cafe (Fig. 2.19). This first nasi lemak then led to a collection of other nasi lemak in Melbourne, and the discovery of new places.

Figure 2.18: Map showing my house in Prahran (A) to Selera Singapore Asli in Forest Hill (B)
Figure 2.19: Documentation of *nasi lemak* experience at the restaurant in Forest Hill on 4”x6” index cards
The making of Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map

As part of the collection, I searched for five other places around Melbourne that sell nasi lemak. These places are located in Melbourne CBD, Carlton, Malvern East, Clayton and Forest Hill. The locations of these nasi lemak restaurants are illustrated in the map below, with reference to where I live in Melbourne (Fig. 2.20).

Figure 2.20: Locations of places that sell *nasi lemak* around Melbourne
At each place, I had a plate of nasi lemak, and repeated the same method of documenting my experience, which was through photographing each dish from the top, capturing the images of the cafe, and identifying the tastes of each dish.

**Assembling the map**

I was interested in the ways artists created artwork from the concept of a book. The *Eight Slices of Pie* map by Emily Martin (Wasserman, 2007) was one map that caught my interest. When put together as a whole, the map illustrates an image of a pie; but when each slice is opened, it contains family stories and recipes (Fig. 2.21). The idea behind the map making is simple yet compelling as it allows the reader to interact with it. In Martin’s map, the pie is made of eight slices of ‘stories’.

Inspired by this, I continued to explore with different techniques of making maps to demonstrate how the richness of nasi lemak can be revealed (Fig.2.22).

Figure 2.21: *Eight Slices of Pie* by Emily Martin, 2002 (Wasserman, 2007)

Figure 2.22: My initial ideas of Melbourne Nasi Lemak map construction
From the six restaurants that sell nasi lemak, I created mini concertina-cards that had images, information, and taste scales about each nasi lemak (refer to Fig. 2.23-2.30 on the following pages for more detailed information). The cards are inserted into a nasi lemak wrapper that consisted a map and printed images of a banana leaf and a newspaper page - meant to look like a traditionally wrapped nasi lemak as commonly found in Malaysia. When Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map is opened, places that sell this dish in Melbourne are revealed.
Figure 2.24: A display of Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map at a Summer Mapping Workshop in RMIT, 2010
Figure 2.25

Name of dish:
Nasi Lemak

Place:
Selera Singapore Asli, Forest Hill
Figure 2.26

Name of dish: Coconut Rice Set Meal

Place: Lazzat on Lygon, Carlton
Name of dish: Nasi Lemak Tradisional

Place: Nasi Lemak House, Carlton
Figure 2.28

Name of dish: Nasi Lemak (Coconut Rice)

Place: Taste of Singapore, Carlton
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of dish:</th>
<th>Nasi Lemak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place:</td>
<td>Little Malaysia Restaurant, Melbourne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2.29**

**Name of dish:**
Nasi Lemak

**Place:**
Little Malaysia Restaurant, Melbourne

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of dish:</th>
<th>Nasi Lemak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Price:</td>
<td>AUD 12.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What To Like:</td>
<td>Coconut rice served with beef rendang, egg, achar salad, peanuts, and sambal anchovies on the side. Malay beef rendang upon request.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 Liverpool St, Melbourne | 03 9662 1678 / 9662 1622
Opening Hours: Mon-Sun, 11:30am - 3:00pm, 5:00pm - 11:00pm

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**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of dish:</th>
<th>Nasi Lemak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RICE:</td>
<td>Coconut Milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAMBAL:</td>
<td>Sambal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IKAN BILE:</td>
<td>Crunchfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAT &amp; SPICE:</td>
<td>Hot &amp; Spicy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOUTH:</td>
<td>Spicy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALTINESS:</td>
<td>Saltish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURNESS:</td>
<td>Sourish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FISH:</td>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEANUTS:</td>
<td>Peanuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUCUMBER:</td>
<td>Cucumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADDED VALUES:</td>
<td>Beef rendang, vegetable achar, tomato slices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGG:</td>
<td>Hard-boiled egg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Map:**

Little Malaysia Restaurant

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**Contact Information:**

26 Liverpool St, Melbourne
03 9662 1678 / 9662 1622
Opening Hours: Mon-Sun, 11:30am - 3:00pm, 5:00pm - 11:00pm
Figure 2.30

Name of dish: Nasi Lemak

Place: Rasa Malaysian Cafe, Malvern East
Reflections

The Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map project exposed one familiar Malaysian dish in different representations. While nasi lemak is traditionally a part of the Malaysian culture, globalisation causes the food culture to move across the boundaries of Malaysia. The nasi lemak has been customised by the restaurants in Melbourne according to each chef’s interpretation, and perhaps availability of ingredients and suitability of taste for customers. Duruz (2009) notes that through food, “meanings of home and identity becomes globalised” (p. 4). This is particularly relevant in expanding our notion of localness, as food like the nasi lemak in this project are revealed to have multiple characteristics in them.

The global and local processes that have permeated through this dish are demonstrated through how each of the nasi lemak possesses both similar and different qualities to each other. Their main differences resulted from how they were customised according to their locations, atmosphere, targeted clients and the chefs’ palate for nasi lemak. Despite these differences, essentially all the six dishes are still nasi lemak. The essence of the rice that is cooked with coconut milk is present in all six dishes. As Massey (1993) views, the complexity of a place, or in this case, the plate, results from the assemblages of these mixed processes. I realised that characteristics of an object, or place, are so much richer than how it looks and operates. The characteristics are shaped by these other tangible and intangible components, as how this dish was customised and adapted.

In this project, nasi lemak was not just about food to consume, but the search, drives and visits for each nasi lemak became a method of exploration. Hand (2005) writes of Sophie Calle’s art of following, where in The address book that Calle did in 1983, she instructed herself to visit people that were listed in the address book that she found as a way of connecting to the man that she believed that book belonged to. In like manner, tracking this dish around Melbourne led me to discover other Malaysian and Singaporean eateries. Nasi lemak became a datum that I followed to lead me to
encounter different places in Melbourne.

It was also through mapping and making of the map that I engaged as an act of designing. Crafting a map that physically represents a traditionally wrapped *nasi lemak* which contains a map of Melbourne, guide cards and images of the dish being plated up demonstrated how we need to “unpack” something that we would generally regard as being local, and then draw out their multiple characters. The interactive nature of the map and the act of unpacking suggest that temporary markets should also be explored in the similar way.

The *Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map* gave another reading of Melbourne, and of the Malaysian *nasi lemak*. From collecting Malaysian-Muslim places in Melbourne, to collecting one Malaysian dish in Melbourne, in the next project I unpack the journeys of the *nasi lemak’s* ingredients.
Nasi Lemak Ingredients Journey Map

Continuing from the previous project, the intention for this next mapping project was to unpack an object at a greater scale, and to experiment another way to map it. *Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map* has revealed the invisible layers of Melbourne through tracking the dish around the city, and how a local dish was represented in different ways through understanding how they adapt to their new context. Focusing on just a plate of *nasi lemak*, I explored ways to reveal the processes involved in plating this dish.

In a project called *Tramjatra* (2005), Douglas studied the operation of trams in Melbourne by connecting it back to the trams in Kolkata. In both cities, trams share a similar colonial history. The trams became the datum that brought Melbourne and Kolkata together, although in different contexts.

Tufte also discusses ‘micro/macro readings’ in *Envisioning Information* (1990). He used the *Manhattan Map* created by Constantine Anderson in 1989 that used detailing to give ‘personal micro readings’ (Fig. 2.31). The map used precise axonometric projection drawings through illustrating individual windows, subway stations, bus shelters, telephone booths, trees and sidewalk planters. As written by Marc Treib in *Mapping Experience* (1980), “maps are the projections of experiences”, and maps can function “as the prime vehicle for communication of spatial relationship, existing or virtual” (pp. 19-22). Similarly, to understand the *nasi lemak* at a greater scale, my project opens up the journeys of each ingredient in this dish (Fig. 2.32).
Figure 2.32: A plate of *nasi lemak* with the side dishes, 2009
Mapping ingredients

I traced the possible origins and routes of each ingredient to discover where they could have come from. For instance, I found that most of the peanuts are sourced locally in Australia (Fig. 2.33). In another example, the rice could be traced back to its geographical origin in the rice fields of northern Thailand (Fig. 2.34). The bags of rice then make their way by land to Nonthaburi for processing and packaging, and afterwards to the Port Authority in Bangkok for shipment. The rice sacks are then transported across the ocean on container ships, possibly making stops at the Port of Brisbane and Sydney Harbour before reaching Port Melbourne. From Port Melbourne, the rice is picked up by distributing agents of small supermarkets, or even big ones like Coles and Woolworths, before the individual restaurants purchase them. These are not the exact journeys of these particular ingredients, but they opened up my understanding of the possible journeys on a greater scale.

Figure 2.33: Journey of fried peanuts - peanuts from Brisbane and vegetable oil from Malaysia
Figure 2.34: Journey of rice from Thailand to Melbourne
Crafting the map

One of the challenges that I faced after discovering the origins and journeys of each ingredient was how to visualise and map them from a plate of nasi lemak. To understand the idea of shifting scales, I needed to make the map more physically interactive. Apart from Martin’s Eight Slices of Pie map discussed earlier, I was also inspired by concertinas that Julie Chen designed, which were called Bon Bon Mots (Wasserman, 2007; Fig. 2.35), as the act of folding in and out physically demonstrates movement.

Since the idea of “unfolding” and “trajectories” were the key ideas in demonstrating the journey of the ingredients, I used the act of physically folding out the ingredients to reveal their routes to construct the map (Fig. 2.36–2.39).
Figure 2.36: Sketch ideas of how the map can be assembled
Figure 2.37: Nasi Lemak Ingredients Map closed, 2009

Figure 2.38: Nasi Lemak Ingredients Map opened, 2009
Figure 2.39: Nasi Lemak Ingredients Map, 2009 (in full view)
Reflections

At the start of this mapping project, my objective was to unpack the processes of the localness of *nasi lemak* are connected to illustrate Massey’s idea about how places are trajectories of global and local processes (Massey, 1991). However, the project revealed more than just an assemblage of places into one dish. The foldout ingredients journey map revealed the systems and scales involved in plating this dish.

When I reflected on the two *nasi lemak* maps, the local and global became connected through the distribution and gathering of products and ingredients, hence blurring the characters of localness. From a project that started by collecting the dish in Melbourne, and then exploding it into discovering the journeys of its ingredients around the world, I realised that the characteristics of the *nasi lemak* are more complex than how it looks on the plate and tastes. There are other systems that operates from discovering the origins of the ingredients, such as how they are transported to Melbourne and the infrastructures that enable it.

Making the map that I can fold and unfold rather than just diagramming it in a drawing was important because the map allowed me to see how the journey of each ingredient can occur simultaneously. The length of each fold also conceptually demonstrates the distance of each journey. For example, the peanut fold is shorter than the dried anchovies because peanuts were sourced from Brisbane, while the anchovies were sourced from Malaysia. What the map lacked in its visualisation was how some points of the journey could overlap with each other, as in the point of entry at Port Melbourne.
The foldout plate also enabled me to visualise and interact with the shifting scales. The connections between the plate, restaurants, suppliers, transportations and the different countries became visible. The system that operates behind a plate of nasi lemak demonstrates the trajectories of specific activities and infrastructures. If I think about temporary markets in the same way, what then are other infrastructures that contribute to the operation of the market?

Thinking in this way disclosed how I view a place and how that view can be opened up beyond its boundaries. By understanding the systems that work beyond the plate of nasi lemak, as a designer I could then evaluate the appropriate scales where I might intervene, and how a proposition can change the operation of the larger system. Similarly, in thinking about designing markets, this project suggested that I look beyond the street scale of the market to gain a wider understanding of what makes the market work and the factors and actors that influence the market operations.
2.5 MAPPING COMPLEXITIES OF THE NIGHT MARKET

At an earlier stage of this research, I was concerned with how I might design temporary markets to suit the changing cities, while at the same time ensuring the essence of localness persisted. As cities become more developed, changes in lifestyle, mobility and industry inevitably affect how a market might operate. In the Melbourne food mapping projects discussed previously, I demonstrate how the plate of food is enabled by a series of networks of ingredients from different regions, manufacturing sites, transportations and distribution systems. The assemblage of ingredients is further influenced by the context of how, where and for whom the food is prepared for and sold. My reading of a plate of food resembles my shift in understanding the city and the market, which instigated me to question the processes and systems involved in the market’s operation.

In the following sections, I come back to the Lorong TAR night market in Kuala Lumpur. This follows my broadened understanding of how vendors operate their stalls, as described in Chapter 1, and examining of how site infrastructures enable temporary markets to operate in Melbourne. The Melbourne maps encouraged me to view the night market more openly through considering the systems that it might engage with.

In the January-February 2009 fieldwork and in the design propositions discussed in Chapter 1, several key issues emerged from examining the market: human climatic and comfort factors, tactics employed by the vendors in operating their stalls, and the multiplicity of visitors’ experiences. Since the night market is a common temporary activity that operates throughout Malaysia, my research focus from this point onward shifts to understand “night markets” in greater depths. In the following discussion, I focus on Lorong TAR night market. I expand my analysis of Lorong TAR night market through investigating some of its systems. The methods learned from the Nasi Lemak Ingredients Journey Map are adapted here to unpack the components of the night market and then examined as to how they are assembled.
Remapping Lorong TAR night market at multiple scales

Lorong TAR night market operates once a week every Saturday at a back lane called Lorong TAR (Fig. 2.40). At this night market, visitors can find a variety of products, especially locally prepared cuisine.

From my own visit to the market, I was able to find food from different regions in Malaysia, for instance, ‘laksa’ (rice noodle in fish soup) from the northern part of Malaysia, and ‘nasi kerabu’ (traditional rice meal) from the east coast. Some vendors localise Western food like burgers. In Malaysia, burgers that are sold as street food are usually served with chilli sauce and the meat patty could be wrapped with eggs upon request.

The collections of products at this night market are valuable examples of Malaysian culture. They have been able to be kept alive alongside modernisation, for instance through the use of both modern and traditional methods of cooking and packaging. The physical characteristics of the night market may have gradually changed over the years, from informal to standardised stalls. Nonetheless, the inherent characteristics of the night market also lie within the ingenuity of the vendors themselves. The acculturation of these global elements to the local practices of market and vending produce a new form of localness.

Figure 2.40: Location of Lorong TAR night market with reference to familiar main roads and landmarks
Observing the operations of Lorong TAR night market

Lorong TAR night market is situated in the back lane of two rows of shops (Fig.2.41). The location of the night market is near to other shopping complexes and public transportations. This market is regulated by the Petty Traders Development and Management Department under the city council (Kuala Lumpur City Hall) and the Vendor Association of Lorong TAR Night Market. Allocations of the night market lots for vendors are drawn by lottery. The majority of the food and beverage stalls are located on one side, while other types of merchandise are located on the opposite side (Fig. 2.42).

Figure 2.41: Lorong TAR, the back lane where the night market operates every Saturday evening (Zakariya, 2009)

Figure 2.42: General zoning of the stalls - food and drinks on one side; other products on the opposite side (Zakariya, 2009)
By regulation, the market is supposed to operate from 6 pm until 12 midnight. However, vendors start to arrange their stalls as early as 1 pm in the afternoon. Within an hour or so, the accretion of stalls dramatically increases (Fig. 2.43).

Visitors start to walk through the market before it is entirely intact. During the installation process, visitors have to negotiate the laneway with the incoming vendors (Fig. 2.44).

Between the early afternoon and until about 5 pm, the flow of customers starts to increase. At these hours, some of the shops in the adjacent buildings are still open (Fig. 2.45).
These sectional collages illustrate the accretion of stalls on Lorong TAR and how the back lane starts to feather inwards as the market starts to set up and operate (Fig. 2.46–2.48).

Figure 2.46: Lorong TAR before night market vendors arrive

Figure 2.47: Visitors would have to negotiate the walking lane with vehicles as vendors drive by to unload their goods

Figure 2.48: Vendors continue to appropriate their stalls while visitors already start to come
The shop owners anticipate this process every Saturday as they know that the night market will be operating. Interestingly, some of the fabric and clothing shops also bring out their products through the back door to an outdoor stall to sell at the night market (Fig. 2.49).

At night, crowds of visitors filled the market, and later, vendors started to pack up their stalls (Fig. 2.50-2.51).

**Figure 2.49:** Scarf shop extends Saturday business by operating a night market stall

**Figure 2.50:** The night market at its peak hours (Zakariya, 2009)
The night market continues to get filled up with customers, reaching peak crowds around 6 pm and 8 pm

**Figure 2.51:** Vendors start to pack-up (Zakariya, 2009)
At 11 pm, vendors start to close their businesses and dismantle their stalls
By midnight, the back lane is clear. This is when the city’s maintenance service collects rubbish and washes the street (Fig. 2.52).

The next morning, the back lane goes back to its usual condition where pedestrians and slow-moving vehicles share the same space (Fig. 2.53).

Figure 2.52: Maintenance service collects rubbish and washes the street (Zakariya, 2009)

Figure 2.53: On the next day, Lorong TAR continues to operate as usual (Zakariya, 2009)
Mapping at shifting scales

*The city scale*

Having learned from mapping the ingredients of *nasi lemak* at shifting scales, I continued to map Lorong TAR night market further. The night market not only operates at the street scale, but also at the city scale because vendors change their locations every night. In Kuala Lumpur, there are 95 night market locations operating within one week. This means there is a night market operating somewhere in Kuala Lumpur every night, and this includes Lorong TAR night market (Fig. 2.54).

This was an important finding in this research because it demonstrates how night markets are so much a part of Malaysian culture. These night markets operate legally under the license of operation by the city council. Different night markets are managed by different vendor associations. According to the 2009 report by the Kuala Lumpur city council, the total number of registered and licensed stalls is 31,652 (Jabatan Pengurusan Penjaja dan Perniagaan, 2009).

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**Figure 2.54:** 95 night market locations in Kuala Lumpur, 2009
At the city scale, the night market operation is based on a weekly schedule. Their nomadic character makes them flexible and unfixed to one particular place. Therefore, design strategies for night markets need to consider their temporality and mobility. This is discussed in greater depth after the second fieldwork investigations where I followed a night market vendor for five days.

The location of Lorong TAR night market is strategic because it is surrounded by places and facilities that act as supporting infrastructures to the market (Fig. 2.55-2.61). The night market is within the vicinity of several commercial places in Kuala Lumpur, for instance, shopping complexes, fabric and clothing retail shops, a wholesale supermarket, and tourist attractions like Masjid Jamek and the heritage buildings along Jalan TAR. This location is also convenient for local and foreign visitors because of its proximity to hotels and public transportations. Visitors can easily use the available Muslim prayer facilities, public toilets and parking inside the nearby shopping complexes.

Figure 2.55: Overlay of market infrastructures for Lorong TAR night market
Figure 2.56: Surrounding site attractions

Figure 2.57: Surrounding hotels

Figure 2.58: Nearby public transportation

Figure 2.59: Locations of Muslim prayer facilities

Figure 2.60: Locations of public toilets

Figure 2.61: Locations of parking
The street scale

At the street scale, several spatial relationships between vendors and vendors, vendors and customers, as well as vendors and the adjacent shops. For instance, a nasi lemak vendor borrowed the building apron of the shop behind his stall as a space to place some of his containers. At the same time, he created a sub-space for his customers to stand by tying on an extra tarpaulin as a shading device in front of his stall (Fig. 2.62).

Figure 2.62: Drawings illustrating plan and section from street to the stall
Some vendors who operate in wider spaces take advantage of the extra space by adding extra stalls and parking their vehicles within their stall. Although there is a painted line that marks the limits of their vending area, it is common for vendors to encroach beyond it and adjust their spaces according to their needs (Fig. 2.63-2.64).

**Figure 2.63: Diagram of how vendors arrange their stall**

**Figure 2.64: Digital sketch of vendors parking their vehicles behind their stalls and unloading their kit of parts**
The stall scale

At the scale of the stall, the vendor organises his space by deciding where to put tables, display racks, containers, chairs and various other items from their kit of parts. At a more detailed scale, he arranges and display the food products on the table and inside the stall space (Fig. 2.65). The array of products arranged at the night market stalls add to the visual complexity and richness of its atmosphere (Fig. 2.66).

Figure 2.65: Plan and sectional diagrams from the stall scale to the product scale
From learning how the night market and vendors operate at multiple scales, the options of where I might intervene became more obvious. However, at that point in time I was still very much interested in intervening at the stall scale. In Chapter 1, I explain how the physical characteristics of temporary markets change over time, and that this is an inevitable process of their development. But the existing some stall designs as seen at Petaling Street market and Bazar Masjid India, which are in the form of fixed kiosks, are not suitable for a mobile night market like the one in Lorong TAR. Therefore, I opted to test how a mobile stall might be redesigned to suit the flexible and temporary nature of the vendors’ operation.
Mapping the journey of a stall

Similar methods from the *Nasi Lemak Ingredients Journey Map* was adopted by tracing the journey of a market stall to illustrate how changing the stall should not make the night market lose much of its richness. This design move is one of the important shifts in my design process because I needed to demonstrate whether localness can still be present, despite the changed physical characteristics of the markets. The possible journey of materials that are used to create night market stalls was mapped in order to illustrate how the market stalls are assembled, which consequently contribute to the overall image of the market. It also tested my ideas about global ingredients, in this case, stall materials, combining for a localised effect (Fig. 2.68).

Existing night market stalls are usually made with heavy-duty tarpaulins that are manufactured into an 8’x8’ pitched-roof tent. A vendor mentioned that the current pitched-roof tents work satisfactorily, although over time the roof covers have to be replaced when they wear out. However, from my own experience as a market visitor, I knew that the market stalls could not provide much shade and shelter when it is raining. Currently to solve this some vendors use extra tarpaulins, but the problem with this is that they collect water and do not provide enough shelter on a larger scale (Fig. 2.67).

Figure 2.67: Vendor tying on extra tarpaulin when it rains (Zakariya, 2010)
Most of these tents are manufactured in Malaysia, with tarpaulins that could have possibly been imported from other Asian manufacturers. The tent roof then is assembled with lightweight poles. The pitched-roof stall design is a typical model designed and sold by the manufacturer to market vendors. For regulated markets like the Lorong TAR night market, the city council and vendor association standardise specific colours and logos for the stalls. For casual vendors, their choice of tents and umbrellas is from what is available and affordable. While majority of the tents at Lorong TAR night market look the same, it was interesting to know that the uniformed tent became a tool for the vendor association to visually monitor the presence of unlicensed vendors.
Crafting a map to illustrate complexity

Aside from mapping Lorong TAR night market through different scales of plans and diagrams, I experimented with a more material form of mapping. I discovered that the process of making a map using different materials was interactive and therefore quite useful because it allowed me to become more aware of what the map actually reveals. Harmon (2009) believes a traditional map reveals ‘this is how the world is’, while artists’ maps suggest ‘this is my vision, and I encourage you to construct your own’.

In the Complexity Map of Lorong TAR Night Market, the intention is to reveal the chaotic nature of the market (Fig. 2.69). From my walks through the market, I felt that its richness is enhanced by the products being sold, movements of people and the visual complexity of the building facades surrounding it, as well as the informal arrangement of the stalls and the market activities.

Through making this map, I realised that the market’s rich physical characteristics are a combination of several things, in particular, the atmosphere of the place where it operates and the fusion of products being sold. However, the complexity map only stood as a map that suggests a conceptual idea of the richness present at the night market. The map was still generic and was only site specific because of the basic models of the buildings’ heights and volumes.
Complexity Map of Lorong TAR Night Market

This map is composed of photographic collages from the site and materials that are similar to those found at the night market. I used pieces of tarpaulin, string, bamboo sticks, plastic and paper to represent some of the materials commonly used by night market vendors. The building surfaces in the model are covered with images of shop signage, doors, windows, awnings and products that the shops sold. While the building surfaces are in black and white, the materials in the market area are in colour to demonstrate the market’s festive atmosphere.
2.6 DESIGN PROPOSITION: REDESIGNING NIGHT MARKET STALLS

At the scale of the street, vendors negotiate their stall spaces with other vendors, as well as with customers walking through and in the adjacent spaces behind their stalls. Collectively, the stall locations are determined by the vendor association through a lottery selection. Individually, the vendors adjust their stalls according to their needs but also they need to adapt to their particular location on the street. For example, a vendor that has his stall in the wider part of the street can utilise the extra space to park his vehicle (Fig. 2.70). For other vendors that operate in the narrower part of the street, they have to find parking elsewhere. Vendors that have limited space might not be able to use more than one stall space; hence they use adjustable tarpaulins to create extra spaces behind or at the sides of their stalls.

In the following design proposition, I experimented with the idea of creating a stall that could function as an individual module and also collectively with other stalls. The design was aimed at responding to the flexibility and mobility of the market and the stall structures functioning as armatures for vending, while at the same time creating some practical solutions to protect vendors and visitors from heat and rain. The proposition is further elaborated on in the following drawings.

Figure 2.70: A night market vendor taking advantage of the extra space behind his stall as his parking space (Zakariya, 2009)
Redesigning the stall module

In considering the climatic conditions of heat and rain in Malaysia, the stall is proposed to slope on just one side, which is to the back, to allow rainfall to drain (Fig. 2.71).

The stall might also have adjustable shading panels on each side (Fig. 2.72). This idea responds to the needs for shelter against heat and rain, as well as creating extensions for the vendors’ stalls.
As an individual module, the stall can be expanded to adjust to the available spaces in its location. Since the stalls are located on different parts of the street with varying widths, the expandable form of this stall design can allow variation. Vendors at Lorong TAR night market are given a space to operate from, with an approximate area of 2.6 x 2.6 meters square. The minimum size of the proposed stall has the same dimension, which means that they should be able to fit into the existing market spaces (Fig. 2.73).

![Figure 2.73: The stall as an individual module](image)

The collective module drawings illustrate how two fronting stalls can extend their shading panels for about two meters on each side to create a temporary roof for visitors as they walk around the stalls (Fig. 2.74).

![Figure 2.74: The stall as collective modules](image)
This expandable stall can function in four different ways. A row of stalls that extend their shading panels can create a covered walking lane along the stall fronts (Fig. 2.75).

The extended sides of the stall can cover the gaps between two stalls, and can be used as an extension of the display area (Fig. 2.76).

In the absence of a middle stall, the stalls on the left and right can encroach into an empty lot (Fig. 2.77).

Figure 2.75: Extended panels create a covered walking lane

Figure 2.76: Gaps between two stalls can be used as an extended display area

Figure 2.77: Stalls encroach the empty space by demarcating it with the extended shading panels.
Since the stalls are adjustable, vendors can adjust them according to their own needs. The accretions of the roof expansion will retain some of the night market’s informal characteristics. These collages illustrate three stages of the stalls’ roof extension: closed, half-extension and full-extension (Fig. 2.79-2.80).

Figure 2.78: Casual cart vendors borrow or sublease the extra space and share the roof of the stalls

This extra shaded space can be occupied or sublet to casual vendors (Fig. 2.78).

Figure 2.79: The different expansions of the stalls at three street widths
Figure 2.80: Collage of the accretion of stall modules during market operation
Reflections

Through changing the form of the stall, I tested a physical proposition: reconciling the requirements of the city council by providing a standardised stall size, and the needs of vendors and visitors for a more climatically comfortable night market. I incorporated characteristics of flexibility and provided armatures within the stall design to allow vendors to continue to operate and appropriate the space as in their usual practice. The expandable and retractable shading panels might also retain the qualities of unevenness and informality that the night market currently displays.

This design proposition was speculative and quick, and the depth of materials, cost and mobility was not examined. However, this proposition did start to help me consider a range of flexible uses and needs from a vendor’s perspective. Since vendors sell different things, some may only require a small area of operation compared to another vendor. For instance, a vendor that sells just drinks can operate in a 2 x 2 meter square space, while a vendor that sells rice dishes may bring a number of big pots thus needs the whole 2.6 x 2.6 meter square area or more. One problem that could arise when stalls are standardised like this is that a vendor may have to pay for a big stall space that he might not need. Furthermore, while the stall design may suit Lorong TAR night market, are they suitable for the other night market sites where the vendors operate every night?

In the next design proposition, and still using the same proposed stall module, I consider how the market layout can be reconfigured based on the different space requirements of various vendors.
2.7 DESIGN PROPOSITION: RECONFIGURING THE MARKET LAYOUT

One of the dynamic characteristics of the night market that I observed is how vendors use the opportunity of extra space when it is available, and at other times, they adapt their stalls to a limited space. Due to the unevenness of Lorong TAR, some vendors operate at the wider portion of the street and have more spatial advantages than those operating at the narrower portion. Based on the January 2009 fieldwork, eight possible types of stalls with different spatial requirements were identified (Fig. 2.81).

From this, I reconfigured different possibilities of how Lorong TAR night market might be arranged using the previously proposed flexible stall modules. The idea is to explore how the night market can be appropriated to each site where it operates as a way of using available spaces more efficiently. As some vendors mentioned, they would like to have bigger stall spaces, thus reconfiguring the layout of the market could be another way where a designer might intervene to accommodate the market from a vendor’s perspective.

Figure 2.81: Diagrams of different sizes of area occupied by a variety of stalls
Thick strip (16 meters wide)

As this is the widest portion of the street, the possible arrangement could comprise vendors that require larger spaces (Fig. 2.82). For Lorong TAR night market, I found that a larger space is suitable for vendors who sell more substantial meals and food that require both a preparation area and an eating area. Another type of vendor that could utilise more space is a clothing vendor, where they can add a makeshift fitting room for customers. In the first reconfiguration, two rows of food stalls are arranged, with an eating area in the extended frontage. This positioning would create a wider walking area for visitors while at the same time allow the activity of sitting and eating visible to the public. With this layout, vendors might require more tables and chairs for their customers.

In the second reconfiguration, vendors can opt to use the extra spaces behind them as their preparation area or eating area. This layout separates the movement of visitors in the walking lane from the activities of sitting and eating. In the third reconfiguration, the clothing stalls are arranged with the possibility of vendors creating a makeshift fitting room from the extended shade panels. There are currently no fitting rooms available at night markets and visitors have to try on the clothes that they want to buy over the clothes that they are wearing. The idea of having a fitting room would also be functional for Muslim women who want to try on head scarves in private. A small makeshift space could even be utilised as a temporary prayer space for Muslim vendors.

Although the drawings illustrate a cluster of vendors of similar spatial types, for instance food stalls with a front eating space and food stalls with a back eating space, the layout of the actual market does not have to be clustered specifically in this way. One vendor might want to have the eating area at the front of his stall, while another next to him might prefer having more space at the back. This kind of flexibility should be anticipated and allowed because this quality of unevenness in the layout contributes to the market’s informal atmosphere. The overall zoning of food
and drink stalls on one side and clothing and accessories on the other side, which has been stipulated by the vendor association, is well reasoned. This is because of the nature of how the products are prepared and sold, where the preparation of food produces aromas, smoke, and spillage that could damage the conditions of the non-food products. Many visitors tend to slow down and stop to eat their food purchase, or to browse at the products sold at the stalls. This results in a very interesting spatial choreography of pedestrian flows and pauses.

Figure 2.82: Configurations of food stalls and clothing stalls at the widest portion of the street
Medium strip (11 meters wide)

This 11-meter wide street portion might be more suitable for a combination of stalls of different sizes (Fig. 2.83). In the first reconfiguration, clothing stalls were arranged with smaller accessories stalls. The second reconfiguration is the combination of clothing stalls with cart vendors. Cart vendors require smaller spaces, and locating them in this portion of the street can still allow an ample walking lane of about three- to four-meters wide. The third reconfiguration combines food stalls with vendors who sell drinks and finger food. Vendors selling drinks and finger food also do not require a lot of space compared to the main meal food vendors.

Figure 2.83: Layout options that combine clothing/accessories stalls, finger food/drink stalls and cart vendors
Narrow strip (8 meters wide)

The narrowest portion of Lorong TAR is approximately 8 meters wide (Fig. 2.84). For this stretch of the street, only vendors that require less space might be able to operate to ensure that there would be ample space for the crowds of visitors to pass through. However, having spaces that are too wide or too comfortable might erase some of the market’s chaotic qualities; hence, there has to be some degree of choice and flexibility in how the vendors might arrange their stalls. The first reconfiguration arranges small stalls near each other, like those selling finger food and drinks, and accessories stalls. The second reconfiguration tested allocating lots for small stalls and cart vendors.

Figure 2.84: Smaller stalls and cart vendors at the narrower part of the street
Reflections

The collective operations of vendors at temporary night markets differentiate it from individual roadside vendors. In the market reconfiguration strategies, I found that the rearrangement and re-design of stalls can be one of the ways to solve the issues of limited space. This is one of the advantages of accommodating stalls that are temporary and mobile. Through these initial design exercises, the variations of vendors, their space utilisations and ways of operation become more apparent. Standardising one stall to fit all, as in the proposed stall module, may not be ideal because it assumes stall spaces are used the same way when they are clearly not. Reconfiguring the stalls into the different portions of the street is like fitting pieces into a puzzle. Interestingly, these puzzle pieces are not all the same size, hence requiring rearrangements to produce the most optimum fit.

This reflects back to the notions of the simultaneous existence of order and disorder and the spatial complexity found in informal Asian spaces as contended by Lang (2003) and Edensor (1998). Attempting to find optimum fit of the stalls with more efficiency may erase some of the very qualities essential to the night market’s identity. By providing less congestion and a more organised layout of stall types and similar product vendors, I may have jeopardised some of the market’s unique richness by making it too predictable. However, the experience of Lorong TAR night market, through the addition of activity spaces for eating and trying on clothes and places to sit and rest, may also result in visitors staying longer. This may in turn allow vendors to sell greater quantities as well as extending visitor experiences. Since food is the main attraction at Lorong TAR night market, in the next proposition I tested how the market layout could be reconfigured based on food as a cultural experience.
2.8 DESIGN PROPOSITION: THEMATIC MARKET LAYOUT

Most of the products sold at Lorong TAR night market exhibit the diverse food culture of Malaysia. Food is one source of cultural richness, as recipes may have rooted from different cultural backgrounds and are adapted to local ways of doing things, as demonstrated in the nasi lemak mapping projects. Also I found it fascinating to observe a vendor preparing food using traditional methods like grilling the bamboo-skewered chicken on fire and coal next to a vendor who uses a gas oven to bake pizza.

At Lorong TAR night market, two food crafts that I examined were the ways that certain foods were wrapped and assembled using a combination of natural and artificial materials. For example, at the night market, I could find nasi lemak wrapped in banana leaves and brown paper (Fig. 2.85). Another traditional food otak-otak, a spiced fish mousse grilled in coconut leaves, is sealed with toothpicks (Fig. 2.86). The packaging of food in this manner reveals the vendors’ efforts to retain some essence of tradition in their business, without subjecting to a kind of “staged” culture that is often found at some tourist attractions.

Sandercock (1998) makes a compelling argument of how cities and cultures have to come to terms with differences and the processes of culture as ways of producing cultural diversity. Essentially, the intertwining of old and new products, as well as vernacular and more modern practices, contribute to the richness of the markets. Even if in the future vendors opt to use artificial packaging materials that may be cheaper and more readily available compared to natural materials like coconut leaves and banana leaves, this does not mean the end of food as culture. Rather, it is a part of the cultural process of adapting food traditions to society’s progress in different ways as conveyed by Cohen (1993).

The next proposition examines the reconfiguration of the market layout at a greater scale. The rearrangement of the stall zones is undertaken to test ways of enhancing visitor experience, through referring back to Massey’s idea that places are trajectories of other places and from recognising the different geographical origins of food.
Figure 2.85: *Nasi lemak* in packed in banana leaves and brown wax paper (Zakariya, 2009)

Figure 2.86: Spiced fish mouse called *otak-otak* grilled in coconut leaves (Zakariya, 2009)
The current market is laid out generally into two zones: food and drink on one side of the street, and clothes and merchandise on the other side. The programming of this layout is not rigid, as the vendor organisation that organises the market recognises that not all vendors will be able to fit into their designated zones. Hence visitors are bound to encounter some clothing stalls in between the food stalls. The aim of this esquisse was to test how the market layout might be conceptually programmed to reveal the cultural themes of its products, as an alternative to designing cultural streetscape. The three layouts are described, then collectively reflected upon at the end of this section.

**Layout 1: large-scale geography**

This first layout is arranged according to the geographical layout of Malaysia, such as north, south, east and west of the country (Fig. 2.87). Foods that have more fusion, like the Malaysian burger and pizza, is placed in the middle. The aim is to get visitors to experience walking through the night market according to foods from different regions, similar to experiencing a theme park but in a less obvious setting. In a way, if visitors are not able to travel to these different regions, they can at least get a momentary experience of the range of food that they might be able to find.

![Figure 2.87: Market layout according to possible geographical origins of food](image)
Layout 2: small-scale geography

The second layout is arranged according to the similar geographical origins of food, but in smaller clusters (Fig. 2.88). In this proposition, visitors would be able to find a cluster of food from different regions near each entry and exit points of Lorong TAR night market. Different from Layout 1, this cluster arrangement would allow visitors to experience a range of Malaysian regional food but within shorter distances. The risk of having this kind of layout is that it might take on the qualities of a shopping mall food courts, where visitors only have to visit one area to get a taste of the whole market.

Figure 2.88: Market layout according to clusters of regional food
Layout 3: combo-meals

The third layout is an arrangement of stalls into food groups to allow visitors to create a possible “combo-meal” (Fig. 2.89). In each food combination, or combo-meal cluster, there would be stalls that sell main meals, finger food and drinks. In each apparel combo, there would be a grouping of stalls that sell clothes, scarves and accessories. The other stalls that might not fit into these categories may be located in between or at the junctions of the changing combinations. The different types of combo-meals might also be zoned into dine-in and take-away zones according to the different street widths. The dine-in can be located at the wider strip of the street as they might require spaces for visitors to sit and eat, while take-away food can be located at the narrower strip of the street.

Figure 2.89: Market layout according to a combination of food types
Layout 4: generic layout

The existing zoning at the night market requires that the stalls are arranged with food and drinks on one side and clothes and accessories on the other side of the street. In this fourth arrangement, another arrangement of alternating two rows of food stalls with two rows of clothing stalls is tested (Fig. 2.90). The experience of walking through food stalls that are arranged in front of each other might evoke the sense of aroma, sounds and sights for visitors. The alternating arrangement of food and apparel could also give a sense of rhythm to the walking experience.
Reflections

In these layout reconfigurations, I demonstrated a shift from designing a specific street furnishing (the stall) to arranging vendor types into “neighbourhoods.” I started here to open up what it means to design less like a traditional landscape architect and more like an events producer. I examined how different thematic experiences can be curated through using what is already present at the market without having to physically symbolise a specific cultural theme. The night market, as it is, contains a rich source of culture which is primarily offered and experienced through its food products. At the scale of visitor and through my own visits, the richness of the experience is enhanced through the ambiance and overall atmosphere of the market. Multiple senses are stimulated by the visual complexity, the humming sounds and the rich smells when walking and participating in market activities.

In the different thematic arrangements, I found that they could offer an alternative experience of night markets, not only to foreign tourists but also to local visitors. While night markets are not entirely self-organising systems, if I intervene to curate them, might I also jeopardise their spontaneity and coincidental juxtaposition and dynamic spatial qualities?

In addition, while I might able to identify some foods by its region, there are foods that are difficult for me to categorise as belonging to specific regions, similar to how complex a simple nasi lemak is. The adaptations and fusion in foods have resulted over time, and this makes categorisation by region difficult. This brings me back to thinking about the nasi lemak in Melbourne which has a lot of Malaysian characteristics but undoubtedly is influenced by different interpretations. Nonetheless, using a geographical layout as a theme could reveal opportunities for new business ideas, or even new thematic concepts, for instance, grouping the food according to their palates - spicy, sweet and others. By thinking about designing through the acts of arranging or choreographing, rather than changing the market’s appearance, I have become aware that the role of a designer might
also include curating an experience. The different design propositions - changing
the configuration of the stall, rearranging the stalls, and rearranging the layout
of the night market into “neighbourhoods” - would not have been a part of the
design process without the earlier propositions that informed me of how the market
operates, particularly at shifting scales.

In *Elasti(c)ity: Rediscovering the Night Market as an Itinerant Urban Space* (Zakariya
and Ware, 2010a), I discussed the richness and complexities of Lorong TAR night
market through demonstrating material and immaterial structures that enable the
market to operate, as discussed in this section. The role of temporary markets in the
city is important, as it acts as a social space, commercial space and cultural space.
At the same time, it is vital to consider the different ways that a landscape architect
can engage with the night market, which were demonstrated through the stall scale
and street scale design propositions.

However, if Lorong TAR undergoes major changes as the city changes or needs to
be moved to another part of the city, where might this night market be relocated?
While some infrastructures that support the operation of Lorong TAR night market
have been identified in this chapter, there is still a need to identify other forms of
infrastructure to accommodate the relocation of markets. In the next section, I shift
scales again by testing relocation strategies for temporary markets at an urban fabric
scale, through the identification of hard and soft infrastructures.
2.9 MAKING A MARKET WORK: HARD AND SOFT INFRASTRUCTURES

Hard infrastructure

In the previous sections, some physical infrastructures that enable Lorong TAR night market to operate are identified. For instance, in a site such as a street or parking lot, availability of other facilities around the site like shopping complexes, public toilets and prayer rooms is vital; and micro infrastructures such as electrical plug points, street lights and rubbish bins are also necessary. Hard infrastructures are defined generally as the provision of basic utilities such as water, gas, electricity, and transportation networks that includes roads and bridges, community facilities and public buildings (Casey, 2005; Kumar, 2005). These types of infrastructures are often necessary in determining how certain spaces might operate and are utilised. The physical infrastructures that Lorong TAR night market relies upon are a kind of hard infrastructure.

Archigram has made reference to the ‘hardware and software relationship’ (Cook and Archigram, 1999; p.76), where hardware refers to physical components like monuments, walls, architecture, materials and so forth. Software refers to parts, which are invisible like programmes, instructions and information. Terms such as hardware and software are often associated with the system of computers. It is very relevant in using these as analogies especially in relation to the city, in understanding how the city also operates as a system.

*The MESH Book: Landscape/Infrastructure* (Raxworthy and Blood, 2004) discusses how different types of infrastructures play a role in shaping a place, and how it might function. If a designer wanted to relocate a night market, what types of infrastructures are needed to enable the market’s operation? Raxworthy and Blood note how infrastructures are instrumental to the city, while Poole (2004) acknowledges “infrastructure to provide basic and essential component necessary to
accommodate congregated living” (p.19). Hood (2004) further suggests how ‘hybrid urban furnishings’ can “accommodate specific activities but are flexible enough to absorb more spontaneous use” (p.30). These ideas result in other interesting questions. How can the infrastructures of the street be adaptable to night markets and possibly other activities? How can designing infrastructures become another approach of accommodating night markets, rather than designing the night market event itself?

Poole identifies three kinds of infrastructures: social, fiscal and formal (pp. 18-49). Social infrastructure is described as infrastructures that provide for people and their activities, which is the space and cultural acceptance of that activity. Fiscal infrastructure is how the potentials of the place can become a catalyst to other new activities or generate economic gains. Formal infrastructure is characterised as attributes, in which other spaces or parts build upon, functioning as a physical framework for operation.

Hood suggests the idea of a ‘hybrid landscape’ that can be produced by “merging two or more landscape types to facilitate practices not commonly found in a single type” (p. 146). The idea behind this is for landscape, or spaces, to function better in facilitating activities of everyday life. So, if a night market has to be relocated from its original site of operation, how can other types of public space become hybrid and flexible enough to accommodate temporary market activities, or are hard infrastructures enough to make a market work?
Soft infrastructure

Revisiting the relationship between hardware and software identified by Archigram, if hardware, or hard infrastructures, are the more physical components, what then are the software, or soft infrastructures? In *Invisible Infrastructures*, Ware (2004) refers to policy as an invisible infrastructure. Policy has attributes of being a soft infrastructure because it “shapes the physical form of cities and communities” (p. 122). Casey (2005) writes that while soft infrastructure is intangible, it “involves responses to both the needs of communities, while simultaneously building the capacity of local people and groups to respond to current and future needs” (p.8). Kumar (2005) similarly acknowledges that education, health, tourism are also considered soft infrastructures. In the same way, night markets in Kuala Lumpur do not occur spontaneously without some sort of policy or framework in place that allows them to operate.

Soft infrastructures of temporary markets also include cultural acceptance and social expectations of the market activities by the locals. Not all cultures have night markets and informal micro businesses like those found in Kuala Lumpur and around Malaysia. Temporary markets are familiar, accepted and celebrated places in Malaysia, but maybe not in other parts of the world. For instance, the recognition of night markets in Malaysia, the most common form of temporary markets, as a social and commercial phenomenon contributes to their ability to grow and sustain since their early operations in the late seventies and early eighties. Owing to this socio-cultural acceptance, other forms of temporary markets, such as farmer’s markets, afternoon markets, late night markets and *Ramadhan* markets have also been able to emerge in Malaysia.
2.10 MAPPING HARD AND SOFT INFRASTRUCTURES

The hard infrastructures of Lorong TAR night market include the surrounding facilities and places found near the area (as previously illustrated in Section 2.5). The shopping malls and sites of attraction in the adjacent areas contribute to the number of visitors to the night market. Facilities like parking spaces, public toilets and prayer rooms in the shopping complexes and mosques indirectly function as facilities for the temporary night market. Without borrowing the use of these infrastructures from other places, it would be difficult for Lorong TAR night market to operate because it would require the night market to house its own facilities. The hard infrastructures for Lorong TAR night market at the scale of the city have been described previously, while the hard infrastructures at the scale of the street were identified in Chapter 1. This has resulted in a list of physical criteria, or checklist, to look for when relocating a market (Fig. 2.91).

Hard infrastructures

The scale of the city and the street

The identification of hard infrastructures for a night market (as in Fig. 2.91) resulted from mapping the surrounding context of Lorong TAR night market according to the needs of visitors and vendors informed by the informal interviews. There are certain similar facilities that visitors need. These hard infrastructures start from knowing where the market is located, finding a parking space or walking from the nearest public transportation station, then to finding a public toilet and a prayer room. Since going to the night market might not be the only activity in a visitor’s itinerary, nearby places and activities for visitors were also identified. Before or after visiting Lorong TAR night market, it is common for visitors to go to the shopping complexes and retail shops. There are also those who walk to Dataran Merdeka (Independence Square) for a night picnic with their take-away night market food.
Hard Infrastructures

City Scale:
- Muslim prayer facilities
- Public toilets
- Parking spaces for vendors and visitors
- Surrounding attractions / Hotels / Residential
- Public transportation

Street Scale:
- Electrical plug-points
- Lot markers
- Street lighting
- Structures/tents that can double as armatures
- Rubbish bins

Figure 2.91: A checklist of hard infrastructures for a night market at the city scale and the street scale

Soft infrastructures

In second series of fieldwork in February 2010, an interview was conducted with a representative from the Petty Traders Development and Management Department in the city council of Kuala Lumpur and the president of Vendor Association of Lorong TAR night market. They informed on the process of how night markets are planned and managed. The process and framework are mapped into diagrams to reveal some of the soft infrastructures required for a night market to operate. These are based on my findings about Lorong TAR and other night markets that were discussed with the city council and the vendor association (see Fig. 2.92-2.93).

The scale of the city

The consultative planning process for a night market can either be top-down, where the city council proposes a market to operate to make the city livelier, or bottom-up, where the vendors or community propose a market on a specific site based on public
An important aspect of the Lorong TAR night market is that it is planned collaboratively by the city council and the vendor association. The mayor of Kuala Lumpur generated the initial idea for Lorong TAR night market in 1980s to bring back street life to the city on weekend nights. The city council’s permission encouraged informal micro-businesses to emerge in the form of temporary markets and night markets. Consequently, informal vendors were given the opportunity to create businesses, while the street life in the city on weekend nights was reactivated.

The soft infrastructure, or framework, for Lorong TAR night market includes three levels of process: the individual vendors, the vendor association and supporting services, and the city council (Fig. 2.92). The main committees of the vendor association are also mostly night market vendors. In this process, individual vendors join the vendor association for that particular market site. For instance, a vendor selling drinks at Lorong TAR night market is likely to be a member of Vendor Association of Lorong TAR night market.

Each individual vendor needs to obtain their vending licences directly from the city council. Their stall lot rental is paid to the vendor association because the association is the organisation that manages the running of the market. The vendor association is an important body that mediates the needs of the vendors and the requirements of the city council. The vendor association then submits a proposal for the night market, with the list and number of vendors interested in operating at that location. In this proposal, the association will demonstrate how the night market might be managed. For example, the association will employ a garbage collection service to clean the street after the night market closes. For a night market that operates at a neighbourhood scale, the vendor association will collaborate with the neighbourhood-watch and community associations for their cooperation in supporting the night market to operate appropriately in the area. The proposal also includes sites where the vendor association thinks is the most suitable. The criteria for the selection of sites are based on the availability of hard infrastructures, street or parking lots ample enough for market to operate, accessibility and familiarity of the site to potential visitors.
This proposal is submitted to the city council. At the level of the city council, the proposal is evaluated based on how the traffic flows might change because of the market, how the market might affect the surrounding business premises and ways to mitigate possible complaints from the public. The Petty Traders department coordinates a meeting with other relevant departments in the city council, like the Department of Transportation, the Department of Safety and Enforcement and the Branch Office of the proposed market site. With feedbacks and recommendations, the proposal for a night market is granted an approval or disapproval. Upon approval, the city council will formally designate a site for the operation of the night market by displaying a signboard to inform the public that a night market will operate on a certain day, for specific times. For instance, Lorong TAR night market is approved to operate every Saturday, from 6 pm to 12 midnight. The city council also demarcates the space for each stall, based on the numbers of vendors participating in the night market, by painting the lot markers, as illustrated in Chapter 1. The soft infrastructure for this process is demonstrated in Figure 2.93.
Figure 2.93: Soft infrastructure for night market
As Lorong TAR night market continues to develop and increase visitor numbers including locals and tourists, the city council recognises this potential by further accommodating the night market to operate. This is the stage of development where night markets might be formalised further, such as through the standardisation of stalls and improvements of paving materials for the street; and the provision of micro-infrastructures such as electrical plug points to replace the use of battery or fuel-operated mobile generators.

This process reveals that the planning and development of night markets is conducted through different levels by different organisations, as illustrated in the diagram, and that the process is not as simple as designing the street where the market might operate. This is a compelling finding because this soft infrastructure shows how accommodating a night market is just as important as providing other commercial and public space uses. The presence of this structure in the city’s policy has supported night markets to continue to be planned and developed around Kuala Lumpur.

In addition, a particular set of systems enables the vendors to operate at the night market. The diagram on the following page demonstrates how the soft infrastructure is further broken down into smaller frameworks (Fig. 2.94). By breaking down the systems of Lorong TAR night market into its hard and soft infrastructural components, it is visible that there are many other important factors that contribute to the operation of the night market. Similar to how I unpacked the systems of a plate of nasi lemak earlier in this chapter, a night market vendor would not have been able to formally set up a stall and sell products at the night market without the presence of these infrastructures. Could providing hard and soft infrastructures for a night market then become another design approach? This relationship is further discussed through my journeys with a night market vendor, and later tested in the design propositions towards the end of this chapter.
The scale of the street and the stall

Utilising Lorong TAR night market as an example (Fig. 2.94), the rental for one stall includes four different kinds of fees: the space rental which is paid to the vendor association, the purchase of standardised stall from the vendor association, fees for the use of electrical plug points and fees for the garbage collection service. The stall lot at this night market cost MYR 52.00 (~AUD 17.00) for one year, paid to the vendor association; while each vendor license costs MYR 26.00 (~AUD 8.00) for one year, paid to the city council. The vendor would then purchase a standardised stall with the colour theme and logo customised by the city council and the vendor association, and this costs around MYR 235.00 (~AUD 73.00) per stall. While the formal stall is used as the main stall, some vendors use additional un-standardised stalls behind this main stall. Then, for use of the electrical plug points provided by the city council, vendors at Lorong TAR night market are charged MYR 2.00 (~AUD 0.60) for the first light bulb, and MYR 1.00 for each subsequent light bulb. This fee is monitored and collected weekly during the night market by a representative from another association and paid to the city. As for the garbage collection services, vendors are required to pay about MYR 4.00 (~AUD 1.20) for each of their stalls. At one night market, it is possible for a vendor to have more that one stall in different lots in the market. For example, Vendor J whom I followed has a cake stall and a kaftan (one-piece cotton dress for women) stall. According to the vendor association, certain markets include the fees for garbage collection service or electrical plug points into the fees for stall rentals. This depends on how each vendor association manages their night market. Additionally, for a vendor who sublets part of his stall space to other casual vendors, then a sub-system or agreement exists between the main vendor and the casual vendor.
Figure 2.94: System of infrastructures for a night market stall
Reflections

The findings on hard and soft infrastructures for night markets are remarkably revealing as they show a larger system in which the temporary market operates. What looks like a spontaneous, informal assemblage of temporary vendors selling products like food and clothes in improvised stalls is actually supported by the city council’s policy and collaborative processes between the councils and the vendors, vendor association and support services. The presence of soft infrastructure is as equally as important as the provision of hard infrastructure because without the relationship between the two, the markets might not have been able to operate as part of the city as they do now (Pool, 2004; Raxworthy and Blood, 2004; Ware, 2004; Kumar 2005). With the city council policy in place, and the collaboration between the different organisations has enabled the markets to operate with infrastructural supports. For instance, the inclusion of temporary markets and informal businesses in the city council’s policy had allowed markets to have specific sites where they can operate and the support of infrastructures and services. However, it is important to note that a policy that is monolithic and too controlling in an attempt to standardise marketplace could also be detrimental to the informality and richness of these night markets.

While this is significant to the planning and management of a night market collectively, what about the soft and hard infrastructures required for each individual vendor? What can be revealed from understanding how a particular vendor travels to different markets, which could further inform of tactics that might be employed in relocating or designing for a market?

Following the examination of formal policy structures, I continued to examine the night market, but I wanted to shift scales and perspectives. So I decided I would examine the journey of a vendor by following and tracking him to his five market sites in and around Kuala Lumpur, as how I tracked the nasi lemak in Melbourne.
2.11  FOLLOWING AS A WAY OF EXPLORING, MAPPING AND CONNECTING

In the *Melbourne Nasi Lemak Map* project that was discussed in Chapter 1, finding places that sell *nasi lemak* and mapping them was a technique that was employed to explore the city. The project reveals different parts of Melbourne that I have not visited, while at the same time, it reveals different variations of the rice dish. Artists like Sophie Calle, the Situationist and the Stalker (as discussed in first chapter), as well as other designers have employed modes of exploring and following certain objects, people or routes and use their personal approaches and the experiences of others to map the city (Helsel, 2004; Mogel and Bhagat, 2010; Ware, 2010).

A similar idea is demonstrated in a mapping project called *Turn Left at Albuquerque* by Ware (2010), where she explores ‘diverse and personal approaches to mapping’ as a way of ‘challenging the reductive propensity of conventional architectural representation and master planning’. Ware tracked, photographed and mapped an iconic religious symbol in Albuquerque, *Our Lady of Guadalupe* or Mary (Fig. 2.95). This map reveals Albuquerque as quoted by Ware ‘a very richly textured place’.

Another cartographic exercise carried out by the Institute of Applied Autonomy in New York that has this similar revealing nature is *Routes of Least Surveillance* (Mogel and Bhagat, 2010). This map shows the experiences and routes taken by five different people, according to the location of CCTVs that are on the streets and buildings in the New York City (Fig. 2.96). Although the map is drawn in a less formal way using simple graphics and icons, the information it reveals is powerful. In one way, it exposes how the city is controlled and monitored by authorities. In another instance, the map demonstrates how different people negotiate with the systems of surveillance through the personal routes they took.
Both mapping activities reveal different ways in which places are improvised, negotiated and connected. This is crucial as a designer to unpack the complexities and richness of place in order to know the qualities that already exist. For designers, there is often a tendency to “add on things” to a site, as in my propositions in Chapter 1, due to the lack of understanding of the different qualities that the site already possesses. From knowing other ways that places are utilised, enhanced, appropriated or even ignored, designers can then decide how and where to act. In the following section, I had the opportunity to follow and track a night market vendor identified as Vendor J for five days. Through tracking his journey as a vendor, I map the extensive system of the night markets by expanding them beyond their sites of operation.

Figure 2.95: Turn Left at Albuqurque by SueAnne Ware (Ware, 2010)
Figure 2.96: Routes of Least Surveillance by Institute of Applied Autonomy (Mogel and Bhagat, 2010)
Meeting Vendor J

In the February 2010 fieldwork, I met Vendor J, one of Lorong TAR night market’s vendors who sells cakes and kaftans. My acquaintance with Vendor J was made through the interview with the representative from the Petty Traders Development and Management Department at Kuala Lumpur City Hall, and then through the president of Vendor Association of Lorong TAR Night Market. They act as the “gatekeepers” for me to gain access into doing this particular mapping project (Holloway, Brown et al., 2010). I expressed my interest about following a night market vendor to his different market sites of operation, as I needed to get a deeper understanding on how temporary vendors adapt their stalls to different settings. As marketplaces such as Lorong TAR depend highly on the temporary occupation of space and mobility, I wanted to investigate what sort of design strategies might be suitable to accommodate the programs of a temporary market under various conditions.

The president of the association supported my interest, and introduced me to Vendor J, who volunteered to allow me to follow him for several days. Vendor J sells cakes and kaftans, and operates at seven different temporary markets in one week. This means that he vends at different locations every evening. I informed Vendor J that my research would not interfere with his daily routines because these are exactly the activities that I wanted to observe and document. My plan was to follow behind him in a different car, go to all of the places that he goes to in his market journeys, while observing and documenting his activities at the market, and engage him in conversations about his practice. I was like a detective, as in one of Sophie Calle’s work where she had her mother hire a detective to follow her and document her activities (Hand, 2005). I was equipped with my own kit of parts: GPS tracking tool, a camera and a notebook (Fig. 2.97).

8 Research ethics have been applied and approved for all studies of this nature throughout the PhD.
Figure 2.97: My kit of parts as the night market vendor tracker (Zakariya, 2010)
Tracking Vendor J to Lorong TAR night market

On tracking Vendor J on his journey to Lorong TAR night market (Fig. 2.98), I found a network of other places that become a part of Vendor J’s night market system, which is the connection between the cakes and fish crackers that he sells at his stall, and the distribution centres of these products. These suppliers not only supply products to Vendor J but possibly to other vendors as well. While most food products at the night market are cooked there and then, ready-made products like the cakes and crackers that Vendor J sells are sourced from other places and then resold at his stall. This mapping reveals how an informal market stall like Vendor J’s is a part of this larger system.

The sequence of Vendor J’s activities to the night market was as follows:

9.30 am: Departed from Vendor J’s home in Selayang, with his night market van that includes his products and kit of parts, and two of his children

9.36 am: Sent his children to a weekend tutorial at another neighbourhood

9.40 am: Picked up his stall assistant from a neighbourhood near the area

9.45 am: Stopped for morning tea at a cafe nearby

10.18 am: Continued the journey

10.25 am: Stopped at Selayang Wholesale Market to pick up several packs of fish crackers from a wholesaler

10.41 am: Stopped at a wholesale bakery located in Jinjang to pick up some cakes (marble cakes, chiffon rolls, etc.)

11.20 am: Stopped at a cake factory also in Jinjang to pick up more cakes (banana breads, moist chocolate cakes, etc.)

12.05 pm: Arrive at Lorong TAR night market site
Figure 2.98: Map of Vendor J's Journey from home to Lorong TAR night market
Vendor J sets up his stalls

**The cake stall**

Arriving at Lorong TAR, Vendor J started to set up his cake stall (Fig. 2.99). From mapping the process of how Vendor J arrives at the market and setting up his stalls, I was able to identify his kit of parts and how they are utilised to create his stall space. Foldable, mobile and modular components are important to Vendor J because essentially all of his kit of parts and products need to fit inside his van (Fig. 2.100a-b). This was an additional point when I realised that when designing a stall, mobility and modularity must be considered. The flow of Vendor J’s process in setting up his cake stall also illustrates that parking spaces for vendors need to be provided for vendors that cannot park their vehicles behind their stall, like Vendor J. This means that extra parking spaces for vendors need to be designated if there is not enough space behind the market stalls.

Figure 2.99: Locations of Vendor J’s stalls and parking
Figure 2.100a: Vendor J’s van and kit of parts that include foldable stalls and tables, containers of props and boxes of merchandise to sell (Zakariya, 2010)

Figure 2.100b: Mapping vendor’s detachable kit of parts, 2010
Vendor J and his assistant then unloaded their other stall tent first (Fig. 2.101). During this time, his van was still parked next to the stall lot. The step-by-step installation process is as follows:

Step 1: Park van temporarily near the stall lot
Step 2: Unload the tent from van
Step 3: Open the tent that is approximate 3.6 x 2.4 meter (two people)
Step 4: Set up foldable table footing and unload the packs of fish crackers
Step 5: Arrange the plywood table top panels onto the table footing
Step 6: Unload the stacks of crates filled with cakes (two people)
Step 7: Unload two containers filled with plastic bags, coins, light bulbs, cords, etc. and place them under the tables
Step 8: Cover table with table mats
Step 9: Arrange cakes according to the types - banana cakes on the far end, followed by cheese cakes, marble cakes, etc. Cakes are arranged in rows and the same cakes are stacked on top of each other
Step 10: While arranging, some customers are already coming to purchase the cakes
Step 11: Unused crates are converted into a seat, while crates still filled with cakes are stored under the table
Step 12: Plug-in lighting to nearest electrical plug points

It was also interesting to see how Vendor J arranged the cakes that he bought from the wholesale bakery and cake factory (Fig. 2.102). The cakes did not have any labels on them. They were arranged according to their types and stacked on top of each other. If I had not known that the cakes were sourced from a wholesaler and a factory, I would have thought that they were homemade.
Figure 2.101: Setting up the cake stall (Zakariya, 2010)
Figure 2.102: Cakes sold by Vendor J (Zakariya, 2010)
The kaftan stall

While Vendor J was setting up the cake stall, his assistant was already arranging the products at the kaftan stall. The kaftan stall was formed using three tents: a wider tent (3.6 x 2.4 metres) and two smaller tents (1.8 x 1.8 metres). Bought from a wholesaler at Jalan Masjid India, the kaftans are hung around the three sides of the stalls on clothing hangers that attach to the frames of the stall. This is one of the ways that stall structures are used as armatures for vending. A clear plastic cover is then partially wrapped around the stall, which creates some kind of wall or separation between the adjacent stalls. A table is placed in the middle where stacks of wrapped kaftans in plastic bags are arranged. On one side of the kaftan stall is a food stall selling fried chickens, while on the other side is a stall selling women’s clothing. (Fig. 2.103-2.104).

Although generally the layout for Lorong TAR night market has been loosely zoned with food on one side and merchandise on the other side, at times clothing stalls like Vendor J’s kaftan stall are placed next to food stalls. This condition has required Vendor J to devise makeshift screens to protect the kaftans from the fried chicken stall next to it. While having a mix of different stall types next to each other can create variety to the market experience, it is still practical to have different zones or gaps between food stalls and clothing stalls as a way of keeping some standard of quality of night market products and general hygiene. However, due to the varying types of vendors, it can be expected that not all stalls will be able to fit in specific zones or categories. In return, this jumbled bricolage adds to the richness of the night market atmosphere.
Figure 2.103: Plan of adjacencies of Vendor J’s kaftan stall

Figure 2.104: Images of the kaftan stall (Zakariya, 2010)
Mapping Vendor J’s weekly schedule

Other than operating at Lorong TAR night market every Saturday, Vendor J operates his stalls at six other locations (Fig. 2.105).

Saturday: Lorong TAR night market, Kuala Lumpur
Sunday: Bazarena Shah Alam day market, Shah Alam
Monday: Keramat night market, Kuala Lumpur
Tuesday: Taman Dato’ Senu night market, Kuala Lumpur
Wednesday: Bandar Tasik Selatan night market, Kuala Lumpur
Thursday: Jalan Kuching night market, Kuala Lumpur
Friday: Bandar Baru Sentul night market, Kuala Lumpur

I had the opportunity to follow Vendor J to five of his seven market locations. Vendor J does not sell both cakes and kaftans at all night markets. For example, at a stadium market called Bazarena Shah Alam on Sundays, he only opens up his kaftan stall. At Keramat night market on Mondays, he only sells cakes. Since Lorong TAR is the only market where the city council has standardised the use of similar stall design, Vendor J uses his Lorong TAR night market stall at the other market sites. I started to think that if the vendor associations for the other market sites start to also standardise the stall design, would Vendor J then have to buy different stalls for each market, or can there be a more flexible design to make the stalls interchangeable? How does he utilise his stall differently in different contexts at the different sites? In the next section, I examine the operations of Vendor J at two of his night market sites: Jalan Kuching night market on Thursdays, and Keramat night market on Mondays.
Figure 2.105: Vendor J’s weekly market schedule map, 2010
Jalan Kuching night market (Thursday)

Jalan Kuching night market is located about 10 km from Kuala Lumpur city centre, where Vendor J conducts business from his two stalls. The immediate surroundings of this night market is four-storey low-cost flats, making it a neighbourhood night market (Fig. 2.106-2.107). Every Thursday, the use of this road for vehicular use is suspended from 6 pm to 12 am for the night market operation. Vendor J mentioned that the night marked used to operate inside the perimeter of the residential areas. It was then relocated to the current street because of complaints from the residents about traffic congestion. This incident is similar to how Lorong TAR night market was relocated to the back lane.

The stalls at this night market are not standardised like the ones in Lorong TAR. However, this night market is fitted out with micro infrastructures such as lot markers and electrical plug-points. At this night market, Vendor J parked his van behind his cake stall, as there is an empty space of lawn in front of the adjoining flats. For visitors like us, we had to park our car by the roadside before entering the market at either end. There is also small neighbourhood Muslim prayer facility located near the market, where toilets are also provided. (Fig. 2.108)

Since the night market operates on the street, there are only two rows of stalls arranged on both sides, similar to the Lorong TAR night market. The rows of stalls are loosely arranged in zones, such as food, clothing, vegetables, fish and meat. I could see that there are clothing stalls placed inbetween food stalls. For example, Vendor J’s cake stall is located near the entrance of the night market, where most of the food stalls are located. His kaftan stall is located more towards the end, where the fruits, vegetables, and clothes stalls are located.

Due to the smaller vending spaces at this market, Vendor J only used one tent for his kaftan stall. His stall was set-up with the assistance of his two casual assistants. On one of the days that it rained, Vendor J had to wrap three sides of his kaftan stall with extra tarpaulins to create walls. He used large paper clips to attach the tarpaulins to his kaftan stall. (Fig. 2.109)
Vendor J has a wider stall space for his cake stall because there is an open lawn and a sidewalk in front of the vacant flats. He appropriated the lawn as his parking space, and then put his cake crates on the sidewalk (Fig. 2.110). At this stall, another casual assistant assisted him. Since the flats behind the night market are currently vacant, Vendor J took advantage of the open space to park his car. However, if the flats become occupied, then Vendor J would probably have to park on the sidewalk parallel to his cake stall. This would then push the stalls further into the market space and in effect would change the width of the walking lane for visitors. Again, the availability of parking spaces for vendors is shown to have an effect on how the spaces at the night market be configured and reconfigured.
Figure 2.107: Surrounding context of Jalan Kuching night market (Zakariya, 2010)
Jalan Kuching is a major road connecting North of Kuala Lumpur to the city centre. The night market is located on a secondary road parallel to Jalan Kuching.

Figure 2.108: Hard infrastructures for Jalan Kuching night market
Night market area, vendors’ parking area, visitors’ parking area, prayer space with toilets
Figure 2.109: Vendor J made adjustments to his stall during rain (Zakariya, 2010)

Figure 2.110: At the cake stall, Vendor J appropriated the open space in front of the flats as his parking space, and the sidewalk as extra space to put some of his containers (Zakariya, 2010)
**Keramat night market (Monday)**

Keramat is a city-fringe suburb also located about 10 km away from Kuala Lumpur city centre. Keramat night market operates in a parking lot that is surrounded by four-storey commercial buildings, while houses and apartments surround the area. Nearby facilities are a mosque, LRT station and a petrol station located within walking distance of 500 metres from the night market location. Similar to Jalan Kuching night market, Keramat night market is a neighbourhood night market. (Fig. 2.111)

Similar to Jalan Kuching night market, this night market has not yet been standardised and Vendor J is free to use the tents that he already has. However, at Keramat night market, Vendor J has to use his mobile generators since there is no electrical power point provided. At this market, Vendor J only operates his cake stall and parks his van behind his stall. The other stalls adjacent and opposite to Vendor J’s cake stall separate stalls selling, dairy products and cooked food stalls selling fish satay fried fritters, chicken rice, grilled chicken and noodle soup (Fig. 2.112). While sitting and talking to Vendor J that evening, the heat drifts from the other stalls that cooked and fried food on site onto his stalls. Vendor J recommended that perhaps the vendor association for Keramat night market could separate stalls that sell food that need to be cooked and fried at the market to a different section from those vendors like him who sell ready-made food. This is another types of sub-zoning of food that I have not thought of before.

Vendor J parked his van behind his stall. As most other vendors also park their vehicles behind their stall, some of the walking lanes at the night market become narrow (Fig. 2.113). For visitors, finding a space to park was difficult in the evening around 5 pm because, most of the car parks were still occupied with vans/cars of people who worked at the commercial buildings. Night market vendors also occupied the central parking lot.
Figure 2.111: Location map of Keramat night market, its context and hard infrastructures

Figure 2.112: Adjacencies of Vendor J’s cake stall at Keramat night market
Figure 2.113: Plan and cross-sections of stall layout
Figure 2.114: Cross-section of stall positions at Keramat night market
Nevertheless, the location of the night market at the central parking lot does not seem to be too much of an obstruction to the retail shops, cafes and offices surrounding it. I noticed that this is because there is two-way road that separates the front of the buildings with the central parking lot; thus the night market does not block the entrances of the shops, cafes and offices. This is also one of the advantages of Keramat night market, as there are already potential customers from the commercial buildings surrounding it. However, people working and visiting this area on Mondays have to anticipate that the night market takes over the parking lot making it difficult to do other business there.

The layout of stalls at Keramat night market has a quality of unevenness, which gives a “chaotic” and “informal” feel to the market. Although lot markers are provided, vendor stalls still encroach beyond the lots because they can park their vehicles behind their stalls. This pushes the stalls forward, making the walking lanes narrower at different parts (Fig. 2.114). However, when the walking lanes become too narrow, it is difficult for visitors to pass through, especially when the market is full of people in its peak hours at about 7 to 8 pm.

As Vendor J only operates the cake stall, at Keramat night market, he did not require extra assistants to operate his kaftan stall as in his other markets. According to Vendor J, the stocks of products that he usually brings to the market are usually enough for each night. On occasions if the products were sold out earlier than expected, he would close his stall earlier than usual. I did not have the opportunity to document Vendor J packing up for the closing of the market operation, but as informed by him, he organises his products in the containers and the crates, arranges them in the van, uninstalls his stall tents and negotiates his way out of the market, as other peer vendors would also be doing the same.
Reflections

Vendor J’s Journey Map reveals a network of systems that exist as part of Vendor J’s night market operation. The network includes points of distribution where he sourced his products before selling them at the night market. Through connecting the market at the larger scale, the map reveals how Lorong TAR night market is connected to the systems of the city. Similar to the dynamic organisation of Tsukiji fish market as analysed by Bestor (2004), Lorong TAR night market is found to be driven by each vendors’ operation.

For Vendor J, his night market products are purchased from manufacturers and suppliers, and then sold to the customers at the night market. The products become part of the elements that give the night market its informality and characters through the different ways that vendors arrange them. For instance, Vendor J hung some *kaftans* around the tent and some stacked in plastic bags on the table, rather than using clothing rack and shelves. He also stacked his cake products on top of one another, and the assortment of the different cakes on the table created a colourful visual image.

*It was interesting for me to note how the products that have been mass-produced by a wholesaler and a factory took on a more “home-made” look when Vendor J sells them at the night market; particularly because the cakes had no labels on them and they were arranged and stacked on the table without any shelving or storage units.*

This takes me back to the *nasi lemak* mapping projects that I did earlier and the positions contended by Massey about the multiple identities of place, and the relationship between the local and the global. In parallel to this, Sandercock (1998) discusses the emerging global and multicultural cities, which now eleven years after *Towards Cosmpolis*, are typical phenomena of major cities in the world. Because cities are becoming more multicultural than before as a process and results of movement of people and products, it would be problematic for places
to be distinguished between its local or global qualities. What is important is to acknowledge how the cultural practices at the markets are a part of a process and a product of social process (Cohen, 1993).

From observing Vendor J at multiple scales on how he appropriated his stalls and the market space, where he sourced his products and how he arranged them at his stalls, the qualities of markets are found to be contributed by these activities, and not just how the stalls look. Given behind-the-scene experience of Vendor J’s nature of operations, I was also exposed to the different ways that ordinary night markets are facilitated by a larger system. When sites are approached as open rather than enclosed within its political boundaries, the events and occurrences of the sites are allowed to be suspended outwards, creating connections and links to other places, rather than being contained (Mathur and da Cunha, 2006). The map reveals the role of transportation and mobility, which contributes to the accessibility, temporality and travelling nature of the night market. Then at a finer scale of the street the mobility of the vendors also has an affect on how the market layout takes shape. As demonstrated in the three night market sites where Vendor J operated – Lorong TAR, Jalan Kuching and Keramat night markets – the locations where Vendor J parked his van affect how his stalls are positioned, and eventually shift the arrangement of the stalls and dictate the widths of the walking lanes.

From these three night markets, I also identified that there is a common need for hard infrastructures like parking spaces for vendors and visitors, Muslim prayer facilities, public toilets and lot markers to support market operations. The finding of hard infrastructures was pivotal because it informs strategies of planning and relocating markets in different contexts. Hard infrastructures for markets are necessary in determining how and where they might operate (Raxworthy and Blood, 2004; Poole, 2004; Casey, 2005; Kumar, 2005).

Temporary market vendors like Vendor J are mobile and change their market locations daily or weekly. They might be operating at a back lane one day, and at
an open parking lot the next day. Vendors require flexible, mobile and modular kit of parts because they have to negotiate spaces and adjacencies at their different market locations. At one market, their stalls may stand on a flat street surface; while at another market site, they may have to set up their stalls partially on a sidewalk. Vendors’ kit of parts must also be collapsible or compactable to fit in a van or a small truck. Vendors not only have to store and transport their stalls, products, and kit of parts in their vehicles, but they sometimes need to bring their mobile generators to sites that do not provide electrical plug points. This adaptability and flexibility demonstrate the ingenuity of the vendors by flexibly adapting their stalls to their sites of operation and appropriating the stall sites that they are assigned to maximise their appeal to potential customers. However, there is a limitation to how many things they can transport. This is highly dependent on the space available in their vehicles. I found that breaking down the system of the night market and the system of the vendor into multiple scales of operation has revealed more qualities that I might consider in accommodating temporary markets in different settings.

From following Vendor J to his different market sites, I also discovered how the night market becomes a catalyst for reactivating street life, while at the same time encouraging the growth of other businesses near the area. This is discussed in more depth in the next section.
Temporary markets as a catalyst

While following Vendor J to his Friday night market at Sentul, I discovered how the night market acted as a catalyst to other micro businesses and their surrounding areas. At this night market, Vendor J opens his cake stall. An extra space within his stall lot was sublet to a casual vendor who was starting out his fish satay business (Fig. 2.115). According to Vendor J, the fee is based on a “gentleman’s” agreement, which means however much that the casual vendor can afford to pay. Vendor J sees this gesture as helping out another peer vendor to build a business.

Another interesting relationship that was found is how vendors from the nearby food court came to the night market in the evening to take drink orders while the stall vendors were setting up their stalls. Although there are drink stalls at the night market, the vendors still purchased drinks from the food court vendors because they see it as a way of helping the food court vendors to extend their sales after operation hours. For the night market vendors, they have their share of customers later.

At a different market site, a midnight market in Danau Kota, the similar relationship occurred. Vendors from the nearby food court approached the market vendors to take orders for food and drinks. In my conversations with Mr. K, who was a vendor at the midnight market, he mentioned that the food court became active again after the midnight market started to operate in the area. Mr. K also noticed that other types of businesses emerged from vendors who started to open small business at the night market. For example, there is a vendor that sells fish crackers at the night market that expanded his business by preparing and supplying the fish crackers to other night market vendors. This flow-on effect is similar to how Lorong TAR night market made the back lane into a more active street, and how the retail shops started to create back entrances after the night market operated. The catalyst effects of night markets are illustrated in Figures 2.116.
Figure 2.115: Image and plan diagram of casual fish satay vendor sublet an extra space from Vendor J’s cake stall (Zakariya, 2010)
Figure 2.116: Temporary Market Catalyst Map, 2010
As illustrated in the map, numerous effects of the markets are positive, in ways that they reactivate street life, provide business opportunities to small vendors and create social space for visitors and nearby residents. However, it is important to note that the positive outcomes are balanced with various issues, specifically traffic congestion and the associated garbage removal after the night markets’ operation. The congestion only happens once or twice a week and is foreseeable, which means that the residents of the city or suburb can avoid it if they choose. Garbage can be managed with the provision of ample bins that are accessible to vendors and visitors; or as the Putrajaya night market’s effort of placing make-shift bins in the middle of the walkways to encourage people to dispose their rubbish properly. This is discussed in more details later in this chapter demonstrated through the relocation propositions. While rubbish is often associated with temporary markets, however, its improper disposal maybe more indicative of cultural norm than the implied lack of value that the public has for its streets. In other words, disposing of rubbish after an event or even in the every day operation of a public street, has certain cultural attitudes and tendencies associated with it. It is not necessarily reflective of the public’s values towards their streets.

In addition to the Temporary Market Catalyst Map, I experimented in mapping the catalytic phenomenon of the night market with more tactile materials than the previous drawings. The intention of doing this map was to conceptually demonstrate the process of change and reactions. Effervescent tablets that reacted to the presence of water were used (Fig. 2.117). In this map, the tablets represent the night market stalls, while water represented agents of change, such as market customers, developments or design interventions. The reaction of water to the tablets produced a splattering effect to other tablets, and to the building model. Doing a map that reveals an effect in this way was helpful because it allowed me to visually see how the one thing affects another thing, and eventually other things nearby. Although previous drawings are able to illustrate the chains of events that occurred from the night market, this effervescent mapping allowed be to become physically engaged in the catalytic process. Water may cause the tablets to react
this way; however, the use of other fluid may create a different rate of reaction. I see this as being similar to how my propositions could affect the way the market would operate and the kind of street life it would or would not generate then from the different strategies applied.

Discovering the catalytic role of temporary markets was another significant finding to this study. Before this, I found that temporary markets like the night market act as a social space that gives street life to the city. On top of that, they also contain a diversity of cultural contexts. The markets’ contribution to the informal economy has also been recognised not only throughout this study, but also by other studies on temporary markets as discussed earlier in the previous chapter. Another important finding was that when the market reactivated street life, it also indirectly reactivated other spaces and adjacent businesses too. This was demonstrated specifically by how the food court vendors at Sentul night market extended their business hours, and how the retail shops at Lorong TAR night market created additional access into their shops. These relational qualities and effects suggest other design strategies, which shifted my perspectives to include how temporary markets can become “activators” for street life and other types of spaces. This idea is further explored in the design propositions through the relocation of Lorong TAR night market to two different sites.
Figure 2.117: Mapping the Possible Catalytic Effects, 2010
The effervescent tablets are arranged to represent the market stalls, and broken pieces are scattered in the walking lane to represent the flow of crowds. The building models on the sides represent the buildings along Lorong TAR. Water is dropped onto the tablets and photographed at about a five-minute interval.
Tracking market visitors

When I visited Vendor J at his Sunday market that was held at the parking lot of Shah Alam stadium, I decided to track and map the walks of visitors at the market. My parents followed me to the market that Sunday morning because it has been a while since they last visited a daytime market like this one. Seeing it as an opportunity, I told my parents that I wanted follow them, wherever they went at the market, to have a share of their walking experience (Fig. 2.118).

The type of walks that my parents took was spontaneous, or as Wunderlich (2008) described as being discursive. Their walks through the market as visitors were characterised by their varying pace as they allowed themselves to be drawn to the market stalls. The Situationist idea of a dérive was aimed at exploring new territories through the acts of wandering (Sadler, 1998; Careri, 2002).

The map that I generated from following my parents reveals how they moved through the markets and stopped at stalls that displayed products that they were attracted to. It was interesting to notice the difference between the paths taken by my father and my mother. My father was more engrossed with examining hats and shoes, while my mother was more attracted to stalls that displayed scarves and pillowcases. After walking through the merchandise zone, we walked through a section that had food and drinks. We took the opportunity to taste free samples of traditional chips that the vendors displayed. After walking for a while then, my parents wanted to sit down to have drinks and some light lunch. It was a good thing that there are food vendors who provided tables and chairs for people to dine-in (Fig. 2.119). The seating area that the food vendors provided was underneath one stall, and allowed about ten customers to sit and eat. I realised that the zoning of the market and the provision of eating areas were similar to my earlier design propositions for Lorong TAR.
We started walking into the market area from the parking lot where we parked our car towards the entrance of the market. My parents started going into the stalls lane on their right. I began tracking their walks with GPS, photographing the stalls that they visited, observed their activities, and jotted down the sequence of their experience in my field notes.
From this experience, I learned that for markets at a city-scale, like this particular Sunday market and Lorong TAR night market, organisers provided for more varieties of stalls and activities. Unlike neighbourhood markets where most visitors buy take-away food and groceries, the city-scale markets offer more variety of products and activities to draw larger and more diverse visitors that might not go to the night market as a weekly routine. The city-scale markets not only cater for visitors from their adjacent neighbourhoods, but they need to attract and appeal to a broader range of consumers. For instance, Bazarena Shah Alam is also known for its grand scale and its location at a prominent landmark, which is the Shah Alam Stadium. This reveals another kind of infrastructure, which is both soft and hard, and that is an iconic landmark. Most Malaysians recognise the national stadium as a physical icon or landmark. At the same time, the iconic identity of the stadium as a place where national sport events are held creates a sense of familiarity to international visitors. Bazarena Shah Alam also demonstrates how temporary markets can activate underutilised spaces like the vast parking lot outside of the stadium by taking advantage of the existing hard and soft infrastructures to host a market. Thus, this reveals how sites for temporary markets do not necessarily have to be designed and designated for a singular purpose. Rather they can “borrow” or share existing open spaces, underutilised spaces and street spaces and transform them to become more active, hybrid spaces temporarily, as Hood calls ‘hybrid landscape’.
2.12 DESIGN BRIEF FOR MARKET STALLS

In Section 2.6, several design propositions were tested on altering the physical form of the stall through considering how the market stalls might operate as individual and collective modules. While the design propositions derived from understanding how vendors appropriate their stall structures and stall spaces, finding an “ultimate design” or solution for a market stall is limiting to the informal and rich characteristics of markets.

The idea of having “one stall for all” is contradictory to the ingenuity, informality and visual richness of the market, which are part of the essence of a temporary market’s atmosphere. Although standardised stalls reflect that the city councils and vendor associations have planned and managed the markets with a degree of “formality” or “properly planned event”, the forms and colours of the stalls do not greatly improve how the market operates. At the moment, Vendor J is only requires to use a standardised stall design at Lorong TAR night market, where at other night markets he can use any other type of stall that would fit his vending lot. If each different market then requires customised stall, it would not be practical for a vendor to have seven different stall tents when essentially the stalls just need to serve the basic functions of providing space, shelter and armatures. It is how the stalls functions, their flexible qualities and how vendors utilise them that make them adaptable to different market settings.

Nevertheless, the previous design propositions reveal several criteria and new vocabularies that I subsequently use to describe the qualities that a market stall could have. I was interested in how a guideline can be formulated to inform the design qualities of a market stall which is flexible for vendors but also serves the needs of various councils. Hence the Market Stall Design Brief (Fig. 2.120) is devised from looking closely at how Vendor J uses his different sizes of stalls and how he appropriates them at different locations. There are days when Vendor J has to operate on a roadside, partially on the curb of the sidewalk or on an open parking
lot; and there are moments when Vendor J has to improvise and adapt his stalls to protect his products from the changing weather. For the stalls and kit of parts that he needs, all require a compact form so they fit into his van. So while this brief is useful in considering a vendor’s point of view and can meet the city council’s colour scheme requirements, I realised that this was a rather inadequate approach to designing with markets.

My “obsession” with redesigning the stall tent was a process that was necessary; as I needed to test to what extent stall designs could accommodate temporary markets. With the rich findings from the fieldwork and mapping, I realised that the role of a landscape architect is more than just designing the stalls and streetscapes. The market operations occur at multiple scales, thus require various strategies to accommodate markets. The design investigations should also reflect these discoveries. While the stall propositions were useful at a micro scale, I needed to become more conversant with the middle and macro scale operations and design techniques. In the next sections, I shift to the scale of the street and work through how streets and their accoutrements could better support markets.
In the Market Stall Design Brief, I gathered the vocabularies and techniques that describe the qualities that temporary market stalls exemplify. With these qualities, market stalls can continue to evolve as they have over time, while at the same time, they are able to accommodate to individual market vendors’ needs. However, it is important to note that as vending practices also will change in the future, stall qualities may need to also shift accordingly. For instance, if a market operated at a location that has limited spaces, vendors might need to store their stocks of products using the available vertical spaces under the tent. In this case, the stalls might need a new kind of armature that could become additional storage spaces.
visibility
temporary market stalls depend on visibility of their products and activities to attract customers

armature
vendors need accoutrements to hang their products, lights, signages and other things

affordability
temporary market vendors are small-scale entrepreneurs and most strive on affordability

efficient optimum use of space
vendors may operate at a minimum area of 6ft × 6ft and they need ways to use space efficiently for preparation, storage and display of products

robustness
vendors use their tents everyday, and some may leave their props at the site of operation

effectively pleasant
temporary market is an everyday space attracting the mass and they need to look appealing to the general public

changeable identity
one vendor may operate under the management of different city councils and organizations, and they may require to display different identities
2.13 DESIGN PROPOSITION: DESIGNING THE CURBS

At the street scale, my propositions interrogated the neighbourhood market sites where Vendor J operated - Jalan Kuching and Sentul night markets - to look at how the street might be redesigned to make it “market ready”. Most streets visited during the fieldwork are not initially planned for the occupation of road side vendors or to hold temporary markets. However, having observed different temporary markets and road side vendors, temporary occupations as such are expected to occur given that they are a part of Malaysian street culture (Fig. 2.121). The following two propositions worked on integrating a more robust design for the street, through looking at how the road shoulders and curbs can be improved to allow possible occupations by vendors. The propositions also consider the integration of electrical plug points at the street lighting fixtures to enable vendors to plug-in when needed, as well as other temporary street events.

Figure 2.121: Existing informal and temporary road side occupations for markets and road side vendors (Zakariya, 2009)
Textured road shoulders

In the first proposition (Fig. 2.122-2.123), a textured road surface is proposed to loosely create a transition between the main road and the road shoulders. Roadside vendors often take advantage of opportunistic roadside spots to open their stalls. Most of the time, these spots are places near housing or commercial areas, and along the driving routes of people going to or coming back from work. The flow of movement for roadside vending is like drive-through fast food restaurants. Cars pull over to the road shoulder once they see a stall in front of them, park their car and walk to the stall. There are times when customers buy something from the stall by pulling-over and ordering and receiving it through the window. This is especially the case when it rains. The masses of cars stopping by the roadside can at times be dangerous to ongoing moving traffic. However, when a stall becomes a part of this everyday routine, the off-and-on traffic congestion is expected.

Figure 2.122: Collage images of textured road shoulders
The design proposition looks into the possibility of designing roads with reserve shoulders that could accommodate temporary markets and temporary roadside vendors more readily. The existing road at Jalan Kuching night market demonstrates how vendors occupy parts of the sidewalks and road reserves to park their vehicles and to set up their stalls (Fig. 2.122). In this particular design for Jalan Kuching night market, the road shoulders are proposed to be segregated by using different paving textures, rather than curbs. The idea behind using the textured road surface is to allow vehicles to gradually pullover to the roadside before stopping for the roadside stalls. With this, there would be a clear demarcation of roadside stall area, temporary roadside vehicle parking and the main road with moving vehicles. Night market vendors can appropriate the street in a similar way as they can still easily park their vehicles by the roadside without going over sidewalks and curbs.

Figure 2.123: Section and plan of textured road shoulders
Rollover curbs

In the second design proposition (Fig. 2.124), rollover curbs are proposed in place of typical barrier curbs to create a more robust and durable sidewalks to cater for vendors who often park their vehicles on the sidewalks. Existing or newly proposed street lighting fixtures might also double as armatures for temporary vending activities. When the street is not in use for vending activities, it still functions as a regular street that can accommodate pedestrians.

Figure 2.124: Rollover curbs
With the use of rollover curbs instead of the typical barrier curbs, vendors can park their vehicles on the sidewalk more easily. Sidewalks also become more durable with the rollover curbs as vehicles can go over them smoothly compared to the existing harder curb edges. As illustrated in the sectional diagrams, vendors can use the electrical plug points and street lighting poles as micro infrastructures for their stalls.
Reflections

At the stage of road planning, it will be difficult to decide which streets would be appropriated by temporary markets and road side vendors. In the earlier findings I identified some criteria of where temporary markets might operate, and that is based on the availability of hard and soft infrastructures. Although this locating technique could be employed to locate potential temporary market activities, should all streets then have textured road shoulders or rollover curbs? Designing street surfaces and curbs similar to the stall designs also seemed to not encompass greater forces of operation and important wider systems for markets. They were important studies for me to learn and focus at a micro scale but by themselves they are a bit superficial and do not deal with the complexity and richness I am interested in.

The design propositions can work in spaces where temporary markets would operate, but this could only be determined based on the needs of the community or the city. While it would be more practical for the robust street designs to be considered at the planning stage, they may not necessarily be useful if the opportunities for temporary markets and roadside vending were not present. The existence of temporary markets and roadside vending depends on the ways that the community and city develops and how people use the space around them. This is a condition that could only be evaluated after a city or neighbourhood is inhabited and the patterns of movement and occupation become more apparent.

Archigram (Cook and Archigram, 1999) devises the concept of *Plug-in City* and *Instant City*. The concept behind the idea of the *Plug-in City* is to represent that the city is in a “process” and that components of the city will be replaced with new ones. Archigram tested the idea of having large scale network structures containing access ways; and within this network are smaller units that can cater for different things. Functions of one thing can be replaced by another function through occupying the same location and components. I find the idea of “plugging-in” to be fascinating because it represents a form of opportunity in how spaces can be occupied. The
micro tactic of providing electrical plug points, which occurs now at some of the market sites, revealed a strategy that has a sense of authority and is planned, yet at the same time, loose enough for informal use. In *Instant City*, Archigram described a similar idea of bringing together small units and components of tents, trucks, stalls, display and other things, which then inhabit a location for a limited period of time before moving on to the next location. This travelling metropolis is described as “a package that comes to a community, giving it a taste of the metropolitan dynamic - which is temporarily grafted on to the local centre” (p. 86).

Temporary markets operate in the similar manner, fleeting from one location to another while temporarily creating a festive atmosphere wherever they operate. Although the propositions of the road shoulders and curbs may only be applicable to streets that have been occupied or planned be occupied for temporary markets and road side vendors, the idea of adding-on micro infrastructures and making subtle changes to the street could become initial tactics to accommodate market operations.
2.14 DESIGN PROPOSITION: RELOCATING A NIGHT MARKET

The two previous design esquisses explore accommodating market stalls at the stall scale and the street scale. The Market Stall Design Brief allowed me to examine various ideas about designing a stall tent for vendors. While the design ideas for the stalls are not definitive, the stalls need to be flexible, mobile and modular for vendors to transport and install them at different sites. In the street scale design, textured paving was proposed for the road shoulders and roll-over curbs as well as equipping street light fixtures with electrical plug points as a way of facilitating streets to be “market ready”. Although it is difficult to gauge where temporary markets might operate until people start to occupy the area, the designs revealed that components of particular micro infrastructures and hard and soft infrastructures are important for temporary markets and road side vendors.

With this knowledge in hand, how might I find a new location for markets that may need to be relocated in the future? In city or urban-scaled design propositions, I speculate on the possibilities of relocating Lorong TAR night market and consider these discoveries.

Most temporary markets are planned after other spaces in the city have been developed and occupied. They share and adapt to these other spatial typologies, such as laneways, streets and car parks. In some cases, they create issues in surrounding areas by causing traffic congestion, noise pollution, and other perceived nuisances for nearby residents and adjacent businesses. Consequently, some market locations are closed down or relocated. Tourism and modernisation also makes temporary markets vulnerable to gentrification, which has the tendency to disregard the market’s informal character and conditions for operation that might make them sterile and less lively. In Chapter 3, I elaborate further on this through examining markets in Putrajaya and Melbourne. There also seems to be a perceived need to
offer more hygienic cooking facilities, especially for upper-class neighbourhoods and foreign visitors. Consequently, the changing vending practices and market operations would require markets to be accommodated in a different way.

From looking at the operation of night markets in Kuala Lumpur (as in the 95 KL Night Market Locations Map), Lorong TAR is the only night market that operates within the city centre. One of the reasons for its popularity is because of its location in the heart of Kuala Lumpur’s heritage zone, which is also the location of fabric and clothing retail shops. Other night markets are located in towns and suburbs outside of the city centre. Lorong TAR night market thrives on the shoppers that visit surrounding shops and complexes, and visitors that come to the city via the LRT or commuter train. The night market is supported by numerous parking facilities surrounding the site, as well as the availability of public toilets and prayer rooms that are open to the public inside the adjacent shopping complexes. As of 2010, Lorong TAR night market is able to accommodate approximately 552 lots for vendors.

This work speculates on where and how Lorong TAR night market might be relocated. I am proposing this as a way of interrogating locating and designing night markets at an urban or city scale. Lorong TAR night market has been relocated before, from the main road to the back lane; and it is not impossible for it to be relocated in the future should the need arise. Pragmatically, choosing new sites to relocate this night market requires the presence of the same kinds of hard and soft infrastructures.

Considering a site for a market at the scale of the city may need something more than ordinary soft and hard infrastructures. It may need a cultural, historic, iconic or poetic identity associated with it, another kind of infrastructure that is both hard and soft. I selected two sites to test these ideas: the Dataran Merdeka (Independence Square) and a parking lot next to the Petronas Twin Towers at Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC) complex.
Location strategy 1: Dataran Merdeka

The first site, Dataran Merdeka, is known for its historical significance as a public space that marks the independence of Malaysia. It is located adjacent to the historical Sultan Abdul Samad Building. I proposed to relocate Lorong TAR night market onto the main road next to the square because this road is already programmed to be closed-off from vehicular use every Saturday night (Fig. 2.125).

In the previous years, many visitors walked from the night market to the Square to sit and enjoy the food that they purchased at the market. Many night market visitors appropriated the square and the main street for night picnics. The lights on the historic buildings, the square and the big screen television were attractions that attracted people. However, very few visitors come to the square after their night market walks, since the city council has decided to save money by not utilising the big screen television.

So in this proposition, Lorong TAR night market has the potential to transform the square into a festive market space and public space on weekend nights. Here, the juxtaposition between the historic and the everyday is very striking in its adjacency. This alternative night market location can act as a catalyst for the current food court adjacent to the square, while also appropriating the fields and its historical role as an active public space on weekends. Locating a night market here would also tap into an existing events culture and use of the site, for instance the celebration of Independence Day and annual tourism events. (See Fig. 2.126-2.130)

The site already possesses the necessary hard infrastructures needed to enable a market operation, except for an on-site power supply. This could be provided by adding-on to the existing lighting fixtures and fitting them with electrical plug points, or with a big-scale mobile generator that could provide electricity to the whole market. The size of the main road is ample to host approximately the same number of stalls at Lorong TAR. It will be able to accommodate about 517 lots at the dimensions of 2.6 meters square.
Lorong TAR night market is a linear night market. It operates on a back lane that have different widths, ranging from 8.6 m to 16.7 m. These ranging widths create irregular passage way in between the two rows of stalls. Its success is contributed by a set of infrastructures at the surrounding area, and its casual night market atmosphere - crowds, lights, noises, aroma, informality.

Dataran Merdeka is closed every Saturday night to encourage leisure and pedestrian activities. This used to be the regular ‘ritual’ route after visitors visit Lorong TAR night market. This site has high potential as alternative site contributed by the locations of necessary infrastructure around it. The night market will be able to carry its casual and chaotic atmosphere within a new setting.

Figure 2.125: Relocation plan of Lorong TAR night market to Dataran Merdeka (Independence Square)
Figure 2.126: Existing hard infrastructures around Dataran Merdeka
Figure 2.127: Procession of vendors and visitors

Figure 2.128: Cross-section of the adjacent main road next to the Square
Figure 2.129: Diagram of anticipated visitors movement
This design anticipates the possibilities of casual vendors to walk around the square where visitors would have their night picnics. In expecting that visitors will sit and scatter on the square, the idea of using portable rubbish bins is adopted to encourage visitors in disposing of rubbish properly. From looking at how markets have progressed, there is also a possibility that a design which incorporates market activities and leisure activities, may also attract vendors to sell new items, such as picnic mats, chairs and others.
Figure 2.130: Collage images of Dataran Merdeka night market
**Reflections**

In the Dataran Merdeka location strategy, the historic square is activated in exchange for its less active use during the daytime. While the night market could become a catalyst to the street life around the square, it is important to speculate on the ramifications of relocating the market there, as previously experimented in the effervescent catalyst map. By activating the new street, Lorong TAR will eventually become deactivated. Lorong TAR will go back to being less active on Saturday nights, as the crowds of visitors would move towards Dataran Merdeka in the evening rather than filling in the back lane. This may also shift the movement of short visitors at Lorong TAR. However, the potential loss of customers might only be minimal because the markets would only start to fully operate in the evening of a Saturday, while the shops at Lorong TAR are open in the morning and on other days.

The locations of hard infrastructures for the night market will also change. Although visitors can still use the parking spaces at Lorong TAR and walk to Dataran Merdeka to go the market, the city council might need to allocate specific areas around the square as parking spaces for vendors. Visitors and vendors can use the public toilets at the square, but they will have to walk to Masjid Jamek mosque that is located approximately 500 meters from the square, to perform their prayers. Then after the market finish operating, the garbage collection service will have to clean the main street and also the square, as the crowds of visitors might have concentrated in these areas. The relocation of Lorong TAR night market demonstrated how the operation of the old market site and the new site might be affected.
Location strategy 2: KLCC outdoor parking lot

In the second proposition, I examined with relocating Lorong TAR night market to an outdoor parking lot near KLCC complex. The area surrounding KLCC is the modern city quarter (Fig. 2.131). It is more monumental in scale, and filled with high-rise buildings. Most of these buildings have indoor parking complexes, and some also have underground LRT stations. While Dataran Merdeka would give a more historic feel to the night market, the Petronas Twin Towers at KLCC is a more modern icon that represents an image of progress in the city, nation and lifestyle. The presence of a shopping mall inside is also an advantage, where there is already a potential source of visitors that the market could attract. The idea of juxtaposing an everyday informal night market side by side with the more formal and modern iconic building is intriguing. At the same time, having a temporary market in the outdoors could be a good contrast of activities to the indoor shopping mall.

On occasion, the outdoor parking lot is used to host temporary events like the Grand Prix exhibition and the X-Games. Since temporary events are already a part of the activities in this parking lot, temporary market activities should be able to fit accordingly within the space. The site currently has parking lot markers, street lights and is located about 200-meter from KLCC mosque. At the moment, there is no electrical plug point provided to be used during the temporary events, which means that mobile generators need to be provided by the event organisers or individual vendors. The idea here is to draw people out of the buildings in the evening and get them to experience a festive market atmosphere outdoors. With the market operating side by side with the iconic towers in KLCC, visitors and tourists could experience two rich identities of Kuala Lumpur, which are the grand, modern towers and the festive, informal market (Fig. 2.132-2.134). However, since the parking lot is privately owned, this would make the market operate in a private realm rather than a public one. This alternative location opens up another discussion on the ramifications of informal temporary market operating at a site that is iconic and private.
The location of the existing night market is within KL's Heritage Zone. It is surrounded by the interplay of old and new buildings of clothing and accessory shops, small restaurants and budget hotels. The informality and casualness of the night market blend in well with the old-town feel of Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman.

Petronas Twin Towers and KLCC Park are Malaysia's modern icons, symbolizing an image of progress for the country, its people and lifestyle. The proposal of a temporary market here will create a strong juxtaposition between the 'casual everyday' against the 'iconic everyday' life.

The parking lot meets the enabling criteria to potentially host a successful temporary market. From time to time, this space hosts events and shows, for the Grand Prix and X-Games. But, the parking lot is located in a private realm. This alternative (re)location opens up another discussion on the ramification of a temporary market being located in a private space, that is modern and iconic.

Figure 2.131: Relocation plan of Lorong TAR night market to KLCC (Kuala Lumpur City Centre) outdoor parking lot
Figure 2.132: Existing hard infrastructures around KLCC
Figure 2.133: Collage images and cross-section of KLCC night market

The outdoor parking lot is located outside of KLCC, near to the twin towers, a shopping mall, park and mosque. Spatially, the parking lot can accommodate about 440 large tents at the size of 2.5 meters square. The external fence demarcates ownership and control, as opposed to the unbounded night market that operates on a public street or public parking lot. Since KLCC is an international icon, market organisers could take the opportunity to create a distinctive night market image, such as one that is based mainly on the country’s rich culinary practices. This temporary market can become like a festival that assembles the different cultures of Malaysia, tapping into the tourist crowds that visit KLCC; and because of this, the market that emerges at this site might be more touristy than the ordinary night market. The “more touristy” qualities of the market might be present through how food products are prepared (perhaps in a more “formal” way) and how they are displayed (such as local food names with translations in English then packed in designed packaging). However, the informal and festive atmosphere can still be generated from the lively activities and crowds and the spatial appropriations by the vendors and visitors at the market site. It is also important to note that because the site is located on a private realm, the market may not be able to cater for the existing small-scale vendors. Opportunistically, new types of vendors can emerge to cater for a different market typology.
When the market is operating on the parking lot, visitors can park their vehicles at the indoor and underground parking in KLCC and other outdoor parking spaces around the area. From there, they can walk through KLCC through the park. Vendors would be able to park behind their stall lots and transform the parking into a market space.
**Reflections**

Places like KLCC are more active indoors compared to the outdoors. The park, however, becomes less active towards the night, where most activities are only concentrated around the plaza area. The activation of a weekly night market in the outdoor parking lot can become a co-activator to street life by drawing people out of the buildings and shopping mall. To get to the night market, people will walk through the park. In a way, the movement of people distributed from the inside to the outside, will further utilise the plaza and park as a linkage. Consequently, since most of the other parking spaces and the LRT station are located inside KLCC, the movement of crowds will be redistributed back through the park and the mall.

However, is the outdoor market strong enough to pull out crowds from the mall? Will the market end up being seen as a competitor, or “parasitic” to the indoor retail shops and food courts? Will visitors who are accustomed to climate controlled interiors want venture out into the external market environments?

The outdoor market’s informal and festive atmosphere is already different from the atmosphere inside an air-conditioned shopping mall. This distinctiveness becomes an appeal to draw visitors and tourists to the market, as demonstrated by the activeness of Lorong TAR night market. Moreover, the nature of temporary market is periodical or occasional, which means that it can operate once a week, bi-weekly, monthly or annually according to the organisers. Temporary markets that only operate for six to seven hours would pose very little threat to the shops that open daily for a longer time. At Lorong TAR, fabric retail shops took advantage of the night market by opening stalls. This same opportunistic tactic can be repeated by other shop owners from the shopping mall inside KLCC, as way of creating external presence in a more informal surrounding. The market could also then operate closer to the mall, such as at its plaza. This would potentially give rise to new possibilities of how temporary markets can take on different physical forms by adapting to the context where they operate. I tested this idea further in the next chapter, when I experiment with more design propositions in the newer city context of Putrajaya.
2.15 DISCUSSIONS

As a form of informal space, temporary markets are resilient and opportunistic. They thrive on specific enabling conditions. As discussed throughout this chapter, there are certain hard and soft infrastructures that facilitate their operations. Through the design propositions, I worked at varied scales to test different ways of accommodating markets. In the first two - at the stall scale and street scale - I moved on from thinking about designing what markets could look like to how vendors could operate and appropriate market sites. This was achieved from closely observing and understanding how Vendor J moved throughout the city to his different market locations, how he set up his stalls at the market, and the details of how he adapted his stall and arranged his cake and kaftan products.

In a paper entitled Walking Through Night Markets: A Study on Experiencing Everyday Urban Culture (Zakariya and Ware, 2010b), I discuss how following Vendor J to his different market sites enabled me to experience and understand how temporary markets operate in different setting, as well as discovering the greater system behind their operations. From this, I was able to reveal how vendors, markets and their locations operate as a system, and there are different elements that allow them to work together. These elements include: the micro infrastructures for market vendors, the hard and soft infrastructures, how visitors occupy the existing space, and the attraction factors of a site where the markets operate. However, trying to predict appropriate sites for markets before the surrounding contexts are established is very difficult. And that because of their symbiotic relationships with their contexts, markets may be best left to emerging opportunities, with strategies for more support following their start-ups.

The proposed relocation strategies then speculated on alternative locations for a displaced Lorong TAR night market. This proposition aimed at identifying what a night market might need to operate. By hypothetically shifting its location, I was trying to simulate how markets could operate in different settings, contexts and possibly
attracting different types of potential visitors. Dataran Merdeka and KLCC outdoor parking lot are chosen based on pragmatic reasons in terms of the availability of enabling market infrastructures. At the same time, these new locations were sought for their familiarity and adjacencies to iconic spaces in the city. The proposed new locations are both prominent urban images of Kuala Lumpur and celebrated places of the country. Dataran Merdeka is a historical landmark, while the outdoor parking lot in the second location borrows the iconic landmark of the Petronas Twin Towers at KLCC. By taking advantage of these historical and modern icons, the temporary markets could borrow the familiarity and identity of the locations. This may also make the market more approachable as a tourist attraction.

Placing a market near the square of Dataran Merdeka or on the parking lot next to KLCC might also lead to different ramifications to how the square, the parking lot and the surrounding spaces might be utilised. For example, the spill over activities from the market operating at the outdoor parking lot of KLCC might generate more pedestrian flows between the mall to the edges of the park (as illustrated in Fig. 2.134), hence enhancing the existing street life. The juxtaposition created from relocating a modest everyday culture of the market activities against historic or iconic settings also broadens how we value informality alongside formality, both as rich qualities of the city.

The design propositions have also revealed how markets can adapt, and need to adapt to their context. This is particularly relevant in the market’s relocation proposition to KLCC outdoor parking lot. Although the physical appearance of the markets may change, they still need similar kinds hard and soft infrastructures. Expectedly, the types of hard and soft infrastructures may also change in the future as vending practices change. For instance, some vendors have substituted their form of vending from the stall to selling products right from their trucks. This change should be regarded as a part of the process of how markets can progress.
Throughout this chapter, mapping also played important roles in revealing what was observed and as a way of intervening. Initially, mapping was utilised as a way of curating an experience for visitors to the market. However, the role of mapping also revealed qualities and relationships between users, spaces, services, infrastructures and conditions. This was demonstrated in different ways in the nasi lemak maps, vendor journey maps, vendor infrastructures map, catalyst maps and visitor tracking map. The mapping projects open up options and directions of how I might further design and plan market sites in changing contexts.

Temporary markets have begun to receive recognitions from city councils as an important type of commercial and public space. For instance, city councils like Kuala Lumpur City Hall and Putrajaya Corporation include the planning and management of markets into their policy, such as through providing a platform for vendors to obtain permits for vending. The allowance for public spaces to also function as sites for temporary markets can accommodate the development and progress of these markets in different places. Flexible, indeterminate and hybrid spaces have potentials to generate new forms of temporary activities in the future other than markets (Hood, 2004; la Varra et al., 2009), which in return can spur new kinds of localness to emerge for the cities and neighbourhoods.

Another significant finding in this chapter is the discovery of various market systems. In Chapter 1, the market is examined from its internal qualities, primarily looking at characteristics that can be found inside the market, such as how vendors occupy their stall spaces and the experiences of visitors. At the beginning of this chapter, I unpack the journey of a plate of nasi lemak, which eventually led to the discoveries of the systems involved in operating a market. Tracking and mapping the journeys of Vendor J and noticing how he operates at shifting scales reveal more complex systems of the market. The understanding of systems and how things operate at multiple scales has been vital in this research as it further leads to strategies of how and where a designer might intervene, while at the same time acknowledging the ramifications of each design proposition.
In *Lagos - Harvard Project on the City* (2001), Koolhaas examines Lagos as a city populated by 15 million people. Lagos is an intense urban entity that has a combination of ‘the rigid’ and ‘the free’, and ‘a mixture of formal, serious, complex structures and lightweight, informal, impermanent, flexible structures.’ Koolhaas and his team wanted to understand how Lagos operated to know how they can engage with it as designers. Gandy (2005) discusses the rise and fall of Lagos and how the economic recession of Nigeria in 1981 had caused the flock of migrants into the city streets. The poor living conditions urged Lagosians to resort to trading among themselves and creating ‘micro-trading networks’. According to Gandy, although informal markets in Lagos enabled resources from outside of the formal sector to be redistributed among the locals, it does not necessarily lead to the accumulation and growth of the city. This is intriguing because it reflects how keeping a system limited or enclosed can limit the potential of growth and development to a place. Although the scale of Lagos is much greater than the scale of temporary markets in Kuala Lumpur, the understanding of how systems play an important role in sustaining and developing places is important. There must be some kind of balance and mutual exchange between the systems in the market and outside of the market in order to ensure its sustainability.

Temporary markets in Malaysia are expanding and changing. In the early stages of night market operations 30 years ago, most vendors would hand-carry their goods or transport them using smaller vehicles like carts, motorcycles and cars, which later advanced into vans and small trucks. Today, some vendors have started to operate their businesses directly from their small trucks parked at the market site. Along with this, the products that vendors sell have also changed. For example, if Vendor J expanded his cake products by adding a range of cold desserts or ice creams, he might then need to add a mobile freezer to his kit of parts. This will in turn change how he might organise his stall space, which in effect would have an implication of how the market might then take form.
However the development of temporary markets in Malaysia could not have progressed without the presence of a policy in the city council that allows them to operate. When markets are acknowledged by the city council as an important activity in the city, not only economically but also as a form of public space, there might be more infrastructural support, as well as financial infrastructures, to facilitate the planning and development of markets.

How can the policy act as another platform where landscape architects can accommodate temporary markets in the city? How can a framework be flexible enough to facilitate the complex dynamics of the market infrastructures?

Moreover with newer suburbs developing around the country, how might I accommodate a market to operate at a newer suburban-city, like Putrajaya, that has a different scale and order in relation to older cities and suburbs?

In the next chapter, I examine how temporary markets could be accommodated through propositions in the framework of an existing policy. Accordingly, I investigate where and how a relocated night market in Putrajaya might take form. I continue to make reference to some temporary markets in Melbourne and other cities, and my involvement as a vendor at the *Ramadhan* market in Melbourne. Through the works that follow, I explore how the relationship between the market and the new city might evolve.
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CHAPTER 3

Locating the market in a new context
Chinatown Laneway Market, Heffernan Lane, Melbourne (Zakariya, 2010)
In this chapter, I examine approaches to accommodate temporary markets in different contexts, and by means of speculatively intervening at the level of policy. From the findings in the previous chapters, I reconsider the role of the designer in facilitating the development of temporary markets through an involvement at a local policy level. While in Melbourne, I explore my role as a vendor at a Ramadhan market, and through collaborating in organising two community scale markets. In the final series of design propositions I speculate on alternative locations for temporary markets in Putrajaya, Malaysia. Putrajaya is a newer city compared with Kuala Lumpur. Experimenting with design strategies to accommodate temporary markets at this “new” city is important for me to test how markets might operate in a context has a much different spatiality and a more regulated policy towards informal street activities.

3.1 MARKET POLICY

The roles of landscape architects and architects commonly involve the scale of master planning and the scale of site design. Design involvement at the level of the policy is often relegated to planners. However, since temporary markets operate at multiple scales, they need a policy that acknowledges market planning and management also at multiple scales. Planning for markets is as much about managing an event as it is about finding suitable locations and providing hard infrastructures. As discussed in the previous chapter, they need both top down and bottom up approaches that plan for their hard and soft infrastructures.

In Transformative Urbanisms, Benjamin (2009) suggests that rather than operating ‘progressive planning’ or ‘alternatives’, designers and planners need to expand the loopholes in the current masterplanning to allow the intermixing of land use. Jauregui (2009) acknowledges the similar view where “although frameworks and standardisations are imposed on them [informal spaces], still, they grow and change according to their own processes that is affected by the larger economy, lifestyle and demographics” (p. 242). Policy is an important platform that can accommodate temporary and informal markets alongside the more formal types of public spaces.
Proposition: Designing a policy framework

Using Kuala Lumpur as an example, the city council recognises temporary markets and hawking as an integral part of the city’s activities. The guidelines provided by the Petty Traders Development and Management Department addresses some needs of individual vendors, while at the same time providing a generic guideline for how future markets could be developed. However, since markets operate at different scales that involve various entities in the city council, vendors associations and individual vendors, they require different kinds of infrastructures and guidelines at the different stages and levels. This is where policy development can be improved into a more collaborative working document, to offer more flexibility and specificity to how markets might be accommodated better.

This proposition looks at the policy as a working folio, rather than a one-way set of instructions or guidelines. Although the existing policy in Kuala Lumpur includes requirements for temporary market planning, the policy has potential to be more accommodating to the rapid rate of change of markets, their scales and the emergence of new market types. The alternative framework is proposed to consider strategies for market siting and planning, which includes key findings on hard and soft infrastructures. The framework might include a Market Planning Handbook; a Market Proposal “skeleton” documents that could bridge the requirements of the city council with the operational requirements of vendors at the market site; and a Guide for Vendors. (See Fig. 3.1–3.4)
Figure 3.1: Temporary market policy - a working folio
Under one city council, there is more than one vendor association operating a market. Vendor associations are made of a group of vendors that operate at a specific place. Therefore, market planning cannot be a one-for-all approach because different sites and vendors require different infrastructures, spaces and services.
Figure 3.2: Market proposals by different vendor associations
Each vendor proposal might contain sub-folios that include a Market Planning Handbook, a Market Proposal “skeleton” document, and a Guide for Vendors. Through the Market Planning Handbook, the city council and vendor association can plan the market’s operation and development according to the available and required hard and soft infrastructures. The Market Proposal document is a framework for vendor association to submit a proposal to the city council.
Figure 3.3: Market Planning Handbook
The Market Planning Handbook might include a guide for vendor associations to identify their market type, listing potential areas where the market might operate, locating hard infrastructures, identifying the soft infrastructures, and creating a site plan of the proposed market in the proposed locations and contexts.
Step 3: Locating the Hard Infrastructure

Step 4: Identifying the Soft Infrastructure

Figure 3.4: Market Planning Handbook - identification of hard and soft infrastructures
Figure 3.5: A sub-framework to include main vendors and casual vendors
Casual vendors are another micro component to larger market structure.
**Reflection**

Policy is an empowering platform that can accommodate temporary markets to continue to operate as part of the city. From the work that has been conducted in this research up to this point, policy is found to be an important soft infrastructure that can initiate the development of markets. In this framework proposition, the policy has the potential to be more flexible to accommodate the multi-scale operations of a temporary market; in terms of facilitating the planning, development and management of markets through hard and soft infrastructural supports; providing a platform for collaborations between the city council, vendor associations and other support services; and aiding the business development for vendors and casual vendors.

Equally important in this framework is the recognition that the market is enabled by collaborative process between the city council, vendor associations, and support services. Each of these organisations play important roles at the different stages of market planning and management. For instance, the initial market proposal might come from the vendor association. The *Market Planning Handbook* and *Market Proposal* documents would become useful tools to assist vendors in planning the market and identifying the necessary infrastructures that city council might need to provide for that particular market. Provision of infrastructural supports might also come in phases, according to the growth and success of the market. For example, during the early stages of Lorong TAR night market, the city council designated a specific area where the market would operate and provided lot markers to organise the market layout. After several years observing the potentials and growth of the night market, the city council provided electrical plug points as micro infrastructures to support the vendors’ operations. Through this way, a more site-specific approach could assist the development of markets according to each site, as they would be operating at different scales and locations, and might require different kinds of infrastructures.
3.2 BACKYARD RAMADHAN MARKETS IN MELBOURNE

In 2009, some members of the Malaysian and Singaporean community organised Ramadhan markets in their backyards. The market was held once a week for four weekends during Ramadhan. Four families from the community offered their backyards to hold the market activities, and the location rotated every weekend. Vendors included Malaysian, Singaporean and Indonesian residents living in the vicinity, as well as post-graduate students. Vendors sold a range of food and brought their market kit of parts including tables, chairs, tablemats, signage and containers.

I became interested in how the “longing” for a market during Ramadhan has encouraged these expat communities to create their own small scale markets in their adopted home of Melbourne. In 2010, the similar group of communities planned to organise another Ramadhan market. I saw this as an opportunity to co-organise the market and test some of my findings on market infrastructures from the Kuala Lumpur projects in Melbourne. I also participated as a vendor to further experiment with what is involved in vending at a market.
Being a vendor in Fawkner

The Ramadhan market in Fawkner held in August 2010 was organised by Mrs. Ita, a Singaporean who is now a permanent resident living in Melbourne. According to her, the Ramadhan market is a great opportunity to gather communities, while creating opportunities for the communities to sell and buy “traditional” food. I offered to co-organise the market with Mrs. Ita to learn more about how this small-scale backyard market is planned and how vending at this market is adapted or appropriated in the context of a suburban backyard in Melbourne.

The market was located in Fawkner, at the backyard of Mrs. Sally’s house, a Malaysian expat (Fig. 3.6). I discovered that the soft infrastructures for this Ramadhan market is very unique. Similar to how it was organised the previous year, the site of the market was chosen based on whoever volunteered to offer their yard. For the 2010 market, Mrs. Sally offered the backyard of her home (Fig. 3.7). She also allowed vendors and visitors to use the space inside her house to do their prayers and use the toilet if needed. Vendors did not have to pay a rental fee to set up a stall, but as Mrs. Ita advised, vendors were “encouraged” to offer food to Mrs. Sally as a token of their appreciation. Here, the food gift became one medium of exchange for the use of market space.

Figure 3.6: Location plan of backyard Ramadhan market in Fawkner
Figure 3.7: Soft infrastructure for backyard Ramadhan market in Fawkner, 2010
I designed a map to guide vendors and visitors to the market site and for promotion. Since the map was mainly targeted at Malaysian, Singaporean and Indonesian communities, I employed a method of making map similar to how Malaysians do their wedding maps, which is through using familiar everyday landmarks (Fig. 3.8). In a Malaysian wedding map, people use everyday places like mosques, bridges, traffic lights, schools and petrol stations as landmarks and references for directions to the wedding. As shown in the map, street names are less emphasized as compared to labelling the landmarks.

In my map to the backyard Ramadhan market in Fawkner (Fig. 3.9), information such as the house address, suburb location, operating schedule, contact information, and facilities that the market provided is included. This information acted as another kind of infrastructure to facilitate visitors to get to the market (Fig. 3.15). In this map, the direction to the market is given in relation to landmarks that might be familiar to most Muslim Malaysians, Singaporeans and Indonesians, such as a halal butcher on Sydney Road and a halal KFC located in Fawkner. The other landmarks are places that can be easily recognised like train stations and the cemetery. The map includes the address of Mrs. Sally’s home and a calendar that showed the schedule of the market. I added details on what the market space provides, which was a backyard vending space, prayer space and toilet, as additional information for potential vendors and visitors.
Figure 3.8: An example of a Malaysian wedding map (Zakariya, 2010)
In this map, guests would need to refer to landmarks instead of street names to get to the wedding location. Some of the landmarks in this map are mosques, post office, petrol stations, hotel, police station and school.
Figure 3.9: Map for visitors and vendors to the Ramadhan market in Fawkner
In addition to assisting Mrs. Ita with the planning of the market at Mrs. Sally’s backyard in Fawkner, my husband and I participated as vendors during the first weekend before Ramadhan. Since it was the weekend before the start of the fasting month, vendors and visitors could still eat the food that they purchased at the market during their visit. We prepared some homemade food and drinks, and our kit of parts (Fig. 3.10). Other than the food products, packaging materials, tables, chairs and containers, we also prepared a printed price and product list to be displayed at our stall. Since the market started at 12 noon, vendors were expected to arrive around 11 am. We then drove from Prahran to Fawkner to get to the market (Fig. 3.11).
Figure 3.11: Location of our parking spot in front of Mrs. Sally’s house
Market layout

Mrs. Ita informed that the layout of the market was generally around the back yard, which will depend on the number of vendors that show up. At the time of planning, there were already ten vendors who offered to “open a table”, hence she thought it would be suitable to arrange them on the edges of the backyard and leave a void space in the middle for visitors to move (Fig. 3.12). A simple signage for the market was placed on Mrs. Sally’s letterbox outside in her front yard. The signage displayed “Pasar Ramadhan” in Malay, which means Ramadhan Market (Fig. 3.13). I was concerned that if the wording was in English, then it might put the market at risk from a visit by a health inspector, although it may not be likely to cause too much attention because the activity was held in a private backyard.

There was a driveway from the front yard leading to the backyard but it was not used as part of the market. In my mind I thought the driveway could have created a linear arrangement of stalls, similar to the typical Malaysian market stalls. However, Mrs. Ita mentioned that she did not want the entrance to be crowded, and the backyard was ample enough to hold ten vendors. The backyard is also furnished with a picnic table so that visitors could sit and eat (Fig. 3.13).
Figure 3.12: Market infrastructures
The market’s hard infrastructures include the backyard as the market site, the picnic table for visitors or vendors, a prayer space and toilet inside of Mrs. Sally’s home for visitors and vendors, and off-street parking spaces.
The backyard space is composed of a garage, a studio, an open space, a picnic table and a tree.
Market vendors

Our table was placed next to my friend who was selling ‘kaya balls’ (pancake balls filled with coconut jam). Vendors set up their tables with table cloths, printed signs and food arranged on the table, and chairs. There were a total of 10 vendors that day, and the products ranged from an assortment of Malay food, drinks and traditional cookies. Most of the vendors came with their food prepared only to be packed and served to the customers at the market. The number of visitors during this first week was limited to only about ten to fifteen visitors. Their activities at the market consisted purchasing food from the stall, mingling in the open space with other visitors and sitting at the picnic table. (Refer Fig. 3.14-3.15)

Figure 3.14: Visitors bought food from vendors and using the open space to socialize
Figure 3.15: Mapping the market vendors (first weekend)
Vendors arranged their stalls along the edges of the backyard
On the following weekend, the market continued to operate. Due to rain, some of the stalls shifted to spaces where vendors could be sheltered. Two vendors appropriated the entrance of Mrs. Sally’s garage as their stall spaces, while three vendors arranged their tables on the corridor of the studio in the backyard. A satay vendor brought his own tent and utilised the corner of the backyard as his stall space (Fig. 3.16).

Learning from the backyard market

There are several important findings that I gained from participating as a vendor at the *Ramadhan* market and helping Mrs. Ita to organise it. Although the location of the market is far for me personally as a vendor, it was considerably nearer to most Malaysian and Singaporean communities that live in the northern and eastern suburbs around Melbourne. Most of the hard infrastructures like an open space, parking spaces, a prayer space and toilet for vendors and visitors were readily available in the neighborhood or within Mrs. Sally’s house. Since the market was scheduled to operate only during the daytime, the vendors did not need any source of electricity for lighting. The reflects the difference of climatic context in comparison to the markets in Malaysia. However, during rain the vendors shifted their tables by appropriating the corridor of Mrs. Sally’s backyard studio and her garage. Most of the vendors also prepared their food before coming to the market, so they did not require electricity to cook or a big space. However, the satay vendor borrowed Mrs. Sally’s kitchen space to prepare some of the satay for the grill. These appropriations demonstrate examples of improvisation and opportunistic behaviours that are similar to my observations in Kuala Lumpur markets; but here, they are in the context of a backyard market in Melbourne and at a smaller scale.

The market could not have operated if a unique kind of soft infrastructure was not available; and this was the efforts of Mrs. Ita the organiser and her networks and connections in the community, Mrs. Sally’s offer of her backyard as the market space, and the culture of *Ramadhan* markets among Malaysians and Singaporeans staying in Melbourne.
Due to rain during the previous week, the vendors relocated their stalls underneath the tent, cabin corridor and garage.

Figure 3.16: Mapping the market layout during a rainy weekend
The idea of a *Ramadhan* market is still relevant to most Malaysians and Singaporeans, even though they are living in another country. The market becomes a space and an activity that temporarily gives an atmosphere of celebrating *Ramadhan* back home. It also creates a new sense of place for Malaysians in Melbourne, in a different scale and form, than the *Ramadhan* markets in Malaysia. This backyard market demonstrates how a market can be adapted and is flexible towards new or different contexts. The essence of the market activities were still similar, which involved vendors selling, and visitors buying food and drinks, and walking and browsing through the products. However, the market requires different hard and soft infrastructures because it operates at a smaller scale in an Australian suburban context. This means that temporary markets can be accommodated in different built environment settings provided that the hard and soft infrastructures are present to support it.
Ramadhan market at the Malaysia Hall

In early 2010, the Malaysia Hall in Prahran went under renovation (Fig. 3.17). The open parking lot in its backyard where the 2008 Ramadhan market was held had been renovated into a double-storey residential complex with carport on the ground floor. At the newly renovated building, students committee at the Hall planned a Ramadhan market. The location of the market was underneath the semi-covered carport at the back area of the Hall. The market was planned to operate every Saturday from 4.30 pm until sunset, which is the time for breaking the fast.

The Hall had the necessary hard infrastructures to operate a temporary market (Fig. 3.18). Its location is near to a tram stop and a train station, which means that visitors could access the Hall easily by public transportations. Off-street parking spaces are available on weekends and this makes parking easier for visitors who come by their own vehicles. Similar to Mrs. Sally’s house in Fawkner, the Hall also allowed vendors and visitors to use the prayer room and toilet facilities inside the building. Since the market was held in the evening and close to the time of break-fasting, the availability of prayer room that could accommodate both men and women in separate areas and toilets were necessary for Muslim vendors and visitors.

The soft infrastructure for the Hall’s Ramadhan market was different from the Fawkner market (Fig. 3.19). This market was organised by students living at the Hall, as an activity for their recreational club. The promotions for this market were more targeted at Malaysian students through websites and word of mouth among friends. On the market day, it was visible that the demographic of visitors at the Hall were younger compared to the visitors at the backyard market in Fawkner. This observation demonstrated how market locations also influence the types of visitors that come.

To generate income for the club, the organisers charged vendors a fee of AUD 25.00 per day to open up a stall and an additional fee for vendors who wanted to rent tables for their stalls. Vendors that booked and paid for the stalls for the four weekends were able to get a discount
on the total price. Chairs were lent to vendors free of charge. Since a fee is charged on the stall lot, many vendors share one stall with a few other vendors. This type of informal collaboration was similar to how Vendor J sublet part of his stall to another casual vendor. This demonstrates how market vendors and market organisers create their own flexible framework to fit their market operations in that specific context; which means that while city councils might provide general guidelines for a market, a more complex and flexible framework will further develop accordingly. This exemplifies the need for a flexible policy for markets, as considered earlier.

Figure 3.17: Location of Malaysia Hall Ramadhan market
Figure 3.18: The Hall’s hard infrastructures
Figure 3.19: The Hall’s soft infrastructures
Market layout

The carport becomes an ideal location for the vending area because it is protected from the weather and vendors have closer access to electricity if needed (Fig. 3.20). Each vendor was allocated a spot according to the available parking spaces. As illustrated in the diagram, there were six vendor tables arranged in the front end of the parking space. While vendors colonised the edges of the wall, the empty spaces in front of the stalls became the area for visitors to walk, queue, stand and socialise, much like the layout of Fawkner market. Most of the vendors brought their own kit of parts and appropriated them within the lot that they were given.

For the first two weekends, all of the stalls were arranged underneath the carport (Fig. 3.21-3.22). On the third week, the number of vendors increased and they started to extend their stalls to the driveway. On the last weekend, the layout shifted again because of rain. The driveway vendors moved underneath the edges of the carport, and the whole market operated under this space.

The changing space demonstrates the market’s adaptability and flexibility to various conditions including climate and the flux of vendors and visitors. But this condition was facilitated by the availability of covered parking that enabled vendors to continue vending without using a stall tent as well as providing shelter for visitors. The carport also has lights that become another important infrastructure to enable the market to operate in gloomy weather.
Figure 3.21: Cross-sections of stalls arrangement
Figure 3.22: Plan of market layout
Reflections

Both the *Ramadhan* markets in Fawkner and at the Malaysia Hall reveal how a Malaysian market operated in different physical and cultural contexts. These markets are similar to the *Ramadhan* markets and night markets in Malaysia, in the sense that they capture the essence of an informal and temporary market atmosphere, as well as through the products that vendors sell. Although both of the markets operated in a much smaller scale compared to markets like Lorong TAR night market in Kuala Lumpur, they still require certain hard and soft infrastructures for support. At Fawkner and the Hall, an open space, parking, prayer space and toilets are the main hard infrastructures that support the markets’ operation. In Fawkner, Mrs. Sally’s studio corridor and garage roof became micro infrastructures that were appropriated during rain; while at the Hall, the carport and lighting created more covered space to shelter vendors and visitors. The market organisers at the Hall saw opportunities in renting tables to vendors who were not able to bring them as part of their vending kit of parts. This demonstrates how markets services can be provided and adapted to the needs of vendors.

The soft infrastructure and management of the two markets are different. The Fawkner market did not require vendors to pay any rental fee, but encouraged gifts of food to Mrs. Sally, the house owner, as a medium of exchange. On the other hand, the Hall devised a ‘fee package’ for vendors, where they could either pay once a week for a certain price, or pay for the whole four weekends for a discounted price. Familiarity with market culture and the longing for one among the Malaysian communities is another kind of soft infrastructure that enables the markets to operate. In addition, the networks that the communities have, like the connections between Mrs. Ita and Mrs. Sally to their relocated Malay communities and the networks of the students at the Malaysia Hall, are also part of the infrastructure.
Comparably, in a study on the local culture in Hawaii, Miyares (2008) discusses how the Aloha Stadium Swap Meet outdoor market becomes a venue where people meet and where different cultures gather. She notes that “at the swap meet, all that is Hawaiian - native, local and ‘American’ - is for sale, and in a form that is culturally local” (p. 525). On the other hand, in a study about Little Saigon in Westminster, California, Mazumdar et al. (2000) studies how the Vietnamese enclave adapts itself into the Western setting. The architectural features of Little Saigon were found to reflect direct adaptations of Vietnamese elements. Yet because Little Saigon is located in an American context, “it is not completely Vietnamese in its character, as the local laws necessitate adoption of the host culture’s ways of doing things” (p. 329). The adaptations of different cultures into the context of where the place operates is similar to that which have been observed at the Ramadhan markets in Melbourne.

Through examining and engaging with these two Melbourne markets, I discovered how the concept of a Malaysian temporary market is adapted in a different context. The adaptation was made through utilising various infrastructures that are suitable and relevant to the context where the market operated, and in this case it is within the context of Malaysians in Melbourne. These backyard markets further reveal how a market can still have a similar kind of market atmosphere like the ones in Malaysia, while at the same time creating a different sense of localness through their adaptations. This results from how the cultural practices of temporary markets are appropriated to their immediate cultural and climatic contexts.

In the following section I briefly discuss another set of observations on a night market in Melbourne’s Chinatown, to demonstrate how Asian temporary market adapts itself at a more urban scale in Melbourne.
Chinatown Laneway Market in Melbourne

In September 2010, a Chinatown Laneway Market was organised by the Chinese Restaurateurs Association of Victoria in Heffernan Lane as part of the Asian Food Festival in Melbourne. The market took on a concept of a “pasar malam”, which means “night market” in Bahasa Malaysia.

The market operated from the afternoon until late evening, where vendors sold Asian food, drinks and merchandise. A row of stalls tents was arranged in the laneway, leaving a narrow path for people to walk through and stand. Although the scale of the market was small with about less than twenty stalls, a lively market atmosphere was generated from the crowds through vendors’ activities of cooking and preparing food in their stalls, and visitors eating and socialising where spaces were available.

An interesting finding from visiting this market was that the vendors were actually from restaurants in the city, as opposed to the informal market vendors commonly found in markets in Malaysia (Fig. 3.23). For this market event, these restaurants set up their businesses in a temporary and informal setting, creating as sense of external presence in a market atmosphere. This reveals another structure of a temporary market, where markets are organised through temporarily transforming a formal restaurant into an informal market stall. Market structure such as this is found to be similar to the previous design proposition for the relocation of Lorong TAR night market to KLCC outdoor parking lot.
Figure 3.23: Mapping the stalls at Chinatown Laneway Market
3.3 PLACE AND MARKETS

Through my discussions of Malaysian temporary markets in Melbourne in the previous sections, I have expanded my understanding on the concept of localness pertaining to markets. The *Ramadhan* markets and the brief Chinatown night market illustrate how place can manifest differently with the presence of the markets’ informal and lively activities. The markets did not need an emphasis on what they look like, or what kind of cultural appearances they might be trying to portray. The spatial appropriations, the interactions between the vendors and visitors, the products and the activities together created the festive atmosphere that essentially construct the characters and cultures of the market. In this context, a festive market event was created through the acts of appropriating relevant infrastructures, users and activities, which generated an informal and lively atmosphere for the market activities.

Beginning in the sixties, scholars such as Edward Relph, Yi-Fu Tuan and Christian Norberg-Schulz discuss about ‘sense of place’ and explore a place’s particular character (Relph, 1976; Norberg-Schulz, 1979; Foote and Azaryahu, 2009). Within this discussion, words like ‘distinctiveness’ and ‘uniqueness’ are often used when referring to sense of place. Foote and Azaryahu acknowledge that while sense of place may mean the uniqueness of place, what is defined as ‘sense’ is still open and has no specific definition. They view sense of place as having the unique character of a place that makes it distinct from other places.

However, I find that designing a supposed “sense of place” can be problematic; and this often makes designers resort to designing motifs or ornaments in an attempt to physically symbolise certain identities of that place. For instance, the boulevard in Putrajaya is designed with pavement patterns to symbolise traditional Malay fabric as a way of portraying one of the cultural identities of Malaysia. Dowling (1997) points out that instances like this “assumed that all cultures can take a physical form and that they can be fixed in space and time” (p.27). As demonstrated through my
market projects, culture is a dynamic process that continuously changes through time and how people adapts it. I discuss this in greater depth in the Putrajaya projects.

Particularly in tourism, places have the tendency to be designed or constructed with an aim of creating a certain “distinctiveness”, or attempts at emphasising characteristics that would make the place different from other places. However, are distinctiveness and uniqueness the only important things that give a place character?

From the market projects conducted in Kuala Lumpur and Melbourne thus far, the “localness” of each market is found to be present in similar and different ways. The markets did not have to deliberately portray their identities physically, but the ways they adapt to their contexts contribute to their characteristics. From understanding this process, markets do not have one particular characteristic, but instead a range of characteristics that can be considered and recombined in different ways. One role of a designer here is to accommodate multiple ideas of place and allow for some of these ideas to self-generate in shaping the qualities of that place, rather than attempting to design place as a wholistic entity.

Jacobs (1961) makes reference to people and strangers, the range of activities and the effective demarcation between public and private domains as components that can make a street lively. The combination of these activities and components to enliven streets and places are what planners, designers and city councils call ‘placemaking’. This refers to “creating something special out of or within a space” (Beattie, 1985). Foote and Azaryahu define placemaking as a process or procedure that involves campaigning and promoting the city or place with positive images. Project for Public Spaces, an organisation that educates the public, planners and designers on how to build stronger communities through approaches of placemaking, believes that “placemaking capitalises on a local community’s assets, inspiration, and potential, ultimately creating good public spaces that promote people’s health, happiness and well-being” (Project for Public Spaces). Hence, the general idea of placemaking refers to an approach to recreate places from having the characteristics of ‘placelessness’ (Relph, 1976) or ‘non-place’ (Augé, 1995).
However, must places be subjected to specific identities in order to make the place discernible and for people to find meaning in them?

As illustrated in the Ramadhan markets and Chinatown night market in Melbourne, the markets became temporary places, and this was generated from the combinations of activities by vendors, visitors and the market organisers. The organisations of the markets were not deliberate acts of placemaking, but rather they were recognition of the needs for informal market activities. The forms and appearances of the markets were not designed to portray specific meanings or symbols. They were curated and adapted to their new contexts through ways that enabled them to function as temporary market spaces and to generate an informal, festive atmosphere; which collectively shaped their identities and meanings to users. Consequently, the experiences and meaning that is generated would then be able to create a new or different kind place attachment to visitors (Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008); and this is demonstrated by the demands for yearly Ramadhan markets in Melbourne, although at a smaller scales.

From looking at how temporary markets operate in Kuala Lumpur and Melbourne, the qualities of markets are contributed by the activities of vendors and visitors and the informal and festive market atmosphere. Thus, as a designer in Asian urbanism, I consider the role of placemaking might be to stimulate, or choreograph, these activities and relationships to occur by accommodating them through their hard and soft infrastructures and understanding their socio-cultural and climatic context, rather than directly designing what the markets might look like.
3.4 LOCATING MARKETS IN PUTRAJAYA

As discussed in the previous chapters, I reflect how temporary markets create festive street life for cities and neighbourhoods. They emphasise one way that streets, laneways and parking lots can offer up other types of social, commercial and cultural spaces. By operating in these spaces, the markets also become a catalyst to the spaces around them, as well as to the vendors. Underutilised spaces become reactivated from the market activities, such as how the parking lot at the Shah Alam stadium was utilised for the weekend market. The markets also act as a place where the public or the community get together, and this was demonstrated by the Ramadhan markets in Melbourne.

The roles of temporary markets, whether they are night markets, Ramadhan markets or weekend markets, have found to be greater than just as a place where visitors go to buy affordable food and goods. Temporary markets provide richness and add to the conviviality of the city through their informality and festiveness, in ways that are different from more formal shopping venues.

When I visited Putrajaya, I discovered how the spatial characteristics of the night market in this new city are different from the night markets in Kuala Lumpur (Fig. 3.24). The market site is bigger and the walking lanes for visitors are wider. The stalls are divided into at least three zones, including: clothing and merchandise, food and drinks, and grocery items. It has parking spaces allocated for vendors and visitors at both ends of the market. Having discovered how the night market is adapted and how vendors and

Figure 3.24: Images of Putrajaya night market (Zakariya, 2010)
visitors appropriate sites in different contexts, I wanted to understand more how I might accommodate a market in a newly planned city which is still establishing itself.

Putrajaya is a city that is relatively new compared to Kuala Lumpur. The plan for this city started to take shape in 1993, and the city became a self-governing federal territory in 2001 (John, 2006). Like most new cities, Putrajaya is a planned and designed city. While it is common to find more formally planned and designed public spaces like parks, waterfronts, community centres and market buildings, I found it remarkable that “sites for night market and farmer’s markets” is also included in the planning guidelines (Perbadanan Putrajaya, 2002; Fig. 3.25). This demonstrates how the need for temporary market sites in the policy has been recognised and is an important acknowledgement of the role of temporary markets as another type of public space in the city and in various neighbourhoods. Although there was no specific site designated for the markets, this is understandable because markets operate based on a range of evolving needs and they are also temporary, as analysed in the previous two chapters. The planning guidelines resists predicting the “best” or most appropriate places for markets until the city develops and comes to define itself better. So while the inclusion of the need for market sites in the policy shows how markets can be accommodated through acting at the level of the policy, it is not deterministic but rather open-ended.

Figure 3.25: Inclusion of market sites in the local planning guidelines (Perbadanan Putrajaya, 2002)
Mapping Putrajaya markets

The current temporary markets operate in the vacant site in the Government Precinct (Fig. 3.26). The farmer’s market operates every Tuesday and Friday evening, and the night market operates every Friday evening. The Ramadhan market operates every evening during the month of Ramadhan, at the same market site. Hard infrastructures for the market site include the surrounding office buildings, a mosque that has public toilets, large parking lots for visitors and vendors and the boulevard. The markets are visible from the main road, which is the boulevard. Visibility and convenience are another kind of soft infrastructure that attracts visitors to the market. In the Government Precinct, the boulevard acts as the spine of Putrajaya on weekdays because it functions as the main carriageway that links each of the different office buildings. The boulevard is highly active in the morning and evening, as it is used by people going in and out of the office. However, on weekends and nights it remains quieter and less active.

The relative size of the markets in Putrajaya are also different to the markets in Kuala Lumpur. Putrajaya is more luxurious in terms of the availability of space and it can afford to cater for larger crowds of vendors and visitors (Fig. 3.27). Since the city and its suburbs are more up-scale in terms of the image that it portrays, the market in Putrajaya looks more organised and standardised. I felt more comfortable walking through the crowds because the distance between two rows of stalls was wider, at about five to seven meters apart. However, I sensed a kind of loss of that intimate market scale where I would usually be able to look at what the stalls on the other side have on offer. While visiting the Ramadhan market in Putrajaya in August 2010, I found that its walking lane is about seven meters wide. Because of this openness, I was not able to glance through both sides of the market stalls as I would normally would have done at other markets. Also during my previous visit to Putrajaya night
Figure 3.26: Location of current temporary site for the market and adjacencies to infrastructures
The market is located next to the Boulevard, which is the main road in the middle
market in 2009, I noticed the lack of chaotic sounds that would usually have come from vendors selling toys and trinkets. This creates a different kind of walking experience and atmosphere to the market. So while it might be more comfortable physically, it also seems a bit controlled and less chaotic. (Fig. 3.27-3.28)
Figure 3.28: Spatial differences between Putrajaya night market and Lorong TAR night market
Market visibility

In a study about the Japanese urban culture, Shelton (1999) speculates that many Japanese people see distance in time rather than kilometers. He writes, “the preoccupations with time reflects a different way of ‘seeing’ the city - fragmented, scattered, discontinuous” (p. 61). This is similar to how many Malaysians may experience temporary market and its associated convenience. From my own experience, the sense of distance tends to disappear once I walk through the market. The distance and duration of my walks seem to be absorbed by the chaos and festiveness that come from the vendors, their stalls and other visitors. Convenience help to increase market’s accessibility and function as a linkage between places. Additionally, the concept of convenience might be adapted in different ways to make markets adaptable to different contexts, and I examine this further in the design propositions.

Visibility of markets is another way to visually attract visitors to the markets. The night market is often able to draw visitors because of its visible activity. There needs to be some visible hints of activities to attract people, and this has been demonstrated through the different temporary markets that I visited during this study. Market stalls, lights, crowds of visitors and vendors and their vehicles become a part of this visibility and activity. For example, at the Chinatown laneway market in Melbourne, the glimpse of stall tents and lights from the entrance of the laneway and the sights of people carrying and eating food had given me a sense of the market’s atmosphere before I even walked through it.

In the third series of fieldwork in Putrajaya in August 2010, I drove around the city on a dérive. From the road, stall tents become one of the most visible signs of a market. Although at that time it was in the afternoon and the market was not operating, the tents indicated that there is a market presently operating in that space. Since the primary mode of commuting in Putrajaya is driving, points of visibility began from inside of the car. For instance, the scale of a six-lane
carriageway and the speed of cars going at least 60 kilometer per hour mean that only certain elements in the landscape are noticeable. From the distance, visitors see the tents and lights which signify market activities. Visibility in this case is affected by the architecture of the vehicle and the road (Fig. 3.29).

In another example, at the community market building in Precinct 8 (Fig. 3.29), vendors appropriated temporary tents along the entrance of the market. Most of the market stalls are located inside the building, but vendors took advantage of these spaces outside to make their products and stalls more visible to cars passing by. Vegetable vendors colonised the spaces near the entrances, and as a result, more visitors go to the stalls located near the entrance, which were more visible than the stalls inside. This may also be because that rather than wading through the stall within the building, it is more expedient to purchase items from these external stalls.

In a place like Putrajaya, where most spaces are relatively new and in the process of developing their identities, convenience and visibility play an important role as a soft infrastructure. Temporary markets are commonly associated with a bit of chaos, informalities and street life at night. In addition to considering hard and soft infrastructures for the market, thinking about visibility and convenience might also inform how I can design for and accommodate new market locations in Putrajaya.
A Map About Visibility

frame of visibility

visible market signs

noticeable

noticeable and familiar

Precint 8 Market

speed of visibility

60 km / hr

distance of visibility
80 m with clearance

Figure 3.29: Mapping visibility
Putrajaya alternative market sites

The current site for the night market, farmer’s market and Ramadhan market is only temporary, and the city council of Putrajaya recognises the benefit of utilising this vacant space as a market space before the buildings are built. This means that the markets will have to be relocated in the future, and at the moment, there is no specific alternative site for market. Given this, my next series of design propositions examine alternative locations where the temporary markets might operate.

I started to think about looking for the “heart” of Putrajaya as a beginning point in determining alternative sites for the market. As analysed in the previous chapter, markets at the city scale need a location that has some familiarities to their visitors. I began by asking friends and acquaintances who are familiar with Putrajaya “where they felt the heart of Putrajaya is”. Most of them mentioned the Government Precinct, where the boulevard is located, and Alamanda Shopping Centre, as places that they feel are “hearts” of Putrajaya. They said that they are familiar with the Government Precinct because many of the administrative buildings are located there. While some of them work at the precinct, most others have previously visited the area. Alamanda Shopping Centre is also a common place to most of my friends and acquaintances, as they often go there for shopping and leisure. This had helped me in determining the boulevard and the shopping mall as possible locations to place the market sites because people were already familiar with them (Fig. 3.30).

The Government Precinct is where the night market currently operates. Since the area of the Government Precinct stretches over four kilometers long, I wanted to find a new location for the market within this stretch, but not one which would eventually be built upon. The market already has immediate source of visitors or catchment from the office buildings, and it can continue to act as an activator for nightlife in the precinct after office hours. On the other hand, the Alamanda Shopping Centre is an existing commercial magnet for residents and visitors. Similar to most shopping complexes in Malaysia, Alamanda provides a multi-storey parking complex, air-
Figure 3.30: Alternative market sites to test location strategies

- Alamanda Shopping Centre
- Community Market Precinct 16
- The Boulevard and the oval plaza
conditioned interiors, and a range of retail shops and restaurants. Here, the market is tested to act as a co-activator to the mall by taking advantage of the existing catchment.

While temporary markets are used as strategies to activate the street life of the Government Precinct and to co-activate an informal atmosphere for Alamanda Shopping Centre, I wanted to also test how a market could re-activate a less active space. From my visits to Putrajaya and reading about the developments in and around the city, I found an underutilised community market building located near the shopping mall. After this building was built, apparently the market did not operate successfully. Given this condition, the community market building is chosen as another site to test how temporary market might reactivate the building.
3.5 DESIGN PROPOSITION: REACTIVATING A MARKET BUILDING

The community market building

The community market building in Precinct 16 (P16) is selected because it is currently underutilised. The market building is located within the central community core area of P16, surrounded by a community centre, food court, petrol station, schools and playing field (Fig. 3.31-3.32). From a planner’s point of view, such clustered activities should make the market building an active community space. However, its close location to Alamanda Shopping Centre could have contributed to the inactiveness of the market. In addition, there is a supermarket located inside the mall, which is only about 1.3 kilometers or two-minute drive away from the market building.

Figure 3.31: Community market building at P16
(Zakariya, 2010)
Figure 3.32: Surrounding context of the market building
From my visits to the market in August 2010, I found the market lacked life. Several newspaper articles reported the similar conditions to the market’s inactiveness. The problem of the lack of use was not about facilities or aesthetics, as the market was designed with the necessary spaces and facilities for market vendors. The remaining vendors at the P16 community market building reported that visitors would rather buy fish and vegetables at the supermarket and the night market (Sukaimi, 2009). The night market in Putrajaya and the market building’s close location to the shopping mall seemed to have become competitors to the market.

Despite location and competition as possible causes for the market’s underutilisation, I interrogate other ways to reactivate the market. An early supposition that I had was the possible conflict between how the market was designed and how the vendors occupy the market spaces. Another assumption was the possible mismatch of trading hours between the market vendors and the residents. However, in early 2010, market vendors had extended their operation hours from 7 am until 9 pm to allow for customers to come after they get back from work. Despite the extended operation hours, the market still remains less active at the time of my visit, compared to the other community market building in Precinct 8. Another supposition for the lack of life at the market is due to its lack of visible activeness. From my previous mapping and design propositions on night markets in Kuala Lumpur (in Chapters 1 and 2), visibility and visual cues of activities are found to be vital qualities that can attract visitors.
First proposition: temporary market linkage

*Thoroughfare market*

In this first proposition, I experimented with tactics to create more street life for the market, as a way of attracting visitors from its visible activeness. The market building is connected to the community building, food court, a commercial building and the playing field by a thoroughfare at the back. The thoroughfare might be appropriated to hold a temporary market that could act as a connective linkage with the market building and the other buildings and spaces. The tactic here is to create an outdoor market environment that is different from the nearby mall environment, which is the market building’s nearest competitor (Fig. 3.33).

The thoroughfare is about eight meters wide and designed with two rows of planter boxes with benches. It is currently used as a pedestrian linkage that is not highly active. There a number of disconnections between spaces, such as railings that divide spaces, retaining walls and level changes of the platforms. The strategy is to create more connections between the spaces to make more robust use for possible outdoor market activities.
Figure 3.33: Strategy of creating more connections from the market building to the other spaces by using the thoroughfare as an outdoor market site and sharing of hard and soft infrastructures from the other buildings.
In this proposition, a temporary outdoor market is proposed on the thoroughfare so that it might draw out the existing visitors and users of the food court and the community centre. Vendors from the market building might sell some of their products at this outdoor market, for instance on weekends, as a way of making their products more visible to potential customers and promoting the market to visitors. The existing planter boxes and rows of trees might be appropriated by vendors as their outdoor vending armatures, where vendors tie-on tarpaulins to the tree trunks as a shading device for their stalls (Fig. 3.34). The ramps that segregate the thoroughfare with the food court are altered to provide a grassy slope to create a more open connection between these two spaces. Visitors can also use the slope as informal seating area. This more open connection might potentially create a spillover of the outdoor market atmosphere, where the food court vendors might also take advantage of the event by selling some of their food products outdoors.
Figure 3.34: Cross-section of the existing thoroughfare and foodcourt
To expand more of the outdoor market spaces towards the market building, vendors might utilise the outdoor spaces around the building to temporarily set up their market stalls, hence making the outdoor market more visible from the streets. The outdoor community market then might become a collaboration between the market building vendors, food court vendors and residents from the community. To stretch the market further towards the street and lengthen the connective linkage, residents from the communities could arrange their stalls on the ramp (Fig. 3.35). In this proposition, I propose a tactic of retrofitting micro infrastructures into the ramp, such as adding in side benches with pull-out poles and electrical plug points, and storage spaces underneath the side benches to store kit of parts that vendors could rent or borrow.
Figure 3.35: Cross-sections and collage images of the existing ramp, the proposed pop-up street furniture and the appropriation by vendors on market day
Reflection

This first proposition was aimed at bringing the stalls from the market building to the outdoor space by creating an outdoor community market. The idea was to create a market that would encourage participations of vendors from the market building and the food court and the community as a way of getting crowds of visitors to the thoroughfare; and eventually, spilling over into the market building. However, is an outdoor market at this community scale enough to reactivate the market building?

In this first speculation, the design propositions revolve around retrofitting and adopting typical temporary market infrastructures into the new site, without really extending into thinking how a market might operate in the context of Putrajaya that has an emerging car-culture. Thus in the second strategy, I consider a bolder design proposition into the market building and its adjacent spaces, as well as appropriating the car-culture of Putrajaya into the market’s spatial occupations.
Second proposition: extroverting the market

The market building in P16 was designed to operate fully indoors. At a similar type of market building in Precinct 18, vendors positioned their stalls at the outer edge of the market building to create more of a presence (Figure 3.36a). Extroverting the market becomes a strategy that vendors employed to attract visitors from far.

James Street Markets in Brisbane (designed by Cox Architects) demonstrates a similar idea of creating more flow between the market’s outdoor and indoor spaces. A semi-outdoor corridor is utilised to create a more seamless connection between the outside and inside of the market, where people can walk and sit (Fig. 3.36b). According to the designers, “the building(s) plan comprises of a broad longitudinal spine which flows from the ‘outdoor’ public room through fresh produce markets as it they are one contiguous space” (Cox Architecture). This approach is useful and can be adapted for the market building in P16 in order to pull out the spaces inside the market and extroverting some of its activities.

The following propositions consider creating a market promenade, patios around the market building and the provision of a temporary food market to enliven the existing market activities.
Market promenade

To create an external presence and visibility to the market, the first strategy was to take down the retaining wall that divides the petrol station and the market building. The idea is to make the back entrance to the market more open, and create a promenade that could be used by visitors of the petrol station and the market building. A more fluid connection between these two spaces might encourage more movement of visitors from the petrol station and the street, as the petrol station is more frequented by visitors compared to the market. The promenade might be utilised as additional vending spaces for the market vendors, as well as for roadside mobile vendors at night (Fig. 3.37).

Vendors might use the kit of parts that they already have inside the market building and still utilise the same infrastructures that already exist, such as parking spaces and toilets. By having the stalls in the outdoors near the petrol station, market activities become more convenient and accessible to potential customers. The proposed steps that connect the parking from the petrol station to the promenade would allow visitors to enter the market more conveniently when they want make a more expedient purchase from the market.
Figure 3.37: Making the market more visible by lowering the wall to create a promenade at the back entrance
**Market patios**

The strategy of extroverting the market is further developed by proposing changes to the market building. The market building currently has two entrances, which are at the front and the back (Fig. 3.38). The strategy here is to pullout more of the market entrances to create a wider berth and create visual connections from the outside to the inside, by literally providing a patio for the market building. The current main entrance to the market is located on its upper level, which is connected to the ground level by a vehicular ramp. At the ground level, visitors can walk from the parking lot directly into the ground floor of the market through an underpass. Although the entrance from the ground level is more convenient for visitors to walk from the parking lot, it is a hidden and does not show any visible signs of the market activities inside.

In the design work, an extension of the upper patio is proposed to create a wider entrance. At the same time, both the upper patio and ground entrance might be appropriated as extensions of the market area. Spaces under the ramp can be converted into storage spaces, possibly to store the kit of parts for temporary markets, such as tents, tables and chairs.
Figure 3.38: Market front patios
A similar strategy is applied to the back entrance of the market building. During the fieldwork, I found that more visitors park their vehicles at the backside of the market because they could access the market stalls directly without going through an underpass or the stairs. Given the options of parking in front or at the back of the market, I also entered the market from the back entrance because it was just more convenient. From the main road, the back entrance of the market is not visible. While in the previous design where I proposed the market promenade to replace the retaining walls, this still did not expose much of the market activities. Therefore, the strategy here is to create a back patio, in the form of a wider market corridor where vendors can rearrange their stalls or shops to face outside rather than enclosed towards the inside (Fig. 3.39). The back patio can be used by vendors to arrange their goods as a way of creating an external presence and giving out visual cues of the market activities to visitors. This patio acts as a threshold between the outdoor and the indoor spaces by blurring the boundaries of where market activities might be conducted. The possible appropriation of the back patio is illustrated in the drawings on the next pages (Fig. 3.40-3.41).
Figure 3.39: Extension of the back patio and access from the petrol station through terraces at the promenade
Figure 3.40: Spatial appropriation by vendors at the back patio

Figure 3.41: Visitors enter the market from the back patio


**Programming temporary markets**

Throughout this research, I explore how temporary markets have the opportunity to bring life to streets, buildings and surrounding spaces. Temporary markets like the night markets or outdoors farmer’s/food markets can offer a different dining atmosphere than the indoor food courts and restaurants inside of a shopping mall. Pragmatically, the newly proposed design for the market building with the extended patios make it a potential site for a temporary night market or an outdoors food market. In this proposition, the back lane, patios and terraces become spaces for a temporary outdoor food market, where temporary food vendors would operate when the market is closed (Fig. 3.42).

The promenade and the patio extensions become spaces that are more robust, and can add more functional value to the market building. The design considers how vendors’ open a food stall right from their truck. Visitors then can appropriate the patio spaces at the edges of the market building as a semi-shaded eating space, while a more open-air eating area could be arranged along the promenade. Rather than using the typical stall set-up for the food market, this design adapts the possibilities of more vendors operating their stalls from the trucks. Through this particular design proposition, I adapted some characteristics that were observed from examining conditions currently lacking in the market building, which are creating a kind of street life, visibility and encouraging temporary spatial appropriations to occur as ways of making the market building a more active space.

In a predominantly car based new city, trying to create street life is somewhat challenged. The normative experience of the street is through the car. Rather than forcing a street market, I saw the existing market building and its adjacent context as an opportunity for another kind of market setting. Patios and forecourts are the main places where residents of Putrajaya can occupy as external public urban sites. It seemed appropriate to convert these sites to temporary market event spaces. The flows between the inside and the outside, and how the boundary between the
building and activities it houses start to blur. Thus, the notion of public space can become extended to spaces between the inside and the outside, as well as between the formal and the informal.

Figure 3.42: The back patio appropriated by food market vendors after the market has closed
The combination of a new activity, which is the outdoor prepared food market in the evening, is intended to attract visitors to the market site as a way of getting them to re-familiarize themselves with the market building. The food markets appropriation in the back patio would also create liveliness to the neighbourhoods of Putrajaya at night, as most of the leisure activities are contained within food courts and buildings.
In another alternative strategy, I tested programming temporary market activities to expand outwards towards the thoroughfare at the back. This proposition takes on a bolder approach than the previous thoroughfare design, where I create access for vehicles rather than limiting it to pedestrians. During my visits to Putrajaya, I could not find any roadside vendors selling breakfast or teatime snacks as I would normally find in other KL neighbourhoods. According to a planner from Putrajaya Council, the absence of roadside vendors was because informal vending activities are not allowed, other than the designated temporary market sites. Therefore, in this proposition, I located mobile truck vendors on the thoroughfare as a market space as an extension of the mobile vendors that might appropriate the market building’s promenade (Fig. 3.43). I was attempting to create a new form of centralised breakfast or a teatime market in Putrajaya. To accommodate vehicular access to the thoroughfare, I proposed that the ramps to be widened, while retaining the previously proposed connections and access to the food court, community centre, commercial centre, petrol station and the market building.

Although this design is aimed at testing how mobile vendors might occupy the thoroughfare rather than appropriating the typical temporary market parking lot or stalls, the main strategies remain. I wanted to make the spaces surrounding the market building more active as a way of generating activities and a new kind of street life. Since Putrajaya has a more regulated policy towards informal street activities, designers need to find ways to negotiate between the formal and the informal by adapting the activities into this new context and its particular urban fabric. As in the propositions in this section, underutilised public spaces can potentially become new active spaces for temporary occupations, given that they are already equipped with the supporting hard and soft infrastructures. These temporary outdoor vending spaces can complement the other more formal spaces in the community centre. By externalising the market, the thoroughfare and the patios can serve for multi-functional uses, and hence creating external public realm in addition to the internalised shopping areas.
Figure 3.43: Mobile vending trucks at the thoroughfare and the market building’s promenade
Reflections

For the market building at P16, my design propositions consider the temporary markets as a strategy to link the different spaces between the community centre. I tested a strategy of extroverting the market building to create more access for visitors and made visual and physical connections to and from adjacent spaces. In the first part of the project, I devised a more generic tactic of retrofitting micro-infrastructures onto the thoroughfare, aiming to attract vendors from the market buildings, the food court and the community centre to organise a temporary community market. The intention of this particular strategy is to encourage vendors from the market building to operate outdoors. Since the current night market in Putrajaya operates in the evening and at night, a daytime weekend market might become an alternative outdoor market activity for the neighbourhood.

In the second part of the project, I tested three approaches on how I could make the market building more open and visible. In the first approach, the retaining wall that separated the petrol station and the market building was transformed into a terraced promenade to open up access to the back entrance of the market. In the second approach I speculated how the front and back entrances of the market might be extended into patios to create a semi-outdoor market corridor or apron to the buildings. While market vendors could use the extra spaces to extend their vending space, the same space could be appropriated as an eating area at night when the mobile food vendors are permitted to come in after the market closes. In the third strategy, I pick up on the theme of mobile truck vendors and extend their territories onto the thoroughfare by widening the ramps and the thoroughfare for vehicular access. Similar ideas of creating a linkage are applied in this strategy, so that visitors can also be encouraged to walk through the spaces that are connected by the mobile vending trucks.
However, could accommodating additional markets in the thoroughfare be too much? Does the site and city really need this much market activity in addition to its current night market? While the propositions of market activities around the market building and the thoroughfare might not be the definitive solution to reanimate the market building, the design propositions considered how informal and temporary vending spaces might take shape in the context of a more formal market building; and how landscape architectural design (level changes, seating areas, patio aprons, etc) could facilitate market activities but also physical and visual connections in a disconnected site.

In *Opportunistic Urbanism*, Ramirez-Lovering (2008) demonstrates how tactics are employed by residents in appropriating their environment as part of their everyday space, for instance, walls used as spaces to hang clothes and sidewalks used to open up a stall. Projects collected in *Urban Pioneers* (2007) also demonstrate how vacant pocket spaces are transformed temporarily into cafes and bars, while underutilised spaces are used for community activities and flea markets. My ideas of making the market building more visible and convenient to visitors are a response to the understanding of some of the characteristics and appeal of temporary markets. What these propositions also reveal is how public spaces and commercial buildings might be designed in the future, through creating more robust external spaces that are more connected and open rather than separated and enclosed.
3.6 DESIGN PROPOSITION: CO-ACTIVATING A MALL

The Mall as a Heart

Another place considered to be the “heart” of Putrajaya is Alamanda Shopping Centre. Currently, this is the only shopping centre in Putrajaya, subsequently making it a frequent destination of Putrajaya residents as well as visitors from the nearby cities (Fig. 3.44).

In *City of Shopping* (2001) McMorrough notes how shopping becomes an ‘effective venue’ toward urbanism:

> First, it is remarkably adept at assembling heterogeneous and incommensurate aspects of the city into a connected and fluid urban experience, largely by working as a reductive agent to subsume other programmatic entities. Second, this cohesion provides for a density of events that is familiar and pleasurable and that has proven to be a potent magnet for activity. (p. 194)

The accommodating nature of shopping malls that provides comfort in a controlled micro-climate, options for variety of activities and most importantly, convenience in terms of accessibility, both in terms of getting there and access to an all-in-one venue of activities, are strong attraction factors. This lures many visitors to conduct a great deal of their shopping and leisure activities indoors. Jerde (2010) sees the same potentials in shopping malls. In one of his projects for Fashion Island in Newport Beach, California, he focuses on ‘creating a place where people would want to be, not just shop’ (Fig. 3.45). According to Jerde, Fashion Island was ‘transformed into a pedestrian-scaled village that would appeal to both shoppers and residents looking for an enjoyable place to spend time and relax’. So if Alamanda Shopping Centre is considered as a heart to Putrajaya, how might a temporary market enhance the mall’s atmosphere by allowing a different kind of experience?
Figure 3.44: Image of Alamanda Shopping Centre (Zakariya, 2010)

Figure 3.45: Images of Fashion Island, Newport Beach, California (Jerde, 2010)
Alamanda is designed as a centralised shopping complex, including a two-storey shopping area that houses retail shops and eateries, well-connected parking complexes on its sides and rooftop, a Muslim prayer facility, public toilets and an outdoor plaza (Fig. 3.46). In Malaysia, the shopping mall has grown to become another form of public space, where visitors go not necessarily only to shop, but to engage in social and leisure activities, such as strolling, window-shopping and meeting friends. The option of being inside an air-conditioned building during the daytime and on weekends often becomes a more comfortable situation than being outdoors in the sun, heat, and rain.

Since most visitors come to Alamanda by car, they enter the mall via the entrances from the parking lots, rather than from the main entrance by the plaza (Fig. 3.46). Only visitors that come by public bus, taxi, tour bus or are dropped-off enter the mall from the main entrance. This condition makes the plaza fairly inactive. Similar to most contemporary shopping malls in Kuala Lumpur, the interior design of Alamanda also has a mix of small kiosks, indoor landscape and seating which adds a certain kind of informality to the more formal shopping environment.

From looking at some of the informal activities already inside the mall, I considered proposing temporary makeshift stalls inbetween the existing kiosks to test a new form of temporary mall market. The experiment discussed in the next section was to test whether adapting a form of the temporary market to operate indoors could work in the context of the Alamanda shopping mall.
Figure 3.46: Infrastructures of Alamanda Shopping Centre
First proposition: indoor market

The strategy for the first proposition is to add-in temporary makeshift kiosks inbetween the gaps of the existing kiosks. In this design, I wanted to test how a temporary market might appropriate an indoor space and how visitors to a temporary market in the mall might have a different kind of mall experience. The mall already provides necessary hard and soft market infrastructures (Fig. 3.46). This initial idea was to bring the market to the crowd, rather than pulling the crowd away from their comfort zone.

The width of the walking space inside the mall is approximately 11 meters wide, which creates ample walking lanes on both sides of the kiosks (Fig. 3.47). In this proposition, makeshift vendors are anticipated open their tables and display their goods in between the fixed kiosks. Similar to the kiosks, visitors would be able to approach two sides of the stall. Makeshift vendors in this new form of market might use less of a kit of parts compared to the typical night market vendors because they are operating indoors, and they may also sell pre-cooked food and merchandise; hence making it easier for them to transport their goods directly from the indoor parking lots.

The images on the next page illustrate the mall on normal days and how the mall might look during market days. On normal days, visitors are able to walk from the retail shops to the other side through the gaps in between the kiosk arrangements in the middle. On market days, makeshift kiosks would fill the gaps in, and in return, disabling the crossover access from one opposite shop to another. Another alternative for the occupation of the makeshift stalls might be by the retail shops, where they can display and sell their discounted or promotional items at the stall, similar to an indoor sidewalk sale.
Figure 3.47: Images, plans and cross-sections of makeshift vendors in between mall kiosks
Reflection

Although the idea of appropriating an indoor market is attractive in creating an informal atmosphere to the mall, the invasion of the makeshift market vendors could actually become parasitic to the existing market activities. The mall is a private commercial space and owners of retail shops, kiosks and eateries pay rent for the space that they occupy. The makeshift vendors that might come only once a week or once a month would also probably be charged a certain amount by the mall management. However, their occasional appearance might still become a threat to the permanent shops and kiosks because they could all be selling the same kind of products. Looking back at how temporary markets operate in the previous projects, I realised that most of these other successful markets do not pose a huge threat to their commercial surroundings because they operate at different times and sell more of different products than similar ones. But in the case of Alamanda, the makeshift market that might operate inside this formal form of shopping could become a competitor rather than a co-activator.

In the next proposition, I take the market back outdoors by testing how it might be appropriated at the mall’s plaza, as a strategy to pull visitors outside.
Second proposition: floating plaza market

In this proposition, I wanted to test how a temporary market might be used as a strategy to extend the mall’s life outside. As described earlier, the outdoor plaza is underutilised because most of the visitors enter the market directly from the indoor parking lots. The outdoor plaza has been designed with a water feature including a lake with fountains (Fig. 3.48-3.49). Although there are cafes and restaurants that have frontages facing the plaza, most of the main activities are still internalised into the mall.

While it would be pragmatic to place linear temporary market stalls on the existing plaza, that would still make the mall market a typical one which might not be strong enough to draw visitors outdoors. I saw this as an opportunity to incorporate the water feature as another form of space that could accommodate a different kind of market, and a floating market is proposed.
Figure 3.48: Images of the outdoor plaza and lake (Zakariya, 2010)

Figure 3.49: Plan diagrams of floating market at the lake
The idea of creating a floating is not new, as it has been used by some markets in Mexico and Thailand. I was interested in a floating market in Xochimilco, Mexico called Floating Gardens (Trulove, 2002; Grupo de Diseno Urbano, 2011). Xochimilco is a canal and about 2000 *trajinera*, a type of gondola, float along the canals daily. There are smaller sizes of gondola called *chalupas*, which means decorated canoes, that are used to create the floating market (Fig. 3.50). Vendors in the *chalupas* sell drinks, food, and handicrafts in these brightly painted boats. The floating market becomes an attraction on its own from the experience that it offers, which is different from typical markets that operate on land.

For Alamanda, the promenade and the lake can offer the similar type of floating experience. In the first proposition, I was concerned that temporary vendors from outside might become a threat to the existing retail shops and eateries. Therefore in this second proposition, the vendors for the floating market are proposed to be from the cafes and restaurants that are currently operating adjacent to it. The idea was for these existing cafes and restaurants to extend their service areas towards the plaza, similar to the Chinatown Laneway Market in Melbourne, while creating a more external presence on the lake.

Figure 3.50: Xochimilco Floating market and gardens, Mexico (Grupo de Diseno Urbano, 2011)
To accommodate the floating market, vendors would need different sets of infrastructures. In this proposition, I proposed floating platforms in two sizes that could be combined into different forms (Figure 3.51). These platforms could be used as recreational elements for the lake, and for other events in addition to the markets. They might act as footbridges that could also attract people to interact with the lake.

Figure 3.51: Floating platforms for the floating market
The columns of the external roof and the palm trees might be appropriated as armatures where vendors can tie their floating platforms. Since the plaza is also equipped with lighting, the floating market would also be able to operate at night. With this, the mall management and the restaurant/cafe owners could create different configurations of the floating market. During the event of the floating market, vendors could extend parts of their dining areas onto the floating platforms, as a way of offering a unique experience to visitors. (See Fig. 3.52-3.53).

Figure 3.52: Collage of images of the promenade and lake on normal days and during floating market event
Figure 3.53: Cross-sections of the floating market
Reflection

In this second proposition, I explored how a temporary market might operate in another different form and context. In this case, the market was appropriated to suit the available spaces and infrastructures of the mall. I realised that the possible typology of temporary market proposed at Alamanda might be different from the typical assemblage of night market vendors that I have examined in the previous projects. However, this particular project has shown how the idea of temporary markets can progress beyond its traditional format.

Alamanda Shopping Centre is the type of place that is commonly found in most suburbs and new city. This mall demonstrated how the internalisation and centralisation of leisure and shopping activities has produced another kind of public space, and that this phenomenon is inevitable. Nonetheless, however much “outdoor-like” spaces or informal spaces are designed indoors, the atmosphere potentially offered by a temporary market could enhance the mall experience. Jerde (2010) demonstrates these two spatial qualities through his mall designs, where here experiments in internalising the outdoor environment into the shopping mall and externalising the shopping mall into the outdoors.

The Alamanda market propositions and the temporary markets proposed at the community market centre previously have tested how a new form of market might operate at a smaller scale. They take existing places and extend their identities through the forms of informal and temporary markets, which were adapted according to the suitability and relevance to each place. The floating market at the mall considered the fact that the mall operated within the private realm and needed a form of market that was suitable to its context. On the other hand, the strategy was different compared to the strategy for the temporary market proposed at the community centre that was public. Both of these projects have yet to address the relocation of the current night market. In the next proposition, I interrogate the relocation of the night market to the boulevard.
3.7 DESIGN PROPOSITION: ACTIVATING THE BOULEVARD

Putrajaya Boulevard

The current night market site in Putrajaya operates on a vacant site in the Government Precinct. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Government Precinct was designed with a formal boulevard running down its centre stretching 4.2 kilometers in length. Designed by Hijjas Kasturi Associates, “the Putrajaya Boulevard represents the continuum of Malaysia’s history since its independence” (Hijjas Kasturi Associates, 2006). Similar to the concept of Haussman’s Parisian boulevards (Soderstrom, 2008), Putrajaya Boulevard symbolises the aspirations of Putrajaya as a new and progressive city. An oval plaza called Dataran Wawasan (translates into “vision plaza”) is designed at one point of the boulevard to symbolise the earth and environmental harmony.

The boulevard is meant to serve as a public space. It has been designed as a tree-lined avenue with shade, shelters, lighting and provisions for a future LRT station. Its width is at a grand scale of 100 meter wide, including 30 meter-wide exterior sidewalks and three-lane carriageways on both sides, and an 18 meter-wide pedestrian avenue extends down its centre. While the boulevard and the oval plaza are intended as open public space for everyday activities, they are currently only utilised for annual events like the independence day parade. During the daytime, the carriageways are used by moving vehicles, and the pedestrian avenues remain largely unoccupied. Because of the scale of the spaces and the design’s intent towards facilitating automobiles, pedestrian activity is curtailed here. At night, the boulevard, the oval plaza and the grand buildings became a sight to “see” from the windows of a car rather than a site to “occupy”. (See Fig. 3.54)
Figure 3.54: Putrajaya Boulevard and Dataran Wawasan oval plaza
(Hijjas Kasturi Associates, 2006; Zakariya, 2010)
In *Finding Form and Missing Space: Malaysian Architecture Identity*, Mohd Yaacob and Megat Omar (2007) discuss the ideas of the architecture of informal economies, and how this idea could actually be an answer to discovering parts of Malaysia’s architectural identity. They examine how the robustness and richness of the streets as an integral part of the urban context is often overlooked, while cities are planned, conceived, and developed focusing more on modern iconic buildings. Even the mainstream views usually focus on physical and formal aspects of the built environment and are devoid of social and cultural contexts of our urban fabrics.

Currently the market is operating within the same area, I consider relocating it to the boulevard and the oval plaza. Pragmatically, there are ample spaces for vendors to occupy their market stalls along the boulevard and on the oval plaza. Market vendors and visitors could also still utilise the existing hard infrastructures available, such as the public toilets, nearby mosques and parking spaces provided.

As I have examined in Chapter 2 in the relocation of Lorong TAR night market to Dataran Merdeka and the KLCC outdoor parking lot, a market also needs more poetic gestures and soft infrastructures. The ceremonial boulevard that is surrounded by the grand architecture is a unique soft infrastructure; and placing the market on the “public” boulevard demonstrates a strong gesture of giving back the space to the public. The market could also reflect Malaysia’s “everyday” ceremonial activities, through celebrating forms of informal night markets. In this way, the identities and cultures of Malaysia are not merely reflected through symbolic paving patterns on the plaza surfaces and ornaments in the streetscape. Rather, they are acted out through the activities within the market.

In this final series of design propositions, I experiment with three propositions that test how the market might operate on the oval plaza, as a drive-thru market and as a combination of a drive-thru and walk-thru markets on the boulevard.
First proposition: plaza market

The oval plaza is an approximately 75-meter-wide open space. It is equipped with a covered walkway along its perimeters, benches, lawns, trees and street lighting. Its size and available infrastructures (open space, street lighting, covered walkway, public toilets, benches, planter boxes, rubbish bins) make it a potential market space. Because of its garden-like setting, a different kind of market atmosphere could be created for Putrajaya.

The idea of appropriating the oval plaza for a temporary market is illustrated in the well known plaza market in Marrakech, called Djemaa el Fna. Djemaa el Fna is a large open space located in the heart of the old town of the Medina (Fig. 3.55). In the daytime, the square is filled with orange juice sellers, snake charmers, henna tattooists, spice sellers and other vendors. This festive atmosphere continues throughout the evening when the square is filled with food stalls. Stalls are arranged in rows and vendors set out benches for diners. The chaos of vendors and swarm of visitors transform the open plaza into an active market square at night.

![Figure 3.55: Djemaa el Fna market square in Marrakech (AlexandrDmitri, 2010)]
I adopted a similar concept in my proposition for the plaza market at the oval (Fig. 3.56-3.59). The zoning of stalls is carried through to the plaza market, where food vendors might appropriate the covered walkway as dining spaces for visitors, and merchandise and grocery vendors might colonize the more open space. Trees and street lights in the plaza might be utilised by vendors as their armatures and micro infrastructures, while also having the option of adding on extra seating spaces under the trees and in the lawn. Vendors can park their trucks along the roadside for them to have easier access to the plaza and their stall locations.

The carriageways are still retained for vehicular access, but the middle avenue is transformed into parking spaces for visitors. It is expected that the plaza on the opposite side might also be used as extra parking. From the boulevard, visitors would be walking towards the oval plaza and then into the market atmosphere. The non-linear arrangement of the market stalls might be able to create a less typical walking experience for visitors. Locating the market here would also put the plaza into a more active use; while at the same time symbolizing that the nation’s “vision” is manifested through the commercial, social and cultural activities brought about by the sights, sounds, and smells of the market.

Figure 3.56: Collage of the plaza on market days
Figure 3.57: Plan of plaza market
Figure 3.58: Cross-sections of the plaza on normal days and market days
Figure 3.59: Detail plan considering how the plaza might be appropriated by vendors
Second proposition: drive-through market

In the second proposition, I adopted a different approach by creating a drive-through market around the boulevard and the oval plaza. This idea originated from looking at how some vendors have changed their mode of vending from a stall to a truck, and from recognising the established car culture in Putrajaya. The culture of informal roadside vendors was discussed in Chapter 2, which enabled me to consider how a similar adaptation of the drive-thru market might be able to adapt in the context of Putrajaya.

Portable food trucks have also found to be emerging as another form of vending in alternative to food courts. In Portland, Oregon, clusters of food trucks gather in an open space or parking space and are organized into “pods” (Food Carts Portland, 2010). The food carts support small, locally owned businesses similar to the concept of temporary markets. Vendors would park their trucks and carts in a spot, then create spaces around them for people to queue and sit to enjoy their food (Fig. 3.60). In another event called Mobile Chowdown in Seattle, food vendor trucks convene in an open parking lot and transform it into a market event.

Figure 3.60: “Pods” in Portland, Oregon (Food Carts Portland, 2010)
To plan a drive-through market, an understanding on the architecture of the car and trucks and their relationship to the scale of the site is crucial in facilitating shopping. Mobile vendors might park their trucks in the left lanes of each carriageway while allowing the two other lanes to be used by moving vehicles. Since this event will take over the road and might change the pace of moving vehicles, the drive-through market may be more suitable held on weekends when the boulevard is least active. Visitors can either idle their car near the trucks for window or drive-thru service, or park their cars in the available spaces in the median or by the roadside for walk-up service. (See Fig. 3.61)

In the drive-thru market proposed in both the boulevard and the oval plaza, vendors might only require spots to park and vend. Since the market operates based on the constant change between moving vehicles and stopping vehicles, the market might require a technique to “choreograph” the movements in the market. Hence one strategy is to locate the vending trucks about 15 to 20 meters apart to allow ample
space for visitors to pull in and stop or park their cars in between the trucks. Other micro infrastructures might include traffic cones and signboards to make visitors more aware of the mobile vendors up ahead. (See Fig. 3.62-3.64)

The choreography of the drive-through market includes designating the carriageways into a drive-through strip that is located on its right sides, and two lanes for vehicles to pass on the outsides. Visitors can then have the option to drive through the boulevard and stop temporarily near the mobile trucks. Alternatively, visitors can park their cars in the median strip and walk to the mobile trucks. It can be anticipated that visitors might also utilise the plaza for night picnics.

![Figure 3.62: Cross-sections of the drive-through market](image)
Figure 3.63: Plan of the drive-through market
Figure 3.64: Detailed plan of how the drive-through market might be occupied
Third proposition: The Boulevard market

In this final proposition, I relocated the night market on the median of the boulevard. Acting as a ceremonial space that connects government offices and commercial buildings in the Government Precinct, the boulevard is a grandiose symbol of Putrajaya’s desired image. Its 4.2-kilometer length and the 18-meter wide pedestrian median space makes it a practical space for a linear night market to operate, and potentially, a very long and iconic one. By locating the market onto this ceremonial boulevard, I am suggesting that as a modern city, Putrajaya should also celebrate its “everyday-ness” and its less formal side as part of the city’s progressive culture. The boulevard would be a rich and lively place when it is occupied by residents and visitors, rather than an empty display of designed features.

Las Rambla in Barcelona is one example of an active boulevard that is lined by cafes, bookstalls, flower shops and vendors on its sides (Fig. 3.65). The boulevard cuts through the heart of the city centre, similar to the boulevard in Putrajaya. The activities and spaces that operate at a pedestrian scale make the boulevard more attractive as a public space, while bringing down the scale of the building and the roads.
In this proposition, I tested how the previous two propositions might be combined, by combining a walk-through and drive-through market on the boulevard. While the idea of having a fully drive-through market would create a distinctive night market in Putrajaya, from the previous fieldwork, mapping esquisses, and propositions, I believe that walking is still one of the best modes to experience a night market’s atmosphere. The interactions that occur amongst visitors in the crowds are enhanced by aromas and sounds which are largely perceived through waling through the market. Nonetheless, the second proposition revealed potentials of adapting a drive-through market to the boulevard as it embraced the emerging car culture of Putrajaya.

In this proposition, I located the market on the median of the boulevard in linear arrangements (Fig. 3.66). While it is anticipated that the market stalls could also be extended onto the oval plaza, in this particular design I focused more on testing how the market might be appropriated on the boulevard. At 18 meters wide, the median has ample space to accommodate two rows of 6 by 6 meter stalls, which could also include mobile truck vendors. When two rows of stalls operate on this median, the walking lane in for visitors would be approximately 5 meters wide. This width is a suitable scale for a large night market, as it is not too narrow so that visitors might find it over crowded, while at the same time it is not too wide preventing the market from losing some of the chaotic qualities that make it lively (Fig. 3.67-3.69).

Similar to the previous proposal for the drive-through market, this market would need additional micro infrastructures such as traffic cones to demarcate lanes for drive-through and spaces for cars to idle and parking. Mobile vendors’ trucks and their signboards might also be placed at about 30-meter intervals so that drivers can see the stalls ahead of them and they can prepare to enter car queues. While car-visitors queue in the drive-through lanes, it can be anticipated that vendors from the nearby stalls might also take advantage of approaching the cars to sell their products.
Figure 3.66: Boulevard market operations
The drive-through lane stretches about 85-meter long. Visitors have the option of queueing in this lane if they want to buy products directly from their car, or they can opt to park their vehicles and walk through the market. The gaps in between the rows of stalls create access for visitors to cross over to the plaza.
Figure 3.67: Cross-sections of the boulevard market
Locating the market in the middle of the boulevard on the pedestrian median strip would create a more pedestrian-scaled site for activities. Since the boulevard is one of the open public spaces that is most likely to be retained as part of Putrajaya’s design, it serves as the most potential location for temporary activities like night market to operate into the future.
Figure 3.68: Detailed plan of the possible stall and vending truck locations of the boulevard market
Figure 3.69: Collages of the boulevard on weekdays, during ceremonial events and on market weekends
Mapping the market procession

One of the challenges in designing in the context of a more formal city was in mapping and representing informal richness of the market amidst the formality. From doing the three propositions, I realised how much of the richness of the market is lost through the standard modes of representations I employed. It was particularly relevant in my attempts to adapt informal activities into a more formal and iconic setting. Mapping and representing a process or condition has been an important part of this research as it reveals certain qualities of a place or activities that might not be shown through conventional drawing techniques.

The boulevard market operations still choreographed complex and rich processes, but they happen in a much more formal setting. The overlay of the activities and the sequence that transpires need to be understood, as this would determine how the market might be planned and managed. To consider order within the chaotic nature of the market, I adapted a mapping method utilised by Matthew Picton (Harmon and Clemans, 2009). Picton uses layers of thinly cut enamel paint in mapping the overlays of streets and structures based on a plan (Fig. 3.70). Although his technique is similar to an overlay mapping, the qualities of the three-dimensional lines allow the map to be read as individual layers and as a collective overlay.

Figure 3.70: Portland, 2007 by Matthew Picton (Picton, 2007)
(overlay mapping using duralar, enamel paint and pins)
I adapted the techniques by Picton to reveal the richness of the boulevard market’s procession. The intention of this mapping is to illustrate the overlay of process that occur through the market operations. While the process can be drawn as a diagram, the physical overlays as in Picton’s map allow me to read the process as individual layers and an overlapped process at once.

The map was done using cut-out papers, pins and threads, and they were overlaid in the same sequence as the sequence of the market operation (Fig. 3.71-3.72). The first step in the process is to identify the market spaces: market space on the boulevard, activity space for visitors at the oval plaza, vendor and visitor parking areas along the boulevard and locations of public toilets. Then traffic cones might be arranged to designated the area for the drive-through lane and parking spaces. Next, near to the market’s operation hours, vendors would enter the boulevard and start to set up their stalls. Vendors might also place portable rubbish bins at different spots of the walking lane. Then visitors start arriving at the market. Some visitors might park their car at the parking spaces, while some might shop through the market via the drive-through lanes. After the market finish its operation, the garbage collection service might make its route through the boulevard and the oval plaza to clean excess litters. While the sequence of the procession are not definitive might change at different intervals, the layers illustrate processes that are important to be considered in curating a market. This overlay map continuously reminds me of the detailed process of market planning and that the complexity of that process is a significant part of market’s richness and qualities.
Figure 3.71: Diagram of the market procession overlay, 2011
Figure 3.72: Boulevard market overlay mapping, 2011
Reflections

In relocating the market to the boulevard, I experimented with three speculative strategies of ways to accommodate the market. Since the night market currently operates at a temporarily vacant site slated for future development, there is a high probability that the market to be relocated in the future. As I have deliberated throughout this chapter and in the previous chapters, locating a market is a vital strategy in accommodating and designing a market. I consider this to be an integral act of design, as finding a suitable location enables a market to operate as part of the city. It is also important to note that newer cities like Putrajaya may have to predict where night markets should occur rather than rely on soft infrastructure conditions which have not manifested yet. So designing strategies to locate night markets is a useful exercise in working through how to consider future factors rather than existing conditions. In addition, night markets along with other temporary activities might also be catalysts for street life.

Adapting and accommodating the market to its new context was also important. A similar perspective is given in *Urban Pioneers* (2007) on temporary and informal space occupations. In the study of Berlin’s urban development, temporary spaces are seen as a product of structural changes in the economy. Temporary spaces contribute to the city through providing a venue where innovative ideas can be implemented or tested, and in this way, they trigger positive development. In the first proposition, I placed the market on the oval plaza mainly through transferring the form of the market from its existing site to this new site. Locating a market here is spatially practical, and it might also create a new park-like market environment that has yet operate in Putrajaya or Kuala Lumpur. However, the concept of the plaza market was still similar to how most markets currently operate, other than for its different immediate settings.

In *Post-It City: The final space in the contemporary city*, La Varra (2009) writes how the nature of public space has changed, where temporary activities can transform a public space. La Varra describes the *Post-It City* concept as when spaces in the
contemporary city are occupied temporarily. The boulevard is an iconic space in Putrajaya, and the availability of hard and soft infrastructures around it serve as potential for ‘post-it’ activities like markes to take place.

In the second proposition, I tested how a drive-thru market might operate in the boulevard, considering the emerging car-culture and the familiarity of locals with roadside vendors. While the proposition only considered mobile truck vendors in the drive-thru market, vendors that typically use a stall might still vend alongside the truck vendors. In *Subversive Architecture*, Kronenburg (2009) adds to the discussions of *Post-It City* through seeing subversive architecture as elements that can enrich the urban environment. He gave an example of how a mobile soba noodle hut operates in the middle of a busy traffic island in central Tokyo contribute to the vibrant city environment. For the customers, this mobile hut is convenient and becomes an activity for them; and for the vendors, they can take opportunity of the site at optimum hours without renting the space.

In the final proposition, I speculated how the boulevard market might operate as a walk-through and a drive-through market. Combining both these types of operation might be able to create a market that is more relevant to the culture of Putrajaya. The experience of walking through and sitting inbetween rows of stalls is one of the qualities that make temporary markets different than individual roadside vendors. To create this kind of atmosphere for the drive-through market, perhaps the location of the mobile trucks could be nearer rather than further apart. Pragmatically, the market stalls could stretch as long as the 4.2-kilometer boulevard. However, as the market goes further away from the central point, some of its festiveness and chaos might also disappear. The experience of the walk-through market in the median of the boulevard can also create a strong juxtaposition with the modern buildings surrounding it, thus generating an exciting experience for visitors compared to walking through a market that is tucked away from the heart of the city. The market becomes an opportunity for visitors to further utilise the boulevard as a public space. At the same time, the addition of the drive-through market lanes demonstrates how temporary markets can be progressive and adaptive in new contexts.
3.8 DISCUSSIONS

At the beginning of this chapter, I examined how markets might be accommodated through the policy. Temporary markets in Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya have been able to operate because flexible policies recognised the role of markets and temporary vendors as part of the cities’ informal economies. Although currently market planning in Putrajaya is done based on needs, the acknowledgement for a site to be allocated for night markets and farmer’s market in the city’s local guidelines demonstrates the potential of temporary markets to be considered as an important public and commercial space for the city. This shows how policy becomes another vital platform where landscape architects can intervene to empower the development of temporary and informal markets.

From the mapping and propositions in markets in Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya at shifting scales, I found that it is crucial to understand how the markets operate at a range of scales. This then informed how a policy might also work to accommodate temporary markets at similar shifting scales. Koolhaas (1995) alludes to the importance of creating enabling fields that accommodate processes through the creation of frameworks. Through the acts of designing a flexible policy that recognised the overlap of the formal and informal, temporary markets could continue to progress and adapt to their changing contexts.

The discussion then continued to my experiences as a vendor and visitor at three temporary markets in Melbourne: the Ramadhan markets and the Chinatown night market. From participating in these markets, I was exposed to the different ways that vendors appropriate their stall sites in market environments in different social, cultural and climatic contexts. My involvement in these markets was important because they stretched the notion of localness that I had at the beginning of this PhD. For instance, the markets did not have to physically replicate the physical appearance of a typical Malaysian night market for them to operate as temporary
markets or to reveal their festive characteristics. I discovered that the rich qualities that make temporary markets a festive place were generated from a combination of the settings where the markets operated: the aggregated spaces that were created in between the stalls and among visitors and vendors; the array of products; and the combinations of sights, sounds and smells. The essences of localness are present in ways the markets take shape and adapt to their sites of operation. For example, as vendors in the backyard Ramadhan bazaar, my husband and I only utilised a foldable camping table and chairs, and some containers as our kit of parts at the stall. I realised that for us to use foldable camping equipments as vending props at a Ramadhan market, we were contributing to the characteristics of a backyard Melbourne-Malaysian Ramadhan market.

From examining how the Malaysian markets were adapted in the context of Melbourne, I examined how markets might be relocated and adapted in the context of Putrajaya. I continued to interrogate ways to accommodate temporary markets in a new context because it is important to understand that cities and lifestyles are changing, hence markets should be adaptable to these changes as well. Through the fieldwork in Putrajaya, I discovered how the night markets, farmer’s markets and Ramadhan markets contribute to give street life and vibrancy to this formal and planned city. In between the grand gestures and modern buildings, residents and visitors in Putrajaya can still enjoy the coexistence of the informal atmospheres of the market.

At the three sites where I tested relocating the existing temporary market, I interrogated how markets could become strategies to re-activate an underutilised community market building, co-activate a shopping mall to create more of its external presence, and activate a formal ceremonial boulevard as an informal market space on weekends. Each of these projects tested how markets might take shape and consequently change roles at the different sites. For example, I initially adapted a community market in the thoroughfare as a strategy to link the market building, community centre, food court and petrol station. After examining the design work
and reflecting on how temporary markets can reactivate the market building, I proposed strategies to make the market building more visible and open by extending its frontages to create semi-outdoor spaces. This was done through shifting some of the temporary markets informal qualities into the market buildings, while at the same time, thinking about how mobile vendors might utilise the market building’s external spaces while it is closed. This approach tested how a formal building space can become more robust to cater for temporary and informal activities.

In the shopping mall project, I learned how temporary markets might operate in a different way in the context of a private, commercial space. The indoor market proposition was potentially parasitic rather than enhancing the mall’s vibrancy. Consequently, the market was proposed to operate outdoors as a way of attracting the mall visitors to utilising the plaza. This proposition led to an interesting finding, which was testing the possibility of transforming a typical temporary market form into a floating market. Although the floating market may not be able cater the existing night market, the design revealed how the idea of outdoor temporary stalls on the lake could become extensions of indoor mall restaurants. This design also exposed the different sets of infrastructures that this market might need to operate.

In the third proposition, I relocated the market on the ceremonial boulevard. Locating the market in this formal public and civic space tapped into the event culture of the boulevard, while creating a juxtaposition between the formal image of the city with its progressive everyday culture. The propositions in the Boulevard and the oval plaza were not merely about relocating the market from its existing site. Through doing these designs, I tested how the market might adopt to some cultures of Putrajaya, such as the pride of the city with iconic landmarks and activities, its vision to create public spaces for its residents and visitors, and the visible patterns of car-culture that could be sensed from the scale that the city was planned.
From understanding the culture of the new context for the market and the procession of how it might operate, I was also able to identify other sets of site specific micro infrastructures, such as the use of traffic cones and signboards to aid the movements in the market.

The proposed appropriations of the temporary market onto the boulevard that takes into account the immediate and emerging cultural context reflect a progressive notion of place and cities as asserted by Massey, Sandercock, Lim and Lang. The idea of privileging both formal and informal qualities of places and allowing them to change according their processes broadens how we value places. Through examining places from a wider perspectives and across different scales, and treating them as being open rather than limiting to specific identities, designers and planners can offer other accommodating strategies that consider the qualities of place greater than just how they look. And this can be achieved by changing how we see and read the place.

The design propositions in this chapter have further revealed the importance of adapting the markets to their spatial and cultural contexts, which then can inform designers of the necessary hard and soft infrastructures and possible strategies needed to accommodate the market at different scales. They also helped me to understand how markets might become future catalysts for life in the public domain.
References


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Conclusions
CONCLUSIONS

My design research started with an enquiry into how temporary markets are designed and planned as informal spaces. I questioned how temporary markets adapted to a changing city, and how design can accommodate them and their rich qualities. Through my previous academic practice in Malaysia, both in teaching landscape architectural design studios and conducting studies on tourism, I found that there is a tendency for designers and design students to design markets with cultural themes or iconic symbols, as a gesture in portraying the markets’ local identities. This practice is particularly common for market projects that are developed or upgraded for the purpose of tourism. For instance, the design of Petaling Street in Kuala Lumpur was “enhanced” by the addition of a Chinese pagoda gateway and decorative red lanterns (as discussed in Chapter 1). The cultural themes may symbolise some parts of the cultural identities of Petaling Street. However, there are qualities of the street market that needed to be unpacked and understood in different ways to allow for other kinds of design work.

I began the design inquiries by considering markets designed with cultural themes to be reductive in revealing their other characteristics, as a juncture to develop further research questions. I demonstrated this through the first fragmentary design esquisse on Petaling Street market in Chapter 1, where I tested six quick propositions to reveal the characteristics of the market, while trying to avoid a generic cultural theme. In one proposition, I proposed an alteration to the large-span roof that covers the street market, as a gesture to bring back the qualities of a typical open-air temporary market in Malaysia. In another proposition, I adopted the use of colourful market umbrellas as hanging structures that could provide shade, while at the same time minimising the obstructions on the floor surface. Through these early design propositions, I realised that I was being nostalgic to some of the market qualities that I perceived to portray the market’s characteristics – its informality, open-air atmosphere and colourful umbrellas. At the same time, I was trying to find ways to
retrofit them to the street market’s newer appearance. But the design propositions at this stage still revolved around the idea of recreating the market’s appearance; and this approach was not much different from their current design. It seemed superficial and like I was decorating the market but not dealing with the systems and scales of the market on the whole. However, there were hints of accommodating the market’s informal ways of operating, and this became a departure point for me to develop key research questions: How do we value informality and localness through understanding temporary markets? How can we map the markets to understand their qualities and how they operate? What is the role of design in accommodating temporary markets and localness?

Temporary markets are familiar to me, as they are commonly found throughout Malaysia. To understand the qualities of temporary markets at greater depth, I experimented with different techniques of observing and mapping that enabled me to see the markets with a fresher set of eyes. Site visits, inventory and observation are some of the methods that I have applied in my previous design and teaching practice. Through these methods, elements that are on the site and behavioural patterns of users are recorded and evaluated in terms of how they function and how they might affect the functions and potentials of the site’s future design changes. Consequently, design becomes a solution to the needs of the site. However, to unpack more of the markets’ characteristics beyond of how they look in general, I needed techniques that could aid me in revealing more of how the markets operate, their spatiality, their relationship with the sites where they operate, and how vendors and visitors utilise the market spaces. Accordingly, I examined how a range of designers and artists explored places around them, as a departure from my conventional fieldwork and design methods.

The *Walk-on-Meal* project, where I assembled a plate of this rich dish from different *halal* restaurants in Melbourne, revealed an early important finding. Following specific instructions as a datum for my walk, which was to buy a dish from each *halal* restaurant that I passed by, allowed me to discover and map four *halal* eateries along
Swanston Street. I experimented further with techniques of following, tracking and observing a specific object or individual as a way of discovering other things. As a trajectory from the *Walk-on-Meal* project, I chose the Malaysian rice dish, *nasi lemak*, as another datum for me to explore Melbourne. I visited and dined at restaurants that sold *nasi lemak* throughout the city. At each place, I documented how the dish tasted, its components and how it is served. The *Nasi Lemak Melbourne Map* revealed six restaurants that sold *nasi lemak* in Melbourne, and this changed how I see Melbourne as a foreign and Western city. Mapping this dish did not only document the locations of the restaurants, but the map exposed a layer of Melbourne that I felt was relevant to me as a Malaysian student.

In another mapping project, the *Nasi Lemak Ingredients Journey Map*, the journeys of the ingredients in the dish demonstrated a system that contributed to the plating of *nasi lemak* in Melbourne. The trajectories of these ingredients demonstrated Doreen Massey’s idea on how places are made of a constellation of events. Consequently, this had shifted my research directions to consider temporary markets from a wider perspective and at a range of scales. I needed to understand the different systems involved in the operation of market. The ingredients map also revealed the role of other infrastructures, such as transportation, points of distribution, and access. Similarly, in another mapping project entitled the *Muslim, Malaysian, Melbourne Guidebook* and *Walk Walk Melbourne Blog*, where I collected places that I regularly visit as a Muslim Malaysian woman in Melbourne, I discovered common facilities that are needed among Muslims and Malaysians in Melbourne. Facilities like *halal* eateries; prayer facilities, *halal* grocers and Asian supermarkets become important infrastructures for Muslim and Malaysian residents and tourists in Melbourne. This was an important moment in the PhD. The *nasi lemak* maps demonstrated that the characteristics of the dish are not singular, and they were significant in unpacking the systems of a plate of dish. The guidebook project revealed specific infrastructures that were important and relevant to a specific group of users, in this case, Muslims and Malaysian. Accordingly, I adopted similar techniques of closely observing specific moments at the markets in Kuala Lumpur and
mapping them, rather than trying to observe the conditions of the markets generally. I wanted to have deeper understanding of the systems that enable temporary markets to operate, and the infrastructures that might be important to market vendors and visitors.

From the observations, mappings and design propositions, I discerned characteristics that were relevant to the markets’ operations. This was done through observing specific moments at the markets in Kuala Lumpur, such as numerous vendors’ practices of tying-on things to armatures; how they take opportunities of available spaces for vending; their ingenuity in arranging and displaying their products; and how the occupation of the market spaces shift over time. Some critical findings were that the markets needed be spatially flexible because they are comprised of an aggregation of market vendors who each appropriated their market spaces differently. This discovery was further expanded when I mapped the journey of a night market vendor, Vendor J, and found how the flexibility and modularity of his market kit of parts enabled him to adapt his market stalls in different settings and contexts. Tracking Vendor J in his different market sites and closely observing how he set up his stalls, where he parked his car, and how he used the infrastructures at his disposal, revealed specific hard infrastructures that the market operation required. For instance, at Lorong TAR night market Vendor J utilised the electrical plug points that the city council has provided to generate electricity for his stall lights. From visiting the different markets and mapping the infrastructures that Vendor J needed, as well as the infrastructures that I needed as a visitor, I identified a set of hard infrastructures for markets. Infrastructures such as parking spaces, public toilets, prayer rooms, locations close to a commercial areas or residential areas, access and public transportation appeared to be commonly found through out the different market sites. These hard infrastructures are supported by the provision of micro infrastructures, like electrical plug points and lot markers which aid the vendors’ operations.
I also learned that a network of soft infrastructures supports the development of markets. I discovered this through following Vendor J and interviewing the city council and vendor association. Some examples of soft infrastructures include the planning and management of temporary markets by the city council, the establishment of vendor associations, and the collaboration between the city council, vendor association and other services in the process of market planning. Mapping soft infrastructures for temporary markets was a critical finding in this research because it reveals various players and stakeholders that are involved in the planning of markets. Temporary markets that appeared informal and spontaneous were revealed to have a more formal infrastructure behind its operations. An interesting finding about soft infrastructures was how they needed to have some flexibility and looseness. For instance, although the policy is a formal platform, it needs to embrace that markets thrive on temporality and informality as significant parts of its functional activity and as public spaces. This is another role where designers should be involved, at the level of the policy, to extend ways to accommodate markets to continue to operate in cities and neighbourhoods.

The observation and mapping projects aided the design process throughout the research, although not necessarily in a sequential or chronological order. While I initially started doing the design propositions for the markets through redesigning at the scale of the stall and the street, it became important for me to test the propositions further at shifting scales. The design process involved many series of speculative propositions where I experimented with a range of minimal, intermediate and maximal changes to the market sites. At the stall scale, I tested how a market stall might retain its flexible characteristics while thinking of ways that it could work together with other stalls at the market. Although the proposed stall design might be impractical for market vendors, the design propositions revealed different ways that vendors might become opportunistic to the stall’s structure. For example, the flexibility of the stall roof was addressing the expanding and contracting nature of market stalls. Although the idea of proposing a new form of standardised stall attempted to embrace the flexibility of the existing market stall, it did not contribute
significantly to the operation of the market at a greater scale. In another design esquisse, I proposed a rollover curb on the sidewalk to ensure market vendors could easily use the sidewalk as their parking spaces. While this might enable vendors’ access to sidewalks, it seemed problematic in that markets do no occupy streets much more than five hours per week. The costs associated with the rollover curb for five hours of occupation per week may not be all that appropriate. Also in cities where new markets might be planned, putting in fixed infrastructures when the market may need to relocated to another street seemed a bit short sighted. However, upon reflecting on these design propositions, I realised that there are other important infrastructures that markets need to enable them to operate.

Design acts at this stage still revolved around the idea of designing physical structures. I reflected on each design esquisse by tying them back to the observations and mappings that were conducted at each stage. The design propositions were not only evaluated in terms of how vendors and visitors might occupy the markets, but they were also used as a process to understand more about temporary markets and their activities. So here, design became a process of discovering more about markets, rather than just solutions to accommodate them.

I adopted another strategy to accommodate markets, which was to test where they could be relocated and what would be needed to support their operations. The strategy was based on the understanding what kinds of hard and soft infrastructures that markets need to operate. To test this idea, I proposed the relocation of Lorong TAR night market to Dataran Merdeka (Independence Square) and the KLCC outdoor parking lot in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I tested three different locations where temporary markets might operate and how their methods of operation might change in a different urban context, Putrajaya. Both of these relocation strategies expanded the ways that a designer can engage in planning and designing a market. While at the beginning of my PhD I was designing stalls and streets of the markets, in the relocation strategies I demonstrated how providing infrastructures might also act as a design gesture.
At the boulevard market in Putrajaya, through my design propositions I found that markets at this newer city might need different methods of operation, thus requiring different sets of infrastructures. In one of the propositions, I proposed a walk-through and a drive-through market to operate on the boulevard as a strategy to enhance the city’s street life on weekend nights. This proposition revealed how the market might need other kinds of micro infrastructures, such as traffic cones, signboards, portable rubbish bins and electrical plug points, to accommodate the drive-through and walk-through visitors. Locating a market in the ceremonial boulevard was a strategy to activate Putrajaya’s street life, through adapting a typical night market to the emerging car-culture in the city. However, as event culture is already an existing part of the boulevard, enabling a night market to operate in this formal space addresses how informal and temporary spaces like night markets extend the idea of what is considered public space in Malaysia. Temporary markets are a significant part of Malaysian culture. They reveal another form of public space that is temporary and informal, and one that is also culturally rich and diverse. The collective observations, mappings and the findings from the speculative design propositions revealed that markets are changing and we need to find ways to allow them to retain their richness amidst these changes.

Through the course of the PhD research, I interrogate the role of design in accommodating temporary markets and the idea of localness. The design projects include iterations of speculative propositions for the markets; and mapping projects that helped me to rediscover the market, the city and people. In my previous learning experience and teaching practice, design is often a step that comes after “enough” information about the site has been gathered through site inventory and site analysis. However, the drawback of designing only after information has been collected is that the design becomes a product, when designing can become a process of knowing. Designing is an important part of the PhD because through employing different design strategies in the market sites I am able to interrogate the ramifications of each design; but also I come to know new things about markets and the places that they operate within. The advantages and disadvantages of each
design revealed new strategies into how the market operates in different conditions, enables a range of complex interactions, and puts forward multiple ways to engage with it and the city. This knowledge enabled me to test numerous design strategies and to not be concerned that I needed a single answer or definitive design. In between these interrogations, there is a continuous discussion on how designers can accommodate the qualities of temporary markets in different ways. All of this is a significant contribution to my academic practice that sits within and in between the fields of landscape architecture and tourism planning. The research has allowed me to discover new ways of valuing the market as a place. Consequently, this suggests different ways that designers and planners can act when dealing informal and temporary places – whether through directly intervening with the site, or providing infrastructures that could enable something to operate, or making changes in the policy. The design process and techniques which I have employed in this PhD build on my practice as an academic and as a landscape architect/tourism planner, which provides a significant contribution to the fields of landscape architecture and tourism planning in Malaysia.

Techniques of observing, mapping, as well as the iterative and reflective design process that I employed throughout this research mark another contribution in this PhD. The outcomes of these techniques have shown how observing and mapping do not only record and illustrate how market operates, but how they also suggest alternative ways to accommodate markets. These techniques contribute to the fields of landscape architecture, design and tourism in ways that they become extensions to the conventional methods of conducting site visits and inventories. Mapping how a place operates at multiple scales can potentially reveal where it is suitable for the designer to intervene and how to intervene. Shifting scales was also an important approach that assisted me in understanding temporary markets. I explored this through a series of design propositions at the scale of the stall, the street and the city. These techniques and other design processes from this research are also important in developing my academic practice, as they provide another approach for me to pass on to my students and enable them to evaluate sites differently. Some of
my design strategies and propositions shifted as I changed the ways that I saw and understood temporary markets. Accordingly, providing alternative ways for students to see and evaluate a place might also expand their roles as landscape architects in the future. The contributions of the different methods employed through the research are also valuable to my role as a designer and planner, as they offer me alternative ways of approaching and engaging with actual projects.

The focus on designing with informality and temporality, particularly within the context of Asian urbanism, enables another contribution. Numerous studies have suggested how informal and temporary spaces make the city lively by temporarily transforming public space, while also enabling opportunities for other ways in which a space can be occupied (as in studies by William Lim, Peter Lang, and publications such as *Urban Pioneers, Post-It City and Loose Space*). I expanded upon approaches of designing with temporality and informality at multiple scales through the projects in Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya, as well as the mappings of backyard markets in Melbourne. Temporary markets have qualities of informality and temporality, but they require particular ways of planning and designing because they operate at the scale of the individual vendor to the scale of the whole market simultaneously. I addressed this issue through speculatively accommodating the market at shifting scales. Through designing temporary and informal markets, I also learned that there needs to be a negotiation between the formal and the informal. This is particularly relevant in Asian urbanism as informal spaces co-exist and are symbiotic to formal spaces. While qualities of informality, chaos and spontaneity seem to be prevalent in temporary markets, it is important to understand that such qualities are contributed by complex systems and conditions.

In Malaysia and within the Asian context, studies on traditional markets, street markets and night markets are gaining interest among researchers. These studies recognise street markets and street vendors as adding vibrancy to urban places. The projects in my research demonstrated the different roles of temporary markets to the city: to enhance street life, as catalyst to reactive underutilised spaces,
and most importantly, as another form of public space. While other studies have examined the importance of temporary markets as part of culture through assessing perceptions and experiences of visitors and vendors, there has not been enough research that looks specifically at Malaysian temporary markets through the aspects of design and planning. Doing the research through design enabled me to test and evaluate the different approaches of accommodating markets. Accordingly, my research techniques and design projects revealed more qualities of the markets that can be extracted at various scales, and the roles of hard and soft infrastructures in supporting the markets’ operations. As such, this PhD provides new knowledge in learning how temporary markets operate throughout the city, and alternative approaches of how they might be planned and developed.

This PhD also broadens how we can engage with localness through acknowledging the co-existence of the local and the global. I find the discussions about places by Doreen Massey and Leonie Sandercock compelling. While Massey addresses processes of place from a geographical point of view, and Sandercock discusses emerging global and multicultural cities from a planning perspective, my research projects in Malaysia and Melbourne demonstrate how places accumulate different characteristics and spatially adapt to their changing contexts. This has enabled me to approach temporary markets in a more open way as opposed to looking at them only from within the boundaries where they operate and beyond their aesthetic appearances. Local is no longer something that needs to be preserved in traditions or only in Malaysia. Local becomes constantly reinvented and reconsidered, and this continuously reshapes the characteristics of places.

Since this design research was conducted mainly in the context of Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya, there are opportunities for future studies to be conducted on how markets operate in other parts of Malaysia that might have various cultural and spatial practices. In the end, I hope my PhD helps others to celebrate temporary markets and enjoy them as much as I do.
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