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IDENTITIES AND SPACES FOR MOBILE HAWKERS A STUDY OF CHINESE URBAN POLICIES AND PLANNING

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ABSTRACT

As a branch of the informal economy, Chinese mobile hawkers are declining as urbanization matures. The economic trough of the epidemic in 2020 has given the street stall economy a brief recognition and recovery in China. Many Chinese cities experimented with policies and urban planning to open up the hawking economy and reduce restrictions on mobile hawkers. During the transition period after China's reform and opening up in 1978, the floating population policy and the reform of the national economic system led to a sharp increase in the number of mobile vendors. Under the concept of urban modernization and globalization, the mainstream class has always regarded the surviving space of mobile hawkers as the opposite to modern urban space. Hence, the city authorities and citizens often question the rationality of their existence, and missing urban identity is the root cause of the problems of mobile hawkers. However, as a poor and marginalized group, mobile hawkers have reasonableness and positives to urban life and public spaces. The article explored in-depth the opposition of space politics, that is, the process of citizens reshaping public space by their initiative and creativity from a bottom-up view. The essence of mobile hawking space is a public sphere issue, and its spatial characteristics are the key to the necessity and feasibility of opening up the mobile hawking policy. Based on the spatial feature, the article focused on the current urban ruled-based policies about releasing restrictions on mobile hawkers. Among them, the first-tier city of Guangzhou started the policy of hawking-approved policy and put a diversion model into trial use, giving a meaningful example for a new urban public service concept and spatial governance. The article analyzed the positive and negative effects on mobile hawker in the diversion model. Besides, the mobile hawker issue is one of the Chinese megacity issues that reveal the key to realizing the fairness and efficiency of public service and urban governance, which points to neighborhood-based urban planning and co-governance.

ASTRATTO

In quanto ramo dell'economia informale, i venditori mobili cinesi sono in declino con la maturazione dell'urbanizzazione. La depressione economica dell'epidemia nel 2020 ha dato all'economia dello stallo di strada un breve riconoscimento e una ripresa in Cina. Molte città cinesi hanno sperimentato politiche e pianificazione urbana per aprire l'economia del falco e ridurre le restrizioni sui venditori mobili. Durante il periodo di transizione successivo alla riforma e all'apertura della Cina nel 1978, la politica demografica fluttuante e la riforma del sistema economico nazionale hanno portato a un forte aumento del numero i venditori mobili. Sotto il concetto di modernizzazione urbana e globalizzazione, la classe dominante ha sempre considerato lo spazio sopravvissuto dei venditori ambulanti mobili come l'opposto dello spazio urbano moderno. Pertanto, le autorità ei cittadini spesso mettono in discussione la razionalità della loro esistenza e la mancanza di identità urbana è la causa principale dei problemi dei ambulanti. Tuttavia, in quanto gruppo povero ed emarginato, i venditori mobili hanno ragionevolezza e aspetti positivi per la vita urbana e gli spazi pubblici. L'articolo ha esplorato in modo approfondito l'opposizione della politica spaziale, ovvero il processo per cui i cittadini rimodellano lo spazio pubblico con la loro iniziativa e creatività da una vista dal basso verso l'alto. L'essenza dello spazio di hawking mobile è una questione di sfera pubblica e le sue caratteristiche spaziali sono la chiave della necessità e della fattibilità dell'apertura della politica di hawking. Basato sulla caratteristica spaziale, l'articolo si è concentrato sulle attuali politiche urbane basate su regole sul rilascio delle restrizioni ai venditori mobili. Tra questi, la città di primo livello di Guangzhou ha avviato la politica della politica approvata dal hawking e ha messo in pratica un modello di diversione, fornendo un esempio significativo per un nuovo concetto di servizio pubblico urbano e governance spaziale. L'articolo ha analizzato gli effetti positivi e negativi sul venditore mobile nel modello di diversione. Inoltre, la questione del venditore ambulante mobile è una delle questioni delle megalopoli cinesi che rivelano la chiave per realizzare l'equità e l'efficienza del servizio pubblico e della governance urbana, che punta alla pianificazione urbana e al co-governo basati sul quartiere.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE RESEARCH MOTIVATION

At the beginning of June 2020, when Chinese Premier Li Keqiang visited Yantai, Shandong Province during the epidemic, he highly praised the hawking economy for its functions of creating jobs, bringing a vibrant urban street life, and sending warm vibes. Various cities have introduced related policies soon, and the public on the internet also expressed great interest in the job of mobile hawkers. A few days later, the *Beijing Daily* commented that the wording insisted that the economy of street vendors is not suitable for Beijing. They gave the reasons that the city should maintain its classification and cannot develop an economy that is not in line with the strategic positioning of the capital city and that is not conducive to creating a harmonious and livable environment. *CCTV Financial Review* also argued that it was inappropriate for a Chinese first-tier city to promote the street hawker economy. They explicated that the street hawker economy can only provide a temporary solution for unemployment but was certainly not able to drive a state's economy. Therefore, in the eyes of most academics and experts the hawking economy has a **symbolic meaning** more than **practical meaning** during this special period. However, the public also embraces it with great enthusiasm from comments on online platforms. Many cities have also supported and encouraged the recovery of the hawking economy by adopting more flexible policies to **reduce the identity and space restrictions** on mobile vendors. If the city authorities want to restore the hawking economy, they need to change the conservative thinking to guide and regulate the mobile hawking in **a new perspective and a spatial governance model**.

1.2 RESEARCHS QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

After the reform and opening up in 1978, China has accelerated the process of marketization and urbanization. With the relaxation of the population mobility policy, the agglomeration effect and siphon effect of cities have broken the balance in the long-standing dual urban-rural land structure. In addition, the big cities have formed a formal-informal dual economy which has influenced the urban space. The mobile vendor has

become one of the standing forms of informal employment thanks to its large scale. Now it seems that the **increasing number** of mobile hawkers is closely related to **the degree of urbanization** in cities. In 1978, only 15,000 employees were outside the formal sector in the country; by 2006, it had explosively reached 168.2 million, equivalent to 59.4% of the total number of 283.1 million employees in urban areas (China Statistical Yearbook 2007: Table 5-2, pages 128-129; see also Hu Angang and Zhao Li 2006).¹ The informal economy has today become the largest non-agricultural sector in China. The existing research estimated that China's urban hawkers accounted for 5.2% of the total urban employees and 15.9% of the city's informal employees.² At the same time, the increasing mobile hawkers has also **shaped the urban space**. They dedicated the landscape of modern cities by spreading public spaces that work for the circulation and distribution of people.

With modernization and urbanization today, the imbalance of supply and demand has implied the saturation of the labor market and the internal spatial conflicts of which the problem of mobile hawker is the outstanding. In the past decades, Chinese big cities authorities adopted high-pressure management on mobile vendors using **the one-size-fits-all approach**. On the one hand, it aimed to improve the urban image to raise the urban competitiveness and the exchange value in urban space; on the other hand, it helped avoid mounting pressure in the management. The past spatial strategies utilized purification methods such as transfer, expulsion, and substruction to regulate public space. They successfully initiated a new boost of **capital investment**, but it also paid a high price, sacrificing **the surviving space** of the marginalized class. As we can see, Chinese city under the trend of globalization and urbanization have also formed a public space politics dominated by neoliberalism. In addition to the authorities, the mainstream social consciousness dominated by the middle class also excludes the existence of mobile hawkers. Hence, the city authorities and citizens often question the rationality of their

¹ Huang, Z. (2009), *China's Neglected Informal Economy: Reality and Theory*, Journal of Open Era, 2009(2): pp. 51-73, <http://ww2.usc.cuhk.edu.hk/PaperCollection/Details.aspx?id=7096>

² Huang, G (2015) *The Socio-economic Roots and Spatial Politics of City Hawkers (1st ed.)*. Shanghai, China: Commercial Press: pp. 63-65

existence, and **missing urban identity** is **the root cause** of the problems of mobile hawkers. It first makes mobile vendors lose their legal status to enter the market and then restricts or deprives their survival space of economic production and service provision, making them always **in asymmetric competition**.

In addition, the issues have turned to violent conflicts when the survival space of vendors and the modern cities have become **opposite** each other. The archives show that, from 2011 to 2013, more than 130 cases of recorded conflicts between urban management and mobile hawkers.³ The Chinese city governance stuck to **the conservative policy** using high pressure to achieve absolute control on hawkers. In the short term, it decreased the number of hawkers and minimized traffic interruption. However, the overdriven interactions have also brought some **side effects**. The mobile hawkers used to gather spontaneously in definite places, such as large-scale farmer's markets and flourishing commercial streets. After the sole rectification, most mobile hawkers, instead of disappearing, utilizing their liquidity and mobility, have spread to corners having week surveillance in the city. The city authorities pushed them to avail themselves of every single space and second to make a living, but this approach also invisibly expanded the area of surveillance. **The difficulties and costs** of urban governance have also **augmented**. Besides, various restrictions and obstacles from politics, economy, and society **did not hinder the increasing** number and the scale of mobile hawkers. It indicated that they have unique characteristics and some advantages to let them gain the acquiescence of a part of the society and embed successfully in urban space. (See Figure 1-1)

³ Zhang, S & Mao, W (2020) *Can "identity" and "space" continue? —Thinking on the urban governance of mobile vendors in the post-epidemic era*, Journal of Chongqing University of Science and Technology 2020(6): pp 25-29

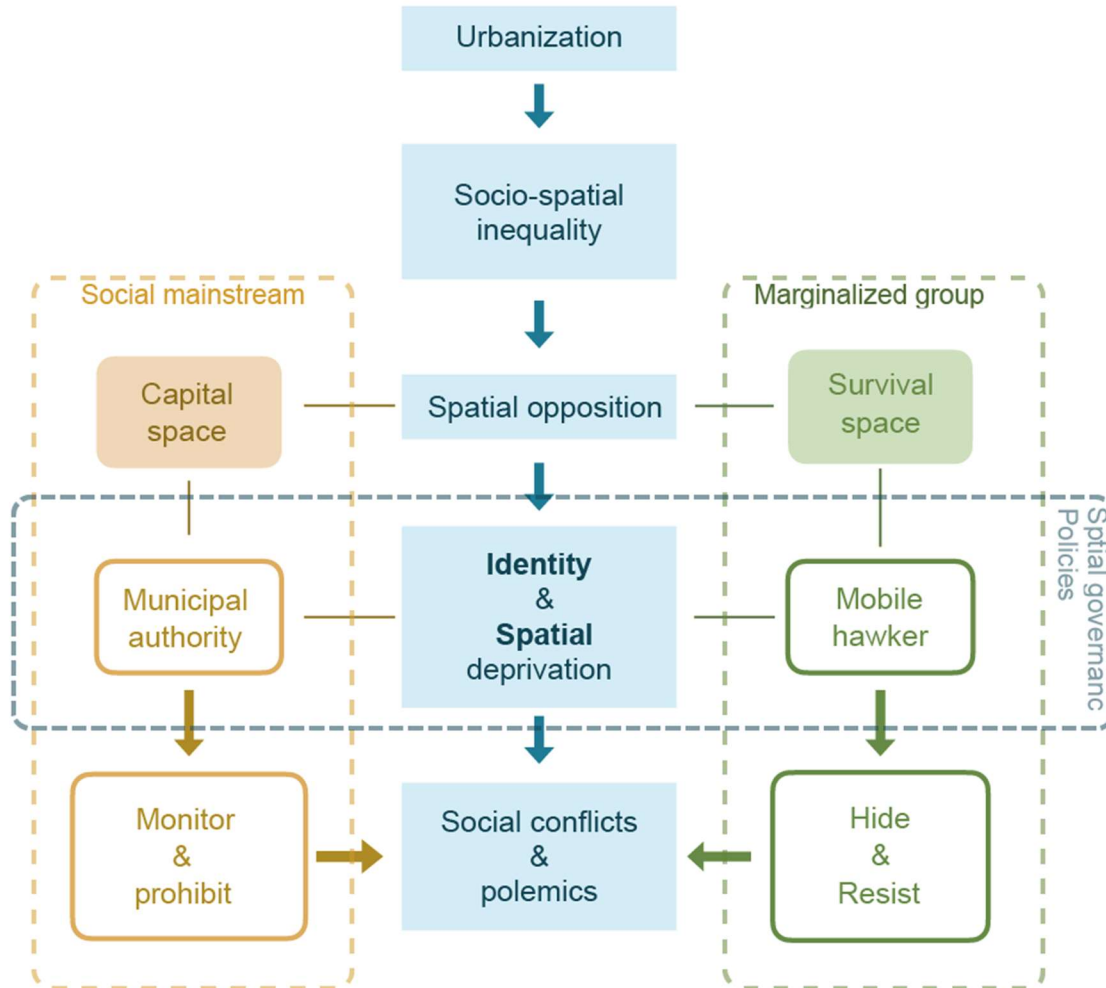


Figure 1-1 The scheme of the hawking urban issue

Therefore, **the principal research question** of the article is **How do urban policy and planning give mobile hawkers accessing rights of identity and space?** We study respectively from two sub-questions:

- **What are the essence and characteristics of mobile hawkers' spontaneous spatiality?**
- **Do the current urban policy and planning respect mobile hawkers' spatiality? What are the positive and negative effects?**

The article collected data from articles and reports and applied **the research method of content and discourse analysis** for the data interpretation.

1.3 THE RESEARCH PATH

Firstly, we studied **the historical development** of street vendors because **it maintains an ancient commercial form**. Then, following these clues, we analyzed **if** the marketization and the urbanization were **the cause** that formed their scale and increased the number to clarify what **the key factors** were in this process. Then we analyzed what **positive effects** it has brought to cities today. The article firstly tried to prove **reasonableness** in mobile hawkers and their behaviors to city authorities and citizens. Before intervening in others' fates, city authorities need to avoid the prejudices of the dominant ideology and see the facts that mobile hawkers didn't steal resources and make chaos in the cities but supplied missing functions of public space and created spatial vitality.

The issue of mobile hawkers is a common phenomenon in the process of urbanization around the world. It has aroused extensive discussion in the international academic community since the second half of the last century. However, relevant research in China is relatively lacking. To be more precise, many researchers studied it from **the perspective of city authorities**, emphasizing the internal relationship between spatial exclusion and structural transformation of the economy and focusing more on disciplinary policies implementation and its positive effects on the underlying groups from a looked down view. Very few researchers explored in-depth the opposition of space politics, that is, the process of citizens reshaping public space by their initiative and creativity from a **bottom-up** view. The spread of informal public space by mobile hawkers as an example may reveal the crisis lurking behind the city, and it may also contain opportunities to activate space. We need to change perspectives and positions to understand the characteristics of mobile hawkers. Because blindly treating it as the opposite attribute of urban governance to contain, such as their most conspicuous liquidity, may increase management costs instead. From a bottom-up perspective, the article tried to study **the specific spaces** where mobile hawkers gathered, to clarify that their behaviors were not disorderly and irrational and that the neighborhoods they implanted had explicit typologies. To reason, the article analyzed **essence and characteristics** of their

spontaneous behaviors, explored the laws of **the spatial distribution** in the neighborhood, and studied which **resources they utilized** to establish a sustainable relationship with the surrounding environment. **The above purpose** further proves the **reasonableness** of mobile vendors in daily activities and discusses if there are **positives** in their interactions with urban spaces. The author intended to provide city authorities new ideas to solve problems and discuss how to transfer authorities to the public.

After the central government deliberately relaxed the street hawker economy, many cities introduced **new policies** for the application of street vendors. Firstly, mobile hawkers can have a legal identity in the street stall economy by acquiring the certificates through qualification approval and products quality inspection. In addition, cities converted neglected space into specific vending areas for mobile hawkers and formulated regulations to operate uniformly. Among them, **Guangzhou** started **the policy of permitted vending places for street hawkers** long before the epidemic. It applied **a diversion model** as the core of the policy, of which the objectives were not only to maintain the city image but to benefit the people's livelihood. It replaced the previous conservative approach with **an inclusive and exclusive parallel strategy** and intended to balance urban capital and the interests of people's livelihood. The project has achieved some results so far. The article **focused on the case** to study which **administration** took responsibilities and the content of management, how they granted **vendors certifications** and allowable business scopes, and how they converted neglected **spaces** and set up a business boundary of area and period, and which the **positives and negatives** were in the implementation. During the epidemic, **many cities across China** introduced the policies of spatial permission on mobile hawkers that more or less took Guangzhou's guidance model as a reference. The article selected **typical local policies** and compared them specifically from **three sectors of administrations, identity certificates, and spatial giving strategies**.

However, the new urban policies support the street hawker economy mainly **in terms of identity and space**, but their underlying objective is to **remove the informality** and promote regularization. Issuing licenses distinguishes legal vendors from illegal vendors.

Allocating the vending area renders space immobilization to remove their liquidity in cities. While de-information policies have brought mobile hawkers back to urban space also reduced their negatives. However, from **the perspective of hawkers**, the new policy has brought **new problems**. If there are loopholes in the release of the legal identity of vendors, unequal access rights for the occupations would arise. Space immobilization will weaken the low-cost and liquidity advantages of vendors. (Figure 1-2)

On the one hand side, the informal economy has some **negative aspects** that harm the socio-economic system, such as unfair competition and hinder the development of workers, such as income instability. For mobile hawkers, their business could bring traffic interruption and hygiene issues, and their products are out of market supervision and condone the existing inferior products and illegal services. The formalization of the informal economy usually overcomes various institutional barriers that require **substantial support from the government**. Monotonous policies are generally difficult to work. Monotonous policies are generally difficult to work. In addition to prohibitions, the government needs to reform the system forcefully and formulate preferential policies to provide resources, such as loans, training, and business premises, finding a way to reduce resistance to the reformation.⁴ That also means that city authorities need to **pay higher costs** for it. If city authorities intend to relax restrictions on mobile hawkers by giving them legal identities, **the added cost** must inevitably **transfer** to them. **On the other hand**, the informal economy has **evident advantages**. Mobile hawkers belong to self-employment with characteristics of flexibility and autonomy, and their entry costs are relatively low. These can easily cater to the employment needs of low-income groups and marginalized groups. Some researchers have found that formalization measures would cause the informal economy to lose the upper hand and harm the interests of the poorest.⁵ Therefore, there is **an inevitable contradiction** of

⁴ Williams, C (2005), *Formalizing the informal economy: the case for local initiatives*, Local Government Studies, 2005-31(3): pp333 - 349.

⁵ Lince, S (2011), *The informal sector in Jinja, Uganda: implications of formalization and regulation*, African Studies Review, 2011-54(2): pp.74 – 93 & Sanyal, B (1988), *The urban informal sector revisited: some notes on the relevance of the concept in the 1980s*, Third World Planning Review, 1988-10(1): pp. 65 - 83.

urban policies, which is that regularization with the original intention of supporting the informal economy may **not be conducive** to the development of the informal economy. However, under the surface of the contradiction, there will also be enlightenment. The article finally elaborated on **the double-edged sword nature** of the policy and made relevant suggestion for a future scenario of urban policy.

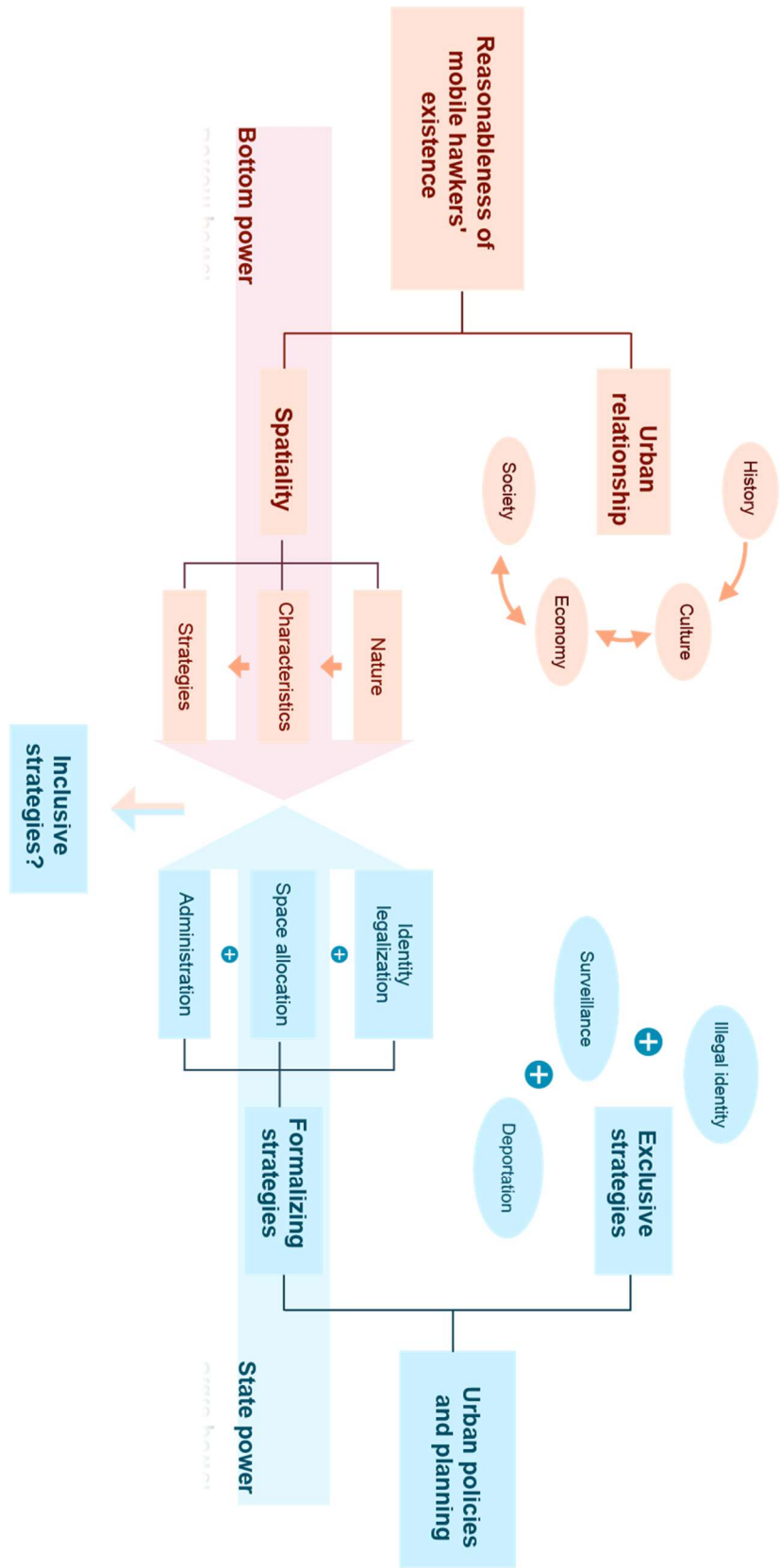


Figure 1-2 The scheme of the research path

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1 SPATIAL POLITICS RESEARCH

Before the 1960s, Western scholars of the Global North mainly focused on geographical space and spatial geography - space in the sense of geography or architecture. In the late 1960s, however, scholars gradually began to apply the concept of space to sociology, focusing on the social and cultural dimensions of space and shifting the research perspective progressively to space sociology. On this basis, the concept of spatial politics was gradually derived.

- SOCIAL SPACE: THE PRODUCTIVE TURN FROM GEOGRAPHIC SPACE TO THE SOCIAL SPACE OF DAILY LIFE

The first turning of spatial studies began in the 1960s when space as a new narrative perspective gradually crossed over into social theory. At the end of the 1960s, ideas related to the geographic area were progressively marginalized in the sinking and dissipation of the geographic imaginary. A voice critical of traditional human geography continued to grow, and an attempted spatialization began to emerge against the background of the conventional spatial imagination.¹ In this context, the spatial theory began to turn to sociology as an essential perspective for studying the spatial structure, morphology, spatial layout, social problems, and capitalist development.

Henri Lefebvre was the first to interpret Marxism theoretically and practically in terms of space, to explain spatiality in terms of materialism, and to be the first to expound the dialectical logic of space systematically. He believed that space is an indispensable tool for capitalist production and reproduction, an essential element of capital reproduction. The appropriation and export of space is a usurpation of capitalist production's surplus principle and a necessary asset for capitalist success. He believes that space can be

¹ Pan, Z. (2007). *Spatialization: A new narrative and a new turnaround*. Foreign Social Sciences, 2007(4), 43

produced and that space is also an important site of the social output. Lefebvre put forward the “trinity” of the general social theory of space and dialectically divided the structure of space into three interrelated parts: representation of space, spatial practices, and representational space. He also proposed three elements of space (as shown in Figure 2-1) - conceived, lived, and perceived.² This was also the main category of Lefebvre’s general social theory of space, which he believed could explain society and history, which conversely could provide a range of ways to depict space. For him, “where there is space, there is being.

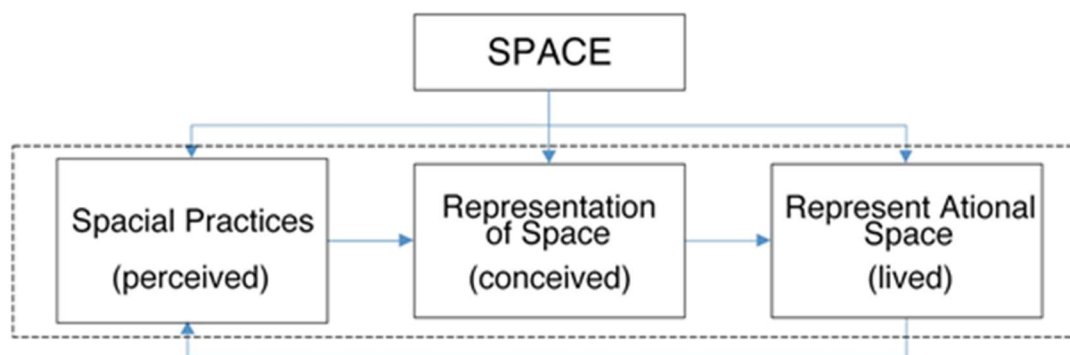


Figure 2-1 Spatial structure and the relationship of the three elements of space

David Harvey’s theory of spatial production opens up a new perspective for our knowledge and understanding of contemporary capital accumulation.³ He argues that “each social formation constructs objective concepts of space-time according to its own needs and goals of material and social reproduction and organizes material practices according to these concepts.”⁴ *Social Justice and the City*, Harvey’s first work on spatial theory, in which he argues that cities under capitalist relations of production have been sites of social tension, exploitation, and emancipatory movements and remain so today when they face migration, rapid urbanization, growing inequality, authoritarian governments, ethnic tensions, terrorism, climate change, and other unprecedented challenges.⁵ In *Urban Revival and the Spirit of Postmodernism*, he mentions that the compulsive intent

² Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Wiley-Blackwell.

³ Harvey, D. (2006). *Spaces of global capitalism* Verso.

⁴ Harvey, D. (2008). [Author], Zhu Meihua [Translator]. *Between Time and Space: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination*[J]. *Urban Cultural Studies*,2008(00),2-26.

⁵ Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city*. Johns Hopkins University Press

of postmodernist architecture in its ambition is not to dominate the city as the great modernist architecture did, but to divide the city into radically opposed spaces, and the postmodernist phenomenon seems inevitable to manifest itself - in the reckless overbuilding of commercial space since 1974 - in the fate of urban space as the 'era of will into space,' displaying the spirit of fictional capital more freely than ever before.⁶

Questioning the tendency to indulge in historical determinist historical imaginaries and disregard geography and space, Edward William Soja attempted a critical postmodern analysis of space and society, fundamentally rethinking the dialectical relationship between the two,⁷ and analyzing the spatially productive nature of society with a fresh vision and perspective. He updated Lefebvre's concept of three-zone space with his idea of three-zone space, and he argues that space is the extension of social systems in space and time, a scene and system full of nodes, with interaction as the order of distance of existence, prompting the continuous reproduction of urban space. He argues that the trend of spatial segmentation is ubiquitous and can be understood as a geographical space divided by regions in the city. Different spaces have different functional partitions, prompting the production and reproduction of urban space to occur in cycles. Urban construction has the instrumental 'presence validity' of social power, with the city as the center of control, through refined geography of scope, boundaries, supervision, separation, social rules, and spatial distinctions, to maintain domination.⁸

After the modern geographers represented by Lefebvre, David Harvey and Edward Soja pioneered the study of urban space and the socio-spatial production of everyday life, the spatiality of the city, the interaction of spatial forms with social processes, and the possibility of constructing a spatial-social dialectic began to become the focus of modern geographers' research.⁹ The socio-spatial theory attempts to reveal the process of spatial production by incorporating different spaces and spatial forms into a unified approach.

⁶ Davis, M. (1985). *Urban renaissance and the spirit of postmodernism*. *New Left Review*, 1985 (151), 106

⁷ Soja, E. (2003). *Writing the city spatially*. *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 7(3), 269-281

⁸ Pan, Z. (2009). The shift of social space of contemporary sociological theory. *Jiangsu Social Science*, 2009(01), 27-33.

⁹ Pan, Z. (2007). *Spatialization: A new narrative and a new turnaround*. *Foreign Social Sciences*, 2007(4), 43.

Scholars began to use spatial production to explain capital accumulation under the capitalist production system, the spread of global inequality, and the division of urban living space. New political science economics was gradually born.

- Social politics: the shift from social production of space to spatial politics

Space is a scientific object that maintains a close relationship with politics and ideology. The productive nature of space means that it can produce surplus value, and space as a means of production is inevitably contested as a political tool by many subjects of interest. Social space, with its ideological and political nature,¹⁰ is the site of any public life and is 'the basis of any occupation and the operation of power.'¹¹ Social space is at the same time social, permeated with social relations,¹² containing and giving place to social production and reproduction relations. Space provides the basic strategy for implementing power, which cannot operate without the physical nature of space, and space and power interact and have become an integral part of political domination. Consumerists occupy social space and divide it to form the center of power activity. To change lives and make better use of space, we must first shape it, and the process by which space is shaped and used is political.¹³ In this world, any mode of production and society actively produces the space that suits itself. Michel Foucault believed that in contemporary times, temporal relations had been replaced by spatial relations 'as the central category for grasping human social reality,'¹⁴ and space has once again taken a structural turn. According to Foucault, the 20th century is the century of space, and the description of power cannot leave the realm of space, from the small strategies of individual houses to the grand strategies of geopolitics,^[5] all of which cannot be separated from the figure of space.

¹⁰ Lefebvre, H. [Author], Li, C. [Translator]. (2015). *Space and politics*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, pp. 37.

¹¹ Bao, Y. (2001). *Postmodernity and the politics of geography*. Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press, 2001, 13.

¹² Lefebvre, H. *Space: social product and use value*. // Bao Y. (2003). *Modernity and the production of space*. Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press, 2003:48.

¹³ Lefebvre, H. *Rethinking the Politics of Space*. // Bao Y. (2003). *Modernity and the production of space*. Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press, 2003, 62.

¹⁴ Zhang, M. & Li H. (2013). *Space, knowledge, and power: Foucault's social critique of shifting of space*. *Marxism and Reality*, 2013(03), 113-118.

2.1.2 INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ON MOBILE HAWKING

As urbanization advances, the issue of itinerant vendors has gradually attracted the attention of scholars in China and abroad. Clifford Geertz conducted the earliest research on urban itinerant hawkers abroad, who selected the small Balinese town of Tanaban with the 'homo economicus model' and the Javanese town of Modjokuto with the 'homo economicus model' as examples for a microcosmic interpretation of social change and economic modernization in Indonesia. He argues that two small towns with very different development paths and financial forms are typical of two different economic forms in Indonesia, which can measure the level of social development.¹⁵ He mainly focuses on mobile vendors, and through the investigation and analysis of mobile vendors in the two towns, Geertz proposes two economic models, 'Peasant-village-Type Economic' and 'Bazaar-Type Economic,' to explain the modernization paths of the two towns and classify the business activities of itinerant vendors as the latter. He believes that the 'bazaar economy dominated by 'hawking' is a backward economic form that leads to inefficient commercial activities. A certain extent of invisible restriction imposes on urban commercial circulation, which is not conducive to exchanging information and utilizing resources in the city. It is not conducive to exchanging information and utilizing resources in the city and destroys the integrity of commercial circulation. He also proposes forming a new mechanism with corporate characteristics, eliminating unreasonable business models, integrating resources related to economic activities, driving the motivation of mobile vendors' business activities, promoting mobile vendors' transformation, and ultimately promoting economic development.¹⁶

Contrary to Geertz's opinion, Terence Gary and Yue-man Yeung argue that hawkers and buyers have been a common feature of Asian urban sidewalks and markets and that there are differing views on the legitimacy of hawker's permanent presence in cities and the utility they generate for urban economies. In 1973, the Centre for International

¹⁵ Geertz, C. (1962). *Social change and economic modernization in two Indonesian towns: A case in point*. Bobbs-Merrill.

¹⁶ Geertz, C. (1962). *Peddlers and princes: Social development and economic change in two Indonesian towns*. University of Chicago Press.

Development Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong supported scholars such as Terence Gary and Yue-man Yeung to investigate itinerant hawkers and their role in the urban retail marketing system in six cities in Indonesia, Jakarta, Bandung, Kuala Lumpur, and Malacca, and in the Philippines, Manila, and Baguio and comparative analysis, as well as an assessment of the current policies of local governments. Their study of these six cities found that urban itinerant hawkers positively impact cities' economic and social development, that the economic activities of itinerant hawkers can contribute to the economic growth of urban areas, and that the presence of itinerant hawkers is justified and necessary. They also argue that hawkers sell relatively good quality and inexpensive goods in third-world countries. Their service targets are relatively poor consumers, i.e., those in the middle and lower classes in cities, which to a certain extent provides convenience for urban citizens and reduces the cost of living for poor consumers, and indirectly solve the employment problem, and even accumulates funds for itinerant hawkers, providing them with a material basis for their future development and entrepreneurship. It also indirectly solves the employment problem and even accumulates funds for mobile vendors, providing them with a material basis for their own development and entrepreneurship in the future. However, social concerns about the traffic and health hazards that mobile vendors may pose have complicated society's judgment of the importance of mobile vendor activities.¹⁷

Since the beginning of the new century, the perspectives on itinerant hawkers have become more diversified. Some scholars study itinerant hawkers based on economic and employment perspectives. Yasmeen Gisele researched the phenomenon of street hawking, where many failed investors joined the industry during the Asian financial crisis. He found that: the low barriers and simplicity of the street hawking industry attracted some stockholders who had failed to invest in stocks and were desperate to join the street hawking industry. The financial crisis caused middle and upper-class consumers to stop spending money in expensive restaurants as they did a few years ago, which increased

¹⁷ McGee, T G, Yeung Y. (1977). *Hawkers in Southeast Asian cities: Planning for the bazaar economy*. IDRC, Ottawa, ON, CA.

the consumer base and provided business opportunities for street hawkers. This livelihood has become a source of income for many unemployed people, and the practitioners have used it not only to improve their own and their families' livelihoods but also to solve their employment problems, which is essential to alleviate the employment pressure caused by the financial crisis. In his conclusion, he emphasizes the need to focus on the access of micro-entrepreneurs, represented by small street food vendors, to public space and makes policy and action recommendations.¹⁸ By examining street vendors in Mumbai, Bhowmik Sharit K argued that street vendors have a long history in Mumbai, providing basic services to the majority of the population, providing direct employment to over 300,000 people, in addition to indirectly employing hundreds of thousands of people, providing a range of goods and services that make them applicable to the poorer sections of the city. Thus, the itinerant hawker economy forms an integral part of the informal economy.¹⁹

Some scholars have also investigated the issue of urban itinerant vendors from a spatial perspective. Anjaria Jonathan Shapiro, in his study of street vendors in Mumbai, found that large numbers of rural people have entered the city to engage in and rely on itinerant hawking as a means of survival and livelihood. However, elite NGOs and residents' associations have actively advocated for hawkers to be responsible for many of the city's problems, with some success. Numerous mobile vendors are often seen as a threat, or as misusing streets and sidewalks, impeding traffic, reducing property values, and, more generally, more generally, they are an obstacle that prevents Mumbai from becoming a 'world-class' city. He argues that the issue of hawkers is central to the debate on public space in Mumbai and that their presence on the streets, while necessary, is also controversial, requiring city managers to critically engage with the function of public space and the role of street vendors in planning the city's future. He also points out that to understand the function of public space in Mumbai, it is necessary to understand exactly what hawkers do in this space and how they conceptualize their relationship to it,

¹⁸ Yasmeen, G. (2001). Stockbrokers turned sandwich vendors: the economic crisis and small-scale food retailing in Southeast Asia. *Geoforum*, 32(1), 91-102.

¹⁹ Bhowmik, S. K. (2003). *National policy for street vendors*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp. 1543-1546.

exploring the essential presence of hawkers in the city, which requires a critical awareness and understanding of the function of public space.²⁰

And from the perspective of city governance and development, Rajagopal, in a study of itinerant street vendors in India, pointed out that itinerant vendors are part of an economy that stimulates consumption, but their itinerant behavior is much like that of the typical vagrant and needs to be restrained, and they need to be restrained to maintain social order.²¹ Bhowmik, Sharit K argued that the state needs to develop policies to regulate itinerant street vendors. Still, in doing so, it is also crucial to incorporate the city's need for street vendors for urban planning purposes. The management of hawkers and vending areas and giving hawkers a voice in civic governance must be a decisive factor in urban development policies.²²

2.2 CHINESE LITERATURE REVIEW

2.2.1 SPATIAL POLITICS RESEARCH

Standing on the 'shoulders' of well-known foreign scholars, some domestic scholars interpret and criticize some research theories of foreign scholars through their own research, cognition, and understanding and put forward their own views.

Wang Xingfu compared and analyzed the similarities and differences between Western Marxist spatial theory and Foucault's spatial theory. Taking the concept of 'heterotopia' as the core, he elaborates Foucault's spatial thought from two aspects: the reform of political thinking mode and philosophical thinking mode. Meanwhile, he also criticized Foucault's heterotopia theory from the perspectives of Marxism and contemporary social critical theory, emphasizing its rationality and pointing out its problems. He argues that the one-sidedness of Foucault's space theory can be overcome only by re-entering the context of utopianism and incorporating it into the core of Marxist materialism.²³ Dong

²⁰ Donovan, M. G. (2008). *Informal cities and the contestation of public space: The case of Bogotá's Street vendors, 1988–2003*. *Urban Studies*, 45(1), 29-51

²¹ Rajagopal, A. (2001). The violence of commodity aesthetics: Hawkers, demolition raids, and a new regime of consumption. *Social Text*, 19(3), 94.

²² Bhowmik, S. K. (2003). *National policy for street vendors*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2003, 1543-1546

²³ Wang X. (2009). *Spatial philosophy and spatial politics: interpretation and critique of Foucault's heterotopia theory*. *Tianjin Social Science*, 2009(03), 11-16.

Hui studied American geography and Marxist Harvey's thoughts on postmodernism. She believes that in Harvey's metaphor of 'the Web of Life,' he was trying to construct the socialist language of historical-geographical materialism and dialectics, using modern and Marxist critical methods to solve the philosophical conundrum of urban space conflict, opened a post-modern Marxist path to understand space power, space justice, space exploitation, capital accumulation, ecological deterioration, (new) imperialism, space alienation and many other space problems for us, and expressed a clear space consciousness.²⁴ Yang Yongqiang and Xie Yazhou believe that after the 'shift of social space' occurs, space has gradually become a new paradigm and perspective of social criticism, neo-Marxists represented by Lefebvre and Harvey reactivated Marx's criticism and analysis of capitalism; At the same time, they put space under the lens of historical materialism, which can reexplain the power control mode and survival mechanism of capitalism and form the critical theory of space politics on this basis. They believe the theory is highly constructive and critical and use it to understand the reconstruction of spatial political concepts to the narrative logic of globalization and modernization.²⁵ In the book *City · Space · Interpersonal: A Comparative Study of Chinese and Foreign Urban Social Development*, Zhang Hongyan places cities in the social space structure from a new perspective of sociology. She focuses on the context of urban change, analyzes the essence of urban civilization from different angles, and makes a penetrating analysis and sober reflection on the paradox of modernity and rationality in the process of urban modernization. This paper puts forward a series of innovative viewpoints on the shaping of urban personality by urban private domain and public domain, the second dimension of urban living, the intergenerational integration of urban family, the citizen attribute of the urban landscape, the interruption of the cultural context of urban architecture, the end of the city under globalization and the cultural creation of urban women.²⁶

²⁴ Dong H. (2009). *Postmodern Imagination in the Dimension of Modern Space--An Exploration of David Harvey's Postmodernist Thought*. Philosophical Dynamics, 2009(08), 65-71.

²⁵ Yang. Y. & Xie, A. (2019). *From time to space: The transformation of the logic of globalization and modernization narratives--based on the perspective of neo-Marxist critique of space politics*. Social Science Digest, 2019(01), 27-29.

²⁶ Zhang, H. (2003). *City-Space-Interpersonal: A comparative study of urban social development in China and abroad*. Nanjing: Southeast University Press, 2003.

In recent years, with the rapid development of urbanization, the rural population migrating to cities has become the trend of The Times, which has also brought some social problems. Under the influence of spatial political theory, Chinese scholars also began to focus on the contention of urban space resources and the settlement of migrant populations in cities. As an important place of social practice, urban space and urban space issues have become an indispensable political theme.

2.2.2 CHINESE RESEARCH ON MOBILE VENDING

The rapid development of urbanization has attracted a large number of surplus rural labor forces to migrate to cities. Due to the limitations of human capital such as age, skills, and educational background of migrant population, they begin to engage in and rely on mobile street vendors with relatively low employment threshold, low cost, and relatively high income as a means of survival and livelihood. However, many mobile street vendors flood into cities. Their improper use of streets and sidewalks causes certain obstacles to traffic and negatively impacts urban appearance and image. The management of mobile street vendors has gradually become a complex problem of urban governance. Therefore, mobile street vendors slowly entered the field of vision of scholars, who began to pay attention to mobile street vendors. Existing studies related to this paper mainly include the following perspectives:

- Perspective of exploring the reasons for existence

The existence of mobile vendors must have its inherent logic. It is the premise for scholars to study the characteristics of urban mobile vendors and solve their problems to study the emergence and existence of urban mobile vendors.

Chen Libing believes that vulnerable groups represented by migrant workers and laid-off workers have great difficulty obtaining employment in formal positions due to the limitation of their human capital endowment. To seek their development, some members of vulnerable groups choose to become mobile vendors with a low threshold to achieve

self-employment.²⁷ Fan Shijie's study shows mobile vendors are mostly made up of underemployed workers, farmers, the disabled, and other disadvantaged groups. Becoming mobile vendors is their way to survive in the city, a force made a choice made in the cruel market competition. To a certain extent, the existence of mobile vendors has improved the happiness index of cities.²⁸ Li Jin believes that the presence and demand of the substantial low-class groups in cities provide a massive market for mobile vendors' existence, which is why mobile street vendors' repeated emergence. In addition, urbanization also needs to reserve space that low-class groups demand to ensure adequate labor force supply and promote urban development.²⁹ Liu Lingling, Liu Chengshui, and Shi Bing analyzed the reasons for the existence of mobile street vendors from the perspective of internal and external living environments. They believed that the characteristics of the mobile vending business – no interview, less risk, quick and relatively high profit - meet the needs of mobile vendors and provide an internal living environment for the existence of mobile vendors. At the same time, the aggregation effect of urban wealth and the massive migration of rural surplus labor force to cities provide the external living environment for the mobile vendors, which together lay the foundation for the survival of the floating street vendors.³⁰

- Perspective of survival status and behavioral logic

After the mobile vendors survive in the urban space, their existing problems and conflicts with the urban management officials gradually become a social problem, and their living status and behavioral logic in the city have gradually become the focus of scholars. Due to the weak performance in human capital, social status, market competitiveness, and living standards, mobile vendors have established a disadvantaged position in the urban

²⁷ Chen, L. (2009). *The right to self-employment of disadvantaged groups and the improvement of urban governance—an analysis based on the governance of urban itinerant vendors*. China Administrative Management, 2009(12), 35-38.

²⁸ Fan, S. (2010). *The dilemma and breakthrough of subject-object dichotomy in city management system*. Journal of Jiangsu Administrative College, 2010(02), 107-111.

²⁹ Li, J. (2009). *On the low-end demand in the urbanization process: the example of urban vendors*. Urban Issues, 2009(03), 54-57.

³⁰ Liu, Li., Liu, C., Shi, B. (2014). *Analysis of the externalities of mobile vendors and their governance policies: the case of Beijing*. Technology Economics and Management Research, 2014 (05), 79-83.

space. Therefore, society has recognized the disadvantaged group status of mobile vendors.³¹

Hou Fei and Wang Mingjie studied mobile street vendors' living conditions and survival logic through field investigation. It is found that both mobile vendors and urban management officials have their own bottom lines. In most situations, both sides won't overstep on the opposing side's bottom lines; let them reach a certain balance to achieve a win-win situation for both sides. Meanwhile, Hou and Wang also compared and analyzed the survival logic of pre-test and post-test of mobile vendors to understand the differentiated choice under different survival logic – 'maintain or change' or 'safety or profit.'³² Zhang Bingxuan and Luo Kai believe the strained relationship between mobile vendors and urban management officials represents a rejection of the informal transitional economy from the capital-oriented and administration-led urbanization that aims to realize the complete control of administrative power and capital over urban space.³³ To survive in the city, mobile vendors will also engage in the game with city management officials and even cause space competition and conflict.³⁴ They will use their disadvantage status as a weapon to hide or pester the officials to expand their living space.³⁵

- Perspective of mobile vending economy

As an essential part of urban economic structure, the economic activities of mobile street vendors can promote the growth of the urban regional economy and, to a certain extent, facilitate the exchange of goods and circulation of goods. The mobile vending economy has existed since ancient times, and its existence has natural and historical

³¹ Tang, S. (2017). *Weapons of the weak: A study on the survival strategies of urban itinerant vendors: A case study of XSH North Road in Haidian*, Beijing. *Human Resource Management*, 2017 (10), 306-308.

³² Hou, F. & Wang, M. (2018). *Exploration of the survival logic of mobile vendors--a study based on mobile vendors around University A*. *Urban Management and Technology*, 20 (06), 52.

³³ Zhang, B. & Luo, K. (2017). *The logic of behavior and game evolution mechanism of mobile vendors and urban management: the case of town A in Cixi, Zhejiang*. *Journal of Shanghai University (Social Science Edition)*, 34(05), 106-115.

³⁴ Du, P. & Li, H. (2017). *Analysis of the reconfigurability of spatial production of informal economy in urban communities--an empirical study based on illegal stores and mobile vendors in J district of N city*. *Urban Development Research*, 24(06), 74-80.

³⁵ Tang, S. (2017). *Weapons of the weak: A study on the survival strategies of urban itinerant vendors--a case study of XSH North Road in Haidian, Beijing*. *Human Resource Management*, 2017(10), 306-308.

reasonableness. Still, the mobile vending economy also has a contradiction, so it is necessary to refresh our understanding of the significance of the mobile vending economy.

Liu Xinyu tries to use the principles of property rights economics to explore the problem of urban itinerant vendors. He believes that the root of the problem between mobile vendors and urban management officials lies in misplaced property rights. Therefore, he proposes three countermeasures to reconfigure property rights: recognizing vendors' right to pose, management, and residual claims.³⁶ Zhao Yingjun and Huang Huaqiao believe that the reason for the existence of the street stall economy is that the incomplete definition of property rights in the public domain makes it possible to take roads as the object of 'rent-seeking.' The existence of the street vendor economy is the result of the game between street vendors and the government. The presence of the mobile vending economy also meets the requirements of Pareto Improvement.³⁷ Using the game theory of economics, Yu Feng and Fang Jun constructed a game model between mobile street vendors and urban management officials from the perspective of 'rational economic man,' studied their interest demands and their positions in the game, and sought for ways to solve their conflicts.³⁸

- Perspective of social governance

After studying and analyzing the logic behind mobile street vendors in cities, Chinese scholars put forward constructive views on the governance of mobile vendors. Through surveys, interviews, and field observations, Fan Shitong, Li Lixun, and Fu Tianlan researched the mobile vendors within the area where the decentralized zone policy was carried out in Liwan district, Guangzhou. They found that the decentralized zone policy is an effective means of mobile vendor governance, which reshapes mobile vendors' distribution space, making it easier for urban management officials to regulate and

³⁶ Liu, X. (2006). *An analysis of the economics of property rights of the vending problem*. Lanzhou Journal, 2006(11), 129-131.

³⁷ Zhao, Y. & Huang, H. (2000). *The game behind the ground stall*. Business Economics and Management, 2000(10), 13-15.

³⁸ Yu, F. & Fang, J. (2017). *Game analysis of the conflict resolution path between urban management and hawkers*. Journal of Hulunbuir College, 25(03), 46-49.

manage them while facilitating residents' consumption and enhancing mobile vendors' self-identification with the city. They believe that city managers can establish multiple governance bodies, establish communication mechanisms among stakeholder groups, and rationally select and manage the location of decentralized zones.³⁹ Through their research, Cui Zhanfeng and Wang Jianfeng found that driven by the maximization of economic income, mobile street vendors constantly seek opportunistic benefits from urban institutional constraints, resulting in the failure of urban supervision of mobile street vendors. They also think that the existence of mobile vendors has a rational side, which requires new thinking to re-understand the presence of mobile street vendors for the economic and social significance; For the governance of mobile street vendors, autonomous organizations related to mobile vendors can be established to realize the organization of the interests of street vendors, promote consultative governance, form the co-governance of multiple governance subjects, and promote the governance innovation to be more cooperative, horizontal, interconnected and mixed.⁴⁰ From the perspective of public choice theory, Wang Yaxin believes that the key to the good governance of mobile vendors lies in the balance between mobile vendors and relevant stakeholders. The governance of mobile street vendors should not only rely on 'restrictions' but 'guidance,' step by step, to ensure the quality of improvement. At the same time, he believes that to solve mobile vendors' problems completely, we must build and improve social security and service mechanisms for disadvantaged groups.⁴¹ Tang Jia, Duan Xiandan, and Jiang Jun studied the employment situation of urban mobile street vendors from the perspective of social justice. They believed that solving the problem of mobile vendors requires government agencies to actively respond to mobile street vendors' needs, ensure their right to subsistence and work, and pay attention to the

³⁹ Fan, S., Li, L., Fu, T. (2019). *Practical effects and challenges of mobile vendor evacuation zone - an example of Yuanxi community evacuation zone in Liwan District, Guangzhou City*. *Tropical Geography*, 39(01):81-90.

⁴⁰ Cui, Z. & Wang J. (2018). *The logic of "soft law" in urban governance: the organization of vendors' interests and negotiated governance*. *Journal of Hunan University of Science and Technology (Social Science Edition)*, 21(06):98-104.

⁴¹ Wang, Y. (2009). *Urban mobile vendor management from the perspective of public choice*. *Contemporary economic management*, 31(08), 77-80.

individual differences of different mobile vendors. More preferential policies should be given to them to guide them to participate in economic and social construction.⁴²

⁴² Tang, J., Duan, X., Jiang, J. (2016). *A study on the employment status of mobile street vendors from the perspective of social justice: A case study of mobile street vendors in Chaoyang District, Beijing*. Journal of Jishou university (social science edition), 37(S1), 73-77

3 MOBILE HAWKER'S REASONABLENESS IN URBAN SPACE

3.1 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE MOBILE HAWKERS

3.1.1 THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ORIGIN OF MOBILE HAWKER AND THE CITY

Mobile hawker has rich categories, diverse forms, and a long history and vitality as an ancient business. The origin of mobile hawkers can date from the time when humans began to exchange items. *I Ching (Yi Jing)* recorded that there have been bartering places called the *Shi* in ancient times. The earliest records of mobile hawkers in ancient Chinese literature can date back to the Western Zhou Dynasty (approximately 1100 BC-771 BC), which recorded '*Xi Shi*, the market opening in the evening, was occupied by many men and women vendors.'¹ They were also the prototype for the occupation of mobile hawkers. In the same period, the Chinese characters *Cheng* (means municipality) and *Shi* (means market) have been associated together as **Chengshi referring** to the city because the market assumed **the economic function of the city**.

From the Zhou dynasty to the Tang dynasty, all commercial trade existed in the *Shi*, which lay in the capital city, constituted a clear boundary of a wall to separate from *Fang*, which means residential areas, constructed roads leading to all directions. There all transactions were scheduled and distributed on time. Besides, the government set up various official positions to manage various affairs and has legislation for strict management. *Chang'an*, the capital city of the Tang Dynasty (618 AC—907AC), was one of the most prosperous cities in the world and famous for its brisk trade thanks to two markets, the east, and west, which carried hundreds of trades between different countries and various products gathered from all around the world.²

¹ Gao, F. & Li, H. (2020) *A Study on the Return of Street Vendor Activities in Public Life*, *New Architecture*, 2020(5): pp.134-138, DOI: 10.12069/j.na.202005134

² Han, G (1997) *Ancient Chinese cities and marketplaces*, *Research on Chinese Social and Economic History* 1997(4): pp.1-6

3.1.2 THE NEIGHBORHOOD SYSTEM ALLOWED MOBILE HAWKERS TO ENTER THE URBAN STREET PUBLIC LIFE

After the mid-Tang Dynasty, due to the development of the commodity economy, the east and west markets could no longer meet citizens' needs for business activities. Thus, trades went outside the market and entered the *Fang* for residence (*Fang* was once urban zoning for ancient cities). More and more shops appeared in there privately to make trades. Although the Tang Dynasty government repeatedly issued edicts prohibiting such behavior, it was still to no avail. Since then, the *Li-fang* system, which the government adopted in ancient times, has gradually declined.

Until the Northern Song Dynasty (960 AC – 1127 AC), the capital of Kaifeng, once famous for its commercial property, abolished the *Li-fang* system (the wall frame) and replaced it with the *Jie-fang* (the street frame) system. Since then, Jie-fang became China's major urban and social pattern reform. It ended up the long-lasting walled city and **opened the wall-confined residences to road networks**.³At that time, the governments allowed mobile hawkers to operate business freely on the street, and **the street assumed the primary function of public spaces**. The painting of the River on the Qingming Festival by Zhang Zeduan, a painter from the Northern Song Dynasty, presents various scenes of street vendors' activities in the public space of the street (Figure 3-1). We can see that mobile hawkers have integrated into the public life of the streets along with the transformation from *the Li-fang* system to the *Jie-fang* system.

³ Liu, M. & Lai, G. (2010) *An Outline History of the Chinese Capital Morphology: The Agglomeration, Differentiation and the Procedures of Institutionalization of the Chinese Capitals before Medieval City Revolution*, Journal of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University, Dec. 2020: pp.79-119



Figure 3-1 A small portion of *the River on the Qingming Festival* by Zhang Zeduan (1085-1145), Type: Ink and color on silk. There are businesses all kinds on the street of Song Dynasty, and mobile hawkers have integrated into the public life of the streets.

The layout of traditional Chinese cities came from the balance between the government's overall planning and citizen's autonomous behaviors. The government planned street networks for the city, most of which formed a checkerboard layout; the common people had the **autonomy** to organize and build houses in the designated living square. Hence, each square formed the high-density Hutong layout. The ancient government utilized partial decentralization for social stability, and the common people had **independent management rights on the street public spaces**.

In the traditional society of nearly a thousand years, as an important part of the economic system, hawkers and vendors had **legal identities** to provided products and services for people because they not only met the **urban public needs** but **the city authorities accepted** their existence. Firstly, traditional urban residents purchased daily supplies mainly using three channels: stationery stores, temporary bazaars, and street hawkers. Therefore, mobile hawkers have developed various products and services that daily lives cannot leave from in the long history. The hawkers and mobile grocery carts travel through the lanes and alleys and carried convenience to urban residents. Secondly, because the lanes and alleys were out of control from the government and were fully

taken charge of by people, nearby residents and mobile hawkers were allowed to use street public spaces to their best.

Another important factor was that stationery stores and mobile hawkers could reach an agreement to achieve complementary interest. For instance, one of the most famous business streets named *Gu Yi* in Tianjin City as an example: the mobile hawkers created a business model of operation called *Xiao Shi* (the morning market), in which mobile hawkers purchased goods from wholesalers and retailers before sunrise without prejudice to the formal stationery stores, and carried and sold them towards every single alley in the early morning; later, the stationery stores on the *Gu Yi Street* would change the focus of products on that day depending on the sale results in *Xiao Shi*. Hence, *Gu Yi Street* and *Xiao Shi* formed a kind of "Dual market" since the prosperity of *Xiao Shi* positively accumulated popularity for *Gu Yi Street*.⁴As we can see from the relationship between *Gu Yi Street* and *Xiao Shi*, mobile hawkers were an important **component in the economic structure** of the traditional city. They were allowed to actively participate and practice in urban public life due to the full freedom on the street given by upper economic and political classes. (Figure 3-2)

⁴ Xing, C & Li, M, *Commercial Trade*, Liaohai Publish House, 2007, Shengyang, Liaoning: <https://books.google.it/books?id=5BzIDwAAQBAJ>



Figure 3-2 Historical photo of Gu Yi Street where there was a street hawker carrying a burden and hawking along the street (The shooting year is unknown)

3.1.3 THE STRICT CONTROL OF MOBILE HAWKERS IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

At the end of the 19th century, Chinese social reformers gradually introduced Western scientific technology and democratic concepts to our ancient land. The Revolution of 1911 overthrew the feudal dynasty and opened a new chapter for **modern China**. When modernism affected urban reconstruction and even the ideology of the upper class, urban public management no longer tolerated street hawkers. Urban managers and planners influenced by the modern ideology believed that street hawkers represented a backward business model and were not beneficial to the urban landscape because they arbitrarily occupied urban public spaces and obstructed traffic.

First of all, emerging transportations required new traffic systems and road networks, in which there was no room for mobile hawkers. However, street hawkers had a long history of cooperation with the traditional street, which served only pedestrians and rickshaws. They were one of the factors that led to disorder on the modern street and **hindered modern transportation function**. Besides, the traditional urban form was **contrary to** the rational and orderly modernist urban space and no longer coordinated with **contemporary demands**. For instance, the streets of the old town of Tianjin lack

maintenance that had traffic difficulties, also the old business model constrained its operation. Over time, the accessibility of the old downtown had declined, and the business center gradually shifted to the modern concession area, which replaced the old town commercial street in the end.

Chinese scholar J. Wang analyzed the issues of mobile hawkers and Road administration reform in the period of the Republic of China (1912-1945). She combed through the historical development and found that the Municipality of Tianjin hadn't regarded mobile hawkers as an urban management issue until 1900. Then the mobile hawkers were banned on the grounds of obstructing road administration. The Police Agency decided to solve the traffic disorder in the old town and improve the backwardness of business through two **schemes of road administration reform**. One was relocating the commercial center to the new urban area, and the other was inviting them to move into a shopping mall for centralized management. Both schemes took multiple interests regardless of the size of the business into consideration. However, the reform met with strong resistance from all perspectives, from private mobile hawkers to chambers of commerce.⁵

On the one hand, individual vendors of mobile hawkers were reluctant to move places since they could not afford the cost of relocation. Besides, they were worried about surviving difficulties throughout the initial loss situation after relocating regular customers and business sites. On the other hand, the chamber of commerce led by bid merchants had a stable interest relationship with small businesspeople, hence on behalf of the majority, they rejected the schemes of relocation. The police agency had to **abolish the plan** to eliminate mobile hawkers on the street in old downtown.

In a nutshell, during China's transition from feudalism to modern cities, the government used administrative policies to intervene in communities with a long history of autonomy and encountered strong resistance from private interest groups. Because at this time,

⁵ Wang, J (2010) *Transformation and Control of the Surviving Space of Tianjing Street Vendors in the Early Republic of China*, Historical Education 2010(10): pp.30-33

mobile hawkers were still an important part of the social structure and market economy. From the perspective of economic development, agriculture was the country's main source of economy, and the commodity economy was only rare. Therefore, the government had never interfered in the operation of small businesses in politics. Although the old Chinese merchants had relatively low social status, they developed relatively freely in the market. Mutual competition and cooperation among vendors were all autonomous behaviors. The fixed trading markets and the mobile hawkers on the street are mutually complementary and cooperative, and the mobile hawkers helped the business network reach every citizen's house. From society and people's livelihood perspectives, mobile hawkers provided most daily necessities and life services for common people. In addition to the trading relationship, they were also close neighbors with their customers. Therefore, when the consciousness of the country's upper class urgently wanted to promote the transition of feudal society to a modern society and economy, it was difficult for upper classes alone to shake the huge and stable lower social structure.

Since mobile hawkers were rooted in the traditional social and economic structure, they were protected from the social elimination in the transition period. However, in the first half of the 20th century, thanks to successive wars that heavily trampled on the mainland, especially the second world war against Japan, the old social and economic structure began to dismiss or disintegrate when the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949.

3.2 URBANIZATION WAS THE CATALYST

According to Castells et al., the development of the informal economy is, to a certain extent, the result of the state political system and changes in external social conditions.⁶ Luo Jun believes that the urbanization course has produced political and social elements conducive to private hawkers, prompting them to produce political awareness and

⁶ Castells, M. & Portes, A. *World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics and Effects of the Informal Economy*[A], Portes, A. & Castells, M. & Benton, L. *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*[C], Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, Jan.1989.

behaviors that resist urban management. ⁷The state's urbanization process has promoted the development and growth of mobile hawkers, forming an independent group.

First of all, the state's political direction and administrative policies played a leading role. In the early days of founding the People's Republic of China, most citizens had difficulties in life shortly after the war. Hence, the government adopted a loose policy towards street vendors to maintain people's livelihood and social stability. After 1956, the government introduced **the people's commune system and the household registration system**, which firmly restrained the flow of people between rural and urban areas. In addition, the state has incorporated all vendors into the state's planned economic system through public-private partnerships, cooperative stores, agency sales, purchasing agents, and operations. Therefore, mobile hawkers completely disappeared in cities after 1965. After **the reform and opening up in 1978**, China has determined the development path of the market economy. The state adjusted the social structure and **relaxed the restrictions of the household registration system**, which led to **the migration of large rural populations** to cities. In addition, many educated young people returned from the countryside to the cities to join the unemployed, so the government adopted loose **individual economic policies to ease the pressure on social employment**. From the beginning, mobile hawkers were a means of making a living for unemployed people after entering the city. Then, in the mid and late 1990s, unemployment and layoffs became a relatively common phenomenon with the advancement of **the reform of the state-owned enterprise system**. By 2005, the registered unemployed population in urban areas reached 8.39 million, and many laid-off workers joined because of a lack of education and skills. When it comes to the ranks of mobile vendors, this has also enlarged the size of the mobile hawkers' group.

Secondly, modern education and informational technologies help mobile hawkers gain the initiative to make a living. The national policies having been inclusiveness and opening has enabled rural immigrants and lower class to obtain

⁷ Luo, J. (2013) *Opportunity Space, Resource Instigation and Mobile Vendors, Management Dilemma: An Interpretation Framework of the Political Process*, Journal of Guangdong Institute of Public Administration Vol.25, No.04: pp.63-69

personal development and education opportunities to integrate into better urban life. Due to the liberation of cognition, they acquired better knowledge about the concept of right and enhanced action competence to get it. Besides, the widespread use of modern communication and communication technologies has also opened windows for them to contact the outside world. These elements made the emerging urban populations try their best to change their social status while accepting modern cultural values. Therefore, mobile hawkers have chances to transform themselves from a submissive group to adversity into a subject of political action with a sense of resistance.

Furthermore, mobile hawkers can survive thanks to the imperfection in city planning and management pulled by aggressive urbanization. First, the urban space has become fragmented by commercial development and mega-infrastructures. And public services under the commodity economy do not meet citizens' daily needs; the number, coverage, and spatial layout are all flawed to a certain extent. However, the operation of mobile hawkers can make up for these shortcomings. They use movable tools to approach places where there are market demands and sell goods that are daily consumption of the mass so that citizens are more inclined to buy their goods nearby. Besides, the norms and regulations for urban public spaces are imperfect, so that the street space is the vague area between informal and formal economy, which has a potential market value that enables mobile hawkers to explore.

3.3 THE POSITIVES AND URBAN POPULATION DEMANDS

3.3.1 THE ROLE OF MOBILE HAWKERS IN CITIES

3.3.1.1 Releasing the tension of the employment absorption

Based on the model of segmentation of the dual labor market, the traditional definition and understanding of informal employment were founded. They regard informal employment as the secondary labor market and a buffer between unemployment and employment in the formal sector, which means it only serves people who cannot compete in the official sector. However, many sociologists recently considered that formal and informal employment should be two subjects that compete, check, and balance each

other. For instance, the researches of Sethuranman (1981) and MacGaffe (1982) manifested that the relationship between informal employment and formal employment was, in fact, interdependent and complementary, and they should both belong to the overall economic activities instead of being separated.

In China, most scholars drew on the definitions and statements of the International Labor Organization on informal employment and then expanded its denotation in light of the national condition. And the academic circle generally identified that the Chinese labor market has many segmentations with various properties, and the segmentation between formal and informal employment was quite evident. Since 1995, Chinese urban informal employment has developed rapidly along with economic growth. Following calculations by A. Hu, L. Zhao, et al., the average annual growth rate of urban informal employment during 1990-2004 was 12.5%, a cumulative increase of 421%. Its contribution rate to the new employment reached 133%. It proved that informal employment and formal employment tend to be in the second relationship. Dr. Hu Fengxia from Zhejiang University analyzed the demographic characteristics of urban informal employment and concluded that informal employment could be the relevant component of the labor market.⁸ Since she supported the standpoint that an improved and competitive labor market should allow multiple forms of employment to exist, she considered that increasing informal employment in China does not mean the aggravated differentiation of the urban labor market. As she pointed out, a unitized labor market does not lead to the dismissal of informal employment. But she also stated the deficiencies of characteristics of looseness and disorder in informal employment and acknowledged that it is still an indicator of urban poverty. She suggested the introspection of the government on the low-quality social security and the impact of citizenship on the urban labor market.

The author agrees with Dr. Hu's view that **informal employment is an inseparable part of the labor market**. It could be beneficial to release the employment tension for the labor market and improve the market mechanism. In addition, due to the

⁸ Hu, F (2011), *Study on Workers' Behaviors of Choosing the Informal Employment*, PhD dissertation of Zhejiang University, Dec.2011: pp103-104

development of information technology, various new types of self-employed informal employment based on the Internet are affecting the labor market worldwide, such as *We Media*. It no doubt refers to a digression but has opened up a few roads for society to rethink the nature of the labor market and verify the relationship between informal and formal employment.

The 2020 epidemic crisis has fiercely impacted the global economy in mid-June 2020, the Chinese unemployment rate increased to the extreme of 11% and dropped to 4.4% until the end of November.⁹ The markets in the short term had a considerable impact, though the recovering speed was relatively fast. The analysis found that the epidemic prevention and control measures in various regions have significantly reduced employment opportunities for practitioners, resulting in an average reduction of 13 % return to work rate of employees. At the same time, unemployment has considerably affected the mental health of practitioners in the short term. Therefore, in June of the same year, the Chinese government intentionally promoted the *Street Vending Economic* to temporarily fill the vacancy of the labor market, release the tension of unemployment, and further maintain social stability and protect the citizen's interest. But in fact, China has long regarded informal economy as outside of government supervision, that is, labor employment that has not entered the taxation and supervision system. It has been excluded from the social security system and generally has low employment effects. Thus, the government's temporary employment policies are often passive, inflexible, and unsustainable in similar shocks to the labor market. Therefore, the author considers that Chinese political science and economics urgently need to redefine informal employment and the relationship between itself and the labor market and pose suggestions for establishing and improving relevant policies to the government.

⁹ Cai, F & Zhang, D & Liu, Y (2021), *The Impact of Covid-19 on the Chinese Labor Market, - A Comprehensive Analysis Based on Individual Tracking Survey*, *Economy Research* 2021(2): pp.4-21

3.3.1.2 The demands for multiple levels of consumption

Mobile hawkers can provide relatively cheap products and services for urban residents also act as a flexible supplement to the commercial system. Megacities often comprise the intricate urban population that is the reason why their markets exist multi-level needs.

The urbanization rates of most first- and second-tier cities in China are still increasing, and urban expansion and reconstruction projects are spreading all over the country. Usually, there was a phenomenon that incomplete infrastructures occurred in the newly reformed areas or their margins, which cannot supply the daily needs of their residents. Mobile hawkers can serve these vacant areas. In addition, urban residents, regardless of class, will have more or less low-level consumer demand. Most mobile hawkers concentrate on the need for low-priced products and services and invest in low-cost in the business market. Thus, their customer segment might depict people who have the same situation or lie in the same urban classes as their own.

3.3.1.3 Urban vitality and mobile hawkers

Urban vitality is an ideal concept suggested by Jane Jacobs in 2000, aiming to improve the quality of citizen life, creating livable and active local environments. Jan Gehl and Jane Jacobs proposed that urban vitality stems from the people and their activities in space.¹⁰ From a residential movement perspective, urban space vitality reflects the diversity of urban life produced by human convergence and activities (Liu Y. et al., 2018). Urban vitality can reflect the density and frequency of interpersonal communication and accumulated charm from cultural time and spaces. Since the reform and opening up, Chinese urbanization has been building a visualization of the global city. A few characteristics of global cities have been transplanted in the urban texture of first-tier cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou by various towering landmarks, large-scale projects, and luxurious gated communities. The same landscape has been spreading to the lower-tier cities with the expansion of capitalism. But **urban spatial homogeneity** has been simultaneously **aggravating**, and the urban vitality has been

¹⁰ Lu, S & Shi, C & Yang, X (2019), *Impacts of Built Environment on Urban Vitality: Regression Analyses of Beijing and Chengdu, China*, Int J Environ Res Public Health. 2019 Dec; 16(23): 4592. DOI: 10.3390/ijerph16234592

declining. Urban reconstruction has adopted a top-down design concept using an assembly line of single copying to maximize economic profits. In the renewal of traditional architectures, the abstract and simplified morphology has covered the rich architectural details of local characteristics and urban memories. Therefore, the pedestrian and commercial streets of the old downtown, which should have been the most vitality carrying daily practices and regional features, gradually have become monotonous and off-flavor.

The mobile hawkers were a relevant component of the urban economy at the beginning of the last century. First, some products and services operated by the mobile hawkers **inherited the traditional business** in cities, such as specialty street food. Today the upgraded products sold in the formal shops mostly become tourist souvenirs. Locals usually purchase these goods from small street stalls because the products have lower prices and original images superposed with city memories. Some inexpensive and high-quality goods sold in street stalls could attract many people to linger and have a reputation among locals (Figure 3-3). Internet technology also allows them to enter the sight of the outside world, and today tourists are willing to patronize their stalls to experience the local features.



Figure 3-3 A street stall sells popular street food of Yangzhou, the old goose. It has been open for more than 20 years, opening at 4 p.m. every day, and people usually take a long line for it. Wang Yi New: <https://www.163.com/dy/article/FUUBMNIC0518MKV.html>

Moreover, the regeneration of historical districts except focused on building the urban environment, most classical business activities have gone through a consumption upgrade and become either deformed or eliminated. Although most reconstructed commercial neighborhoods with serious homogeneity problems can successfully gather massive people and ideally perform their business function to earn profits for cities, they are no longer urban centers that function as the social and emotional bond. Therefore, urban vitality in some Chinese cities lacks the development in the dimension of humanity and culture. However, considering the space-time dimension in the space production theory, a vibrant space cannot leave without the positive effects of human activities in the environment. **In old business streets**, mobile hawkers **actively interact with the environment** using intensive yelling and face-to-face bargaining transactions with customers. Their existence was like a magnifying glass to **amplify the lively atmosphere** in space. In this way, they created a steady stream of vitality for the neighborhood. And over time, this stable steam of vigor has transformed into unique features reverberating deep in the space and time of the city.

The Eighth Market in Xiamen, known as the *Ba Shi*, is located on *Kaihe Road* in the old city downtown. Since the 1920s and 1930s, it was near the seaside harbor and has been the seafood distribution center of Xiamen. Later it became one of the largest seafood and agricultural products markets in the city. Surrounding there have preserved several historical buildings with typical characteristics of *Qi Lou*¹¹. (Figure 3-4) The compact low-level residential buildings are standing on both sides of the narrow street. The first floor of the buildings contributed to the various stores sell various vegetables, meats, seafood, and daily necessities. There are continuously aligned vending booths facing the street act as the outside extension for the stores. Diverse business forms converge in this narrow and small space. Merchants get used to running the business in the narrow confines of space, while customers are accustomed to walking through and shopping in a crowded

¹¹ Qi Lou: A veranda-type architecture, commonly applied in the construction of tropical climate countries, such as India and others in South Asia and Southeast Asia. In the 18th century, with the expansion of the British colonial power, it spread to southern China. Qi Lou has combined European architectural characteristics and that of Southeast Asia. And it is generally a mixed function. The ground floor is in commercial use and retreats along the street with a portico form dedicating to the public pedestrian space, and the upper floors are in residential use. Reference: www.xm.gov.cn

street. (Figure 3-5, Figure 3-6, Figure 3-6, Figure 3-7) Even buyers and sellers use the local dialect when trading. It says that people are less easy to be deceived in this way. The conservation of the historical urban area of *the Eighth Market* in Xiamen has contained the physical environment and urban life practices. The preservation of the historic district of *the Eighth Market* in Xiamen includes the physical environment and daily life practices, which refer to human activities. Today, it has become a unique urban landmark in Xiamen, attracting countless tourists to visit and experience the local features and life customs.



Figure 3-4 The historical building of Qi Lou on Kaihe Road .Data resource: <https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/77306870>



Figure 3-5 The street view demonstrates the spatial relationship between the passage, vending stalls and the building. Data resource: <https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/77306870>



Figure 3-6 The mobile hawkers in Kaihe Road



Figure 3-7 The Business combination of shops along the street and flexible vending stalls. *Data resource:* https://www.sohu.com/a/280823859_119016

In addition, there used to be only one formal food market on *Yingping Road* in the Eighth Market. Due to its prosperous trading, many mobile hawkers gathered around Kaihe Road, and the Kaihe food market later developed and became an outside informal market for the *Yingping*. Then, the city incorporated the Kaihe market into the regularity and protection as formal ones and merged the *Yingping* and *the Kaihe* two markets into the Eighth Market today. *Kaihe Road* takes shops along the street with flexible vending stalls as its primary business form, which performs **the features of opening and connecting**

to the urban public space and has **become the landmark** in Eighth Market. *Kaihe Road* prospered from behind, which can partly link to the contribution to the existence of mobile hawkers and the traditional business forms they operated. (Figure 3.x) These transaction behaviors have direct and intuitive characteristics, the particularity of integration with local culture, and the diversity of exchanges between different personalities. The traditional street carrying these business activities has become more like a living stage without confinements of time and space, thus acting as a social bond for the city far beyond the economic function. Therefore, mobile vendors **are an important element of traditional spaces contrary to modernity**, which implicate urban vitality that can maintain various economic activities and social bonds to be more culturally attractive and sustainable.

3.3.2 THE COMPOSITION OF MOBILE HAWKERS AND THEIR DEMANDS FOR URBAN LIFE

From the analysis of the historical development, there was a positive correlation between the growth of mobile hawkers and unemployment. The occupation of mobile hawkers has **various positive characteristics** of the low-cost, low-threshold, and quick results that give them a significant advantage in the employment of the informal economy. The general socio-economic scholars consider that the remaining population chooses to enter the informal economic sectors because formal sectors found themselves unable to provide plenty of jobs due to the congestion caused by urbanization. When unemployment increases, the government also has to release restrictions on mobile hawkers. However, the Chinese scholar Huang Genzhi has questioned it because he found that the number of mobile hawkers in China has been increasing with the rapid economic development, though it should have brought more employment opportunities to the society. Thus, he considered that the growth of mobile hawkers in China had complex and intricate influencing socio-economic factors. Therefore, he classified mobile hawkers into four categories: rural migrants, laid-off workers, young people, and low-income people. What

they have in common was that they belonged to the **urban poor and low-income population**.¹²

We studied the composition of mobile hawkers based on Huang's researches. We found out that although urban poverty was still the main factor to go in for mobile hawkers, the demands of urban residents who engaged in mobile hawkers **not only** arise by economic causes but **from complex and diverse factors** for urban life. In February 2021, the Chinese government announced that it had completed the arduous task of eradicating absolute poverty (applying the standards 1.9\$ per day set by the World Bank). And the state would like to focus on relative poverty in the next phase of poverty alleviation. People decoded it as the government has the intention to terminate the dualistic relationship between urban and rural areas and administer poverty in a comprehensive approach. However, urban poverty has been neglected by the state all the time. Urbanization usually doesn't assist in lifting income levels for the low-income population but may enlarge the scale of urban poverty. Besides, China's demographic structure changes have had a measurable impact on socio-economic development in recent years. The proportion of the population with a median income has been increasing dramatically. **Low- and middle-income groups** in cities have generated more **multi-faceted survival stress and life demands**. Therefore, we consider it necessary to re-analyze the current composition of mobile hawkers and their needs in urban life to fully understand the long-term influence of their existence on the development of urban equality in the future.

3.3.2.1 Urban relative poverty provides the main group

Rural migrants and laid-off workers who made up the mobile labor force have been the main components of mobile hawkers and have been the main objects of the researches on Chinese mobile hawkers. In China, urban poverty essentially belongs to relative poverty but not absolute poverty. Different from absolute poverty, relative poverty guides the public to follow with the interest of the living standards of social identity and to pay

¹² Huang, G (2015) *The Socio-economic Roots and Spatial Politics of City Hawkers (1st ed.)*. Shanghai, China: Commercial Press. ISBN: 9787100109246

attention to the national treatment and requirement of avoiding social unrest caused by severe material deprivation; also, it represents social inequality (R. Walker, L. Yang, 2021). The emergence of urban poverty in China started from the economic structural reform and the State-owned enterprise reform led by the market economy in the 1990s (S. Li, J. Knight, 2002). Many unemployed workers from state-owned enterprises joining millions of rural migrants have poured into cities for urban construction. They together constituted the mobile labor force in society. And they also have made up the principal part of the urban poor population with the absence of social security because of the restrictions of the household registration system. In the process of urbanization, the mobility of the labor force is both the cause and the effect of relative poverty (F. Cai, Y. Du, 2002). Therefore, relative poverty has authentically manifested the current situation of current urban poverty.

- *Rural migrants*

General studies believed that urban mobile hawkers mainly came from rural migrants. Millions of peasants were emancipated from their farmland by the reform and opening movement in 1978. It also resulted in a great number of surplus labors emerging in rural land. With the acceleration of urbanization in China, infrastructure construction required a large amount of labor force. Thus, the Chinese government loosened the restriction on the floating population even invoked the strong siphon effect for cities. Lots of rural labor forces have uninterruptedly supplied to cities since the end of the last century. It is also during the same period the number of mobile hawkers surged.

The primary reason for the siphoning effect of cities on rural land was the income difference of the people in these two areas, regardless of regional differences, where there was a nearly three-fold difference in disposable per capita income. In addition, peasants considered that cities have abundant material conditions, and working in cities was much easier than physical works on rural lands.

However, the household registration system of duality made them hardly obtain social services and security equal to that of urban residents, such as children's educational opportunities and medical and pension insurance. Besides, the accessibility of urban jobs

for rural migrants had various limit factors, such as age, physical health, educational level. And there were limit job types available for them. Most of them had to engage in low-end economic sectors, such as construction sites, clothing factories, cleaning and sanitation, and so on, where they hardly had room for improvement.

Researching and investigating why migrant workers choose mobile hawkers, except for a few passively choose migrant hawkers, because they cannot get a formal job due to various shortcomings such as disability or limited skills, most people actively choose this occupation. Their reasons included, in addition to the main factors that increase income, other factors of **acquiring autonomy of work** and **the dignity of life**. They considered that working for others has to endure strict work regulations, sometimes withholding wages for various reasons. In some cases, they were out of company and society. Indeed, the mobile vendor industry operates independently, with high freedom and direct income, and low cost means relatively low risk. For rural immigrants, choosing self-employed industries such as vendors can help them increase their sources of income, gain autonomy in income, and flexibly control working hours and locations, thereby **reducing the economic and psychological pressure** of urban life. ¹³

- *Laid-off workers and other urban poverty*

Another group of urban poverty population is laid-off workers from state-owned enterprises. In 1995, the state carried out a comprehensive reform for state-owned enterprises. The ones which had been in long-term loss either underwent privatization or bankruptcy. This process has caused augment in unemployment due to being laid off in various cities. According to statistics, in 1998, the unemployed population in urban areas was nearly 16 million, and the unemployment rate was around 8%. But the state and local governments have not fully prepared the unemployment insurance system for laid-off employees, which has brought heavy social stress for a while. ¹⁴ Also, when the laid-off workers had thrown themselves into labor markets, they encountered fierce

¹³ Huang, G (2015) *The Socio-economic Roots and Spatial Politics of City Hawkers (1st ed.)*. Shanghai, China: Commercial Press. ISBN: 9787100109246

¹⁴

competition and many difficulties in reapplying for jobs, such as unmatched skills and age requirements. Most of them left their hometowns and moved to Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and other big cities to seek job opportunities and formed another type of migrant laborers in China. These people generally engaged in mobile hawkers passively. They saw mobile hawkers as **temporary means** of earning a living during the transition period when they hadn't yet found formal jobs in cities. They were accustomed to **having formal jobs** and urban identities even they belonged to migrants as well. If they find no jobs all the time, they would have to keep the occupation all along.

- *The limitation of the social security system*

Economic growth is unable to eliminate relative urban poverty. The alleviation of poverty relies on the effective redistribution of social resources and comprehensive social security, including social assistance, social security, and tax accumulation (R. Walker, L. Yang, 2021). Recently, the revenue and wealth difference among urban residents in China has continued to broaden. The Gini coefficient of urban residents has risen from 0.16 in 1978 to 0.529 in 2003, exceeding the international warning line. Although the data was controversial from various perspectives, urban poverty has become a menace to the sustainability of urbanization. National Social Security Department trial ran the “Interim Measures for Social Assistance” to improve the social welfare system. At the end of 2017, 12.64 million people in China benefited from the minimum living guarantee of urban residents, accounting for 2.1% of the population, a decrease of 1.62% from 22.34 million in 2007. Based on the 2015 sample survey data of the National Bureau of Statistics, the urban poverty incidence rate was initially 17% and dropped to 7.2% after the poor population received the minimum guarantee.¹⁵ Regional governments have also introduced various social security models and frameworks to cope with specific circumstances in different regions. The current social security system, to a certain extent, benefited poverty alleviation.

¹⁵ Data source: Statistical Bulletin of Social Service Development in 2017
<http://www.mca.gov.cn/article/sj/tjgb/201808/20180800010446.shtml>

However, the current social security system has various limitations. Firstly, in the beginning, the Chinese government had not established a unified poverty governance system but adopted an urban-rural separated model. And in poverty alleviation, the government, according to national conditions, paid more attention to absolute poverty in rural areas and has neglected relative poverty for a long time. The social security system in cities was incomplete because of the short time of implementation. Secondly, inner migration is the most important feature of Chinese urbanization. In 2013, the poverty rate of the floating population was 1.6 times that of the registered population in the inflow area, and the poverty alleviation relied on only the minimum living guarantees, which brought a lot of financial pressures on Municipalities. Also, the shortcomings of the household registration system caused misallocation of resources, unable to cover the poor population of non-local household registered, even led to the duplicate allocation to local household registered population. Besides, urban poverty is often controversial among Chinese politician scientists, especially in the methodologies of measurement and recognition. And scientists have been concentrating on researching the quantitative methods of multi-dimensional poverty and sharing the consensus that the single dimension of income could overlook the deep meaning of the current situation. But there are still controversies on the weight of dimensional indicators and the method of sum measurement.¹⁶ Therefore, the current social security system hasn't yet broken out the framework of dualism between urban and rural areas when allocating social resources and cannot ensure the primary demand of urban life and secure employment for the urban poor.

China's urban poverty mainly comes from the **vast rural-urban population migration** caused by the rural-urban duality system. ¹⁷In addition, the land occupation phenomenon caused by urban expansion has also caused some people to lose their financial and living means and change to informal employment. Neoliberalism believes that informal

¹⁶ Sun, J & Xia, T (2019) *China's Poverty Alleviation Strategy and the Delineation of the Relative Poverty Line after 2020: An Analysis Based on Theory, Policy and Empirical Data*, Chinese Rural Economy 2019 (10): pp.1-16

¹⁷ Sun, J & Xia, T (2019) *China's Poverty Alleviation Strategy and the Delineation of the Relative Poverty Line after 2020: An Analysis Based on Theory, Policy and Empirical Data*, Chinese Rural Economy 2019 (10): pp.1-16

employment is a rational choice for workers to break through government control and reflect the spirit of the market. When workers do not obtain efficient public services from the official system, they can only **break away from negative administrative control and turn to informal employment to obtain more benefits**. Wu Yaowu found through the instrumental variable method that the educational return rate of 25-40 years old informal employment was higher than that of formal employment.¹⁸ Labor's income levels rise significantly rather than fall if they transfer to the informal job market.¹⁹ Wan Xiangdong's survey in the Pearl River Delta region also found that the number of migrant workers who change jobs from formal employment to informal employment was far more than from informal to formal because the income from informal employment was about 1.5 times that of formal employment, coupled with relatively flexible, the entry threshold and operating costs are lower.²⁰ The research conclusions leaned towards more the neoliberal theory. **Self-employment forms such as mobile hawkers have become an important way for the urban poor to achieve personal accumulation and upward mobility**. That again explains to a certain extent why the informal economy can effectively absorb urban employment.

3.3.2.2 The potential groups of mobile hawkers and increasing social pressures

In recent years, various research topics on **urban pressures and multi-dimensional marginality** have received more and more attention. In addition to essential needs for living, urban residents need to invest more and more in social capital, health care cost, and educational cost. And urban residents with median income have also been feeling different kinds of stresses and dilemmas in daily practices. The socio-economic inequality has not only affected the poor and low-income population, but its impact has been permeating to urban residents at all levels. Even a large number of mobile hawkers do not have a label of poverty.

¹⁸ Wu, Y (2009), *The Future of Informal Employees*, Economic Research 2009 (7): pp.91-106

¹⁹ Hu, F (2011), *Study on Workers' Behaviors of Choosing the Informal Employment*, PhD dissertation of Zhejiang University, Dec.2011: pp.33-52

²⁰ Wan, X (2008) *The conditions and effects of migrant workers' informal employment*, Management World, 2008 (1): pp.63-74

- *New college graduates*

Many reserve forces of urban poverty come from college graduates due to the unbalanced supply-demand relationship between new labor forces every year and job markets (H. Liang, C. Fang, 2011). The country adopted a policy of university expansion in 1999. National statistics manifested that the number of students in colleges and universities across the country surged to 27.5 million in 2017 from 4.09 million in 1999. Although it has improved the per capita educational level, the competition in the labor market has been heading up as well. However, China's higher education supply and demand evaluation system considered that today's labor markets could recruit new graduates. The contested employment issues for college students are not of the quantity but **the structural contradiction between supply and demands in labor markets**, that is to say, the college graduates cannot meet the labor market's demands, for example, graduate's special field cannot correspond to job positions, or salary offered by job post is not up to the expectation of graduate. Nowadays, graduates have changed their attitudes towards occupation and have become more and more interested in "delayed employment."²¹ One of the biggest recruitment online platforms surveyed that 63.6% of the 2020 graduates found a single unit of work, which was 20% lower than the previous year, and 18.2% of them chose the "delayed employment," which augmented 2.3%, and 11.2% chose freelance work, an increase of 4.7%. Students' employment choices may be under various influences, but the proportion of wage-employment has significantly decreased. A well-known social forum opened a hot topic about "how college students view mobile hawkers." Most users had positive attitudes towards it and offered various supports: for example, it can enrich life experience and understand the laws of the market, and bring a substantial revenue if achieved an accurate market positioning. It proved that mobile hawkers were an attractive self-employment form for university students and graduates.

²¹ Delayed Employment: It describes a phenomenon that students neither find a job immediately after graduated, nor continue their studies, but give themselves a transitional period, such as planning a study tour, aid education, start a business, or just taking time to consider their futures.

- *The consumption dilemma of the median income groups*

As a society gets "richer," the relative standard of need changes to reflect societal wealth. For urban residents of Chinese emerging metropolises, daily lives have various needs and stresses from social segregation brought by capital and market economy (S. He, 2017). Thanks to economic growth and urbanization, **the portion of median income** has been **increasing** in the **demographic structure** of Chinese cities, and the age structure has an evident trend toward an aging society. The principle of consumption expenditure of the median-income population concentrates more on private development and means of entertainment, such as educational investment, social communication, cultural entertainment, etc. Except that expenditure growth is much faster than income due to currency inflation, the driver of excessive expenditure is the **life dilemma caused by fierce competition for limited urban resources**. For instance, the policy of nearby enrollment and imbalance of educational resources spawned the high-priced *School District House*.²² As most worth mentioning, the housing issue has exacerbated the inequality of urban socio-economic spaces. While Chinese cities were frantically pursuing land and housing development, the real estate market has also produced various paradoxical results: on the one hand, the ownership rate of Chinese real estate has been at a high level; on the other hand, a large number of citizens cannot afford high-priced housing in big cities. There are also multiple issues, such as the complexity between various types of housing ownership and the deficiency of housing supply channels, which have caused the disordered state in the real estate market. (S. He, 2017) Moreover, Chinese people value their families most. The Chinese one-child generation has just reached the young and the prime of life and become the social labor force body, and they are facing heavier family expenses and pressure to take care of their children and both parents alone. Therefore, the dilemma and marginal of urban life may no longer focus on the poverty or low-income population in the future but spread to **the median-income population in megacities** among whom its multi-faceted characteristics shall be more

²² School District House: School district houses are houses within a school district in China that allow students free admission to the nearest school. Students who take advantage of school district houses can enter the nearest school without exams, Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/School_district_houses_in_China

evident. Today, mobile hawkers have also emerged some people belonging to median-income.

In summary, the aggravation of urban poverty in China is in process, so does the inequality in social and urban spaces. The foremost object factors are the acceleration of urbanization and the large-scale migration of urban and rural populations. However, Chinese academic circles have always emphasized on the rural migrant population in research on mobile hawkers. The author considered it is not comprehensive to measure urban poverty or relatively disadvantaged group from a single dimension of economic income. And future researches on mobile hawkers under the current trend of Chinese urbanization shall not purely focus on their economic needs as previous ones. The crowd of mobile hawkers does not purely comprise the low-income population, also grouping the characteristics of mobile hawkers through low-income cannot reflect the inequality of urban space. This thesis has no intention to take an in-depth study on the composition of mobile hawkers as the core purpose. However, the author considered that **the communal features** of mobile hawkers should describe **the facts** that: they can enjoy few urban services and resources, which indirectly leads to their living spaces located in an isolated area and becoming the passive side when facing the spatial shrinkage in the city. Therefore, their demands are more than rising income, but they need to retrieve the initiative in urban life and rebuild the communication channel outwards the isolated space.

4 THE SPATIALITY OF MOBILE HAWKER IN THE CITY

4.1 THE FORMATION AND ESSENCE OF MOBILE HAWKING SPACE

The post-reform era is also called the transitional era when China has entered a rapid urbanization process and the dramatic shift of society and economy. The mismatch between rapid urban transformation and urban planning and management, coupled with numerous population movements, made the urban pattern and social structure increasingly complex and generated various urban issues, one of which is the mobile hawker issue. After the 21st century, the speed of urban development has gradually slowed down, and economic success has given city authorities spare energy to solve problems by improving urban planning, regulations, and management methods. (Li Y., 2011) In 2020, China plans to start the next comprehensive and sustainable urban transformation stage, but many believe the country has not completely stepped out of the transitional era.

4.1.1 URBAN FRAGMENTATION AND DISCONNECTION

In the transitional era, the full pursuit of economic benefits and modernization in urban development has become common, and the main purpose of China's first urbanization phase is **capital accumulation** and gaining a **global identity**. Spatial expansion and renewal are two of the efficient modes of capital accumulation. Space has become a commodity invested in the capital flow, that is, spatial capitalization. Urban space has become an important resource for capital production. First, cities in a continuous state extended to the periphery to gain more space, encroaching on farmland and natural resources. Secondly, they re-used and allocated inner areas by demolishing or renovating old city centers or factories, renewing the street and public spaces, and erecting high-rise communities or shopping centers out of thin air. These contemporary transformations have changed urban life, as evident in changing city skylines and urban patterns with each passing day.

Furthermore, China's urban planners used internationally recognized practices, such as zoning regulations, height restrictions, and controlled development, to control the spatial form and growth of the urban region and achieve a vision for the character of the contemporary city (Gaubatz, 1999). However, they just devoted their efforts to constructing high-end office buildings and commercial districts, catering to the rising middle-class group's preference for mimicking globalized capital culture. Cartier (2002) argued that urban landscape and spatial planning and erecting symbolized China's embrace of global identities and values. Moreover, large-scale social and spatial gentrification and consumption space have also come along with the widespread cultural illusion of globalization.

The rise of enclave space, the augmentation of residential mobility, socio-economic inequality, and the increasingly apparent trend of urban space commercialization have led to significant segregation, fragmentation, and differentiation of social space (Wu F., et al., 2002). The socio-spatial differentiation between various residence communities is far greater than its integration. China's contemporary urban pattern comprises various enclaves, such as unit compounds, gated high-end communities, and urban villages, which are the products of various historical periods (He J., et al., 2013). Furthermore, the high heterogeneity also brought the particular urban morphology and texture characters to the enclave pattern. On the one hand, the gated high-end community symbolizes capital superiority except for fulfilling the residential function. They shaped the moral geography characterized by class differentiation and exclusion at the social level, cutting off the connection between their residents and other groups, especially low-income groups. On the other hand, for impoverished settlements, the lifestyle of enclaves is a compromised choice, encouraging people to enjoy little urban services and resources in exchange for a sensible measure of urban life (He J., et al., 2017).

- *Impoverished settlements*

There are three main types of impoverished enclaves in China: shanty town, workers' deteriorating community, and urban village (Liu Y. & Wu F., 2006). Influenced by the capital environment, cities continuously squeeze the living spaces of marginalized groups

and push them to the peripheries via methods of spatial governance. Shanty towns are extreme manifestations of housing poverty, consisting of dilapidated bungalows with an extremely high density and low quality of life. The worker's communities are historical products after the second half of the last century, deteriorating rapidly after a short-term climax with the decline of the industrial department. The urban village was born out of the expropriation of rural land during rapid urban expansion. The city changed cultivated land into residential buildings to accept many immigrants who entered the city to work and formed a settlement that symbolized poverty and marginalization with dense houses and narrow streets. The local government preconceived to uprooting it, regarding it as the breeding of the chaotic landscape and social issues. The living and space resources available to these settlements are very scarce. As one of the marginalized groups, most mobile hawkers have temporary houses here and build their places for daily business activities. The restriction on these areas derived from capitalist exploitation, but the institutional and social constraints are also evident (Liu Y. & Wu F.,2006). Thus, compared with other groups, they encounter more obstacles to integrating into the city. (Figure 4-1)



Figure 4-1 The different enclaves in China represent the urban spatial heterogeneity, including high-end residential communities and impoverished settlements, such as urban villages, worker's community, and shanty town

The privatization and marketization of housing in Chinese cities has undoubtedly led to decreased shared spaces within housing structures and development. Nevertheless, the separation of housing from the workplace has increased citizens' time away from their neighborhoods. Moreover, they spend time increasing ways provided and marketed from a wide range of resources and planners' and developers' careful landscape features to the mass-market and signature landscape of global commercialism (Gaubatz P., 2008). Therefore, urban fragmentation and disconnection are also embodied in the encroachment of public spaces.

Although Chinese cities do not need to rely on surveillance in public spaces to exclude potential violent threats in high-crime cities such as Los Angeles (Soja, 1989), the urban commentators noticed the daily scenes of Chinese public spaces have been dimming after

the reforming and opening up (Qian, 2014). As the carrier of public life, public space should reflect public rationality and urban spirit. It should act as a shared social platform where strangers and multiculturalism merge or generate friction (Jacobs, 2010). Chinese cities have also applied surveillance or patrol in public spaces, not all for violent crime but for eliminating spatial chaos and conflicts, to expel poor and marginalized groups such as mobile hawkers and the homeless. Mobile hawkers lose the prerequisite for conversing with other classes before entering the spaces.

Besides, public spaces are not only artificial urban landscapes, such as avenues, recreational green spaces, squares, and parks but a space with diverse functions, including transportation, communication, religion, commerce, and recreation. However, Chinese cities have emphasized the landscape function of public spaces in the stage of accelerating urbanization. Clean and spacious avenues, uniform green areas, and superb public facilities demonstrate the urban authorities' will and power to safeguard the order and rational appearance while acts of mobile hawkers, such as blocking traffic, making disturbing noise, and soiling streets, would run counter to it. Thus, they have been stripped of the power to access public spaces. However, the immoderate pursuit of formalized public spaces made city authorities neglect to give them functions they should undertake. Hence, public space is increasingly difficult to meet public life's material and spiritual needs. Even though public spaces are not lacking in the frequency of people, the neat and clean appearances instead of the chaos and noises made people feel emotionally lost, lost in the disappearance of the normal lifestyle and the disconnect of the social bonds. This loss instead stimulates people's subjective initiative. Moreover, in the transitional era, citizens were more likely to practice their free will due to various institutional factors, such as power structures, regulatory organizations, and law enforcement procedures (Gaubatz, 2008), which conflicted with urban planners' perfect blueprint for contemporary cities. Therefore, in this phase, many interesting informal spaces appeared spontaneously and temporarily in Chinese cities.

Rapidly changing urban spaces present within the multi-party negotiations between social, political, cultural, and economic relations. And new public spaces formed in China's

continuous engagement with the world and itself as the housing spaces. Thus, both the **public** and the **private** spheres are transitioning in 21st century China. (Gaubatz, 2008) On the one hand, it does provide new places and new ways of dynamism for urban life. On the other hand, it has undergone a devaluation of the public sphere under watchful eyes of public administration and the commoditized space while generating new public life. Cities reflect tensions in various ways, from the withdrawal of different social groups into enclaves to the degree of inclusivity and diversity in public spaces (Amin & Graham, 1999). The issue of mobile hawkers are essentially a matter of the public sphere. From the inclusiveness of the public space to street vendors, urban habitats can perceive the spatial connection and the tense or relaxed situation of the city.

4.1.2 INFORMAL PUBLIC SPACE

The essence of the mobile hawking space is **the projection** of the informal economy in the city's physical space, which is a form of **informal public space**. The informality of urban space refers to the bottom-up changes in the city's environment based on the needs of urban individuals and specific social groups. It indicates the spontaneous private construction implemented outside the planning regulations, including all informal economic activities, construction activities, and habitant behaviors (Zhang N., 2016). Formalized cities designed and created by urban planners and architects and powerful authorities define the form at one time; **In contrast**, informal urban spaces firstly run out of detailed official planning and the control of laws, policies, or urban regulations. It is a self-sustained and logical form of socio-spatial pattern thanks to the high degree of free use of space. The land and topography are its prerequisites, which are transforming violently or slowly under the influence of the daily practices of the city's inhabitants over time, appearing non-geometric and dynamic. ¹

Its initial cause is that urban planners seldom considered meeting urban habitats' material and spiritual needs in the initial design for formalized spaces. Therefore, the occupation of public space has long been a common phenomenon in Chinese cities. There are often

¹ Long Y. & Wang H., (2010), *Informal city 1st ed*, Nanjing, China: Southeast University Press, ISBN: 7564120827

two modes for generating informal public spaces in cities. **One** is to remold existing public spaces without requesting instructions from authorities; **the other** is to create spaces independently in a neglected or illegally occupied area.² **The former one** is very common in the transitional era:

- Small shops and restaurants privately occupy sidewalks to increase their dining areas;
- Mobile hawkers gather around traffic arteries, exits of subways, or farmers' markets to sell goods.
- In deteriorated communities, residents on the ground floor use their houses to run small businesses selling foods or goods from windows facing the street;
- Excursion visit outside the metal fence of the landmark construction site;
- Under the viaduct, citizens carry out rich entertainments by themselves;
- ...

Various social groups, such as mobile hawkers, city habitants, shop owners, and retirees, have actively participated in reconstructing ephemeral public spaces to fulfill their needs of urban lives, which formal public spaces have not provided (Gaubatz, 2008). These efforts have confirmed that informal groups have "entrepreneurship" a heroic business spirit. They are not subject to any legislation or regulation constraints, and their practices have changed the urban landscape and really influenced the economy, the politic, and the society. However, as the pace of the urbanization is slowing down, the policies and regulations are improving, these informal and spontaneous spaces have been less common than the decade before.

The latter mode focuses on impoverished settlements. Since the 1980s, the research on the informality of slums in Latin American cities has expanded to social, economic, political, and various aspects. These unplanned settlements are inherently self-sustaining because there lack urban infrastructures and public services. They are awash with chaos,

² Xi, W. (2017), *Research on strategy of urban public space design under perspective of urban informality*, a dissertation submitted for the degree master of South China University of Technology, Guangzhou, China, pp 17-50

congestion, violence, squalor, and instability in general perception, and crime is constantly breeding in without urban authorities' supervision and control. However, the deepening research found that their spaces grow to a high degree of free use full of interest and vitality, which even professional planners and architects cannot manage to design. Because they often conceive of blueprints from macro perspectives, using well-practiced skills dealing with light, color, material, and scales in spaces, sometimes these professional abilities force them into an unchangeable routine. A more extreme example is Torre de David in Caracas. An abandoned skyscraper transformed into a self-sustained complexity thanks to the habitants inside building their own home voluntarily. They mutually negotiated and tacitly divided the private and public spaces inside without planning or regulation guidance until the building could be seen as a small city.³ Similar places in China exist in **the above-mentioned poor settlements**, where most residents are immigrants or marginalized groups. Habitants live in a cramped space, occupying or transforming the surrounding area within their ability. They build their own houses out of scraps from construction sites, vendors sell food and goods in the narrow alleys, adults gather at the door to gossip, and children play games on the rubble. They passively bear the heavy burden of urban life while maintaining human dignity as a silent struggle for their destiny, which has accumulated over time to form bottom-up feedback that the city government cannot ignore. The city rulers may consider these places are the scars left in the urbanization era, which proved that they had not noticed the self-sustained human ecology having random but logical spatial patterns and highly diverse and unyielding urban lifestyle. Despite their urge to improve the degrading physical buildings and get rid of poor populations living inside.

Most mobile hawkers belong to the poor and live in poor settlements for exchanging an accommodating corner in the city. Coordination and mutual help between residents in the same situation have become the order of the day. Thus, their neighborhood bonds could be tighter than in other urban areas. Therefore, some mobile hawkers do their

³ Feng J. (2015, October 6). Town hall, Place: Tower of David: Equity and Justice for the Poor. https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1361132

businesses inside their habitats to assist neighbors, and the enclave communities protect them by making here a grey area out of urban authorities' control. However, outside public spaces can provide them with more resources and opportunities, leading them to break through the spatial boundaries and struggle for transient formal public spaces to earn more money, avoid surveillance, and play cat-and-mouse games with *Chengguan* (a government agency for urban management in each city). **In short, they seek out law enforcement and urban surveillance dead areas as their makeshift production site.** They actively participate in the construction and renovation in their enclave neighborhoods also step into the outside world to implant informal public spaces. (Figure 4-2)

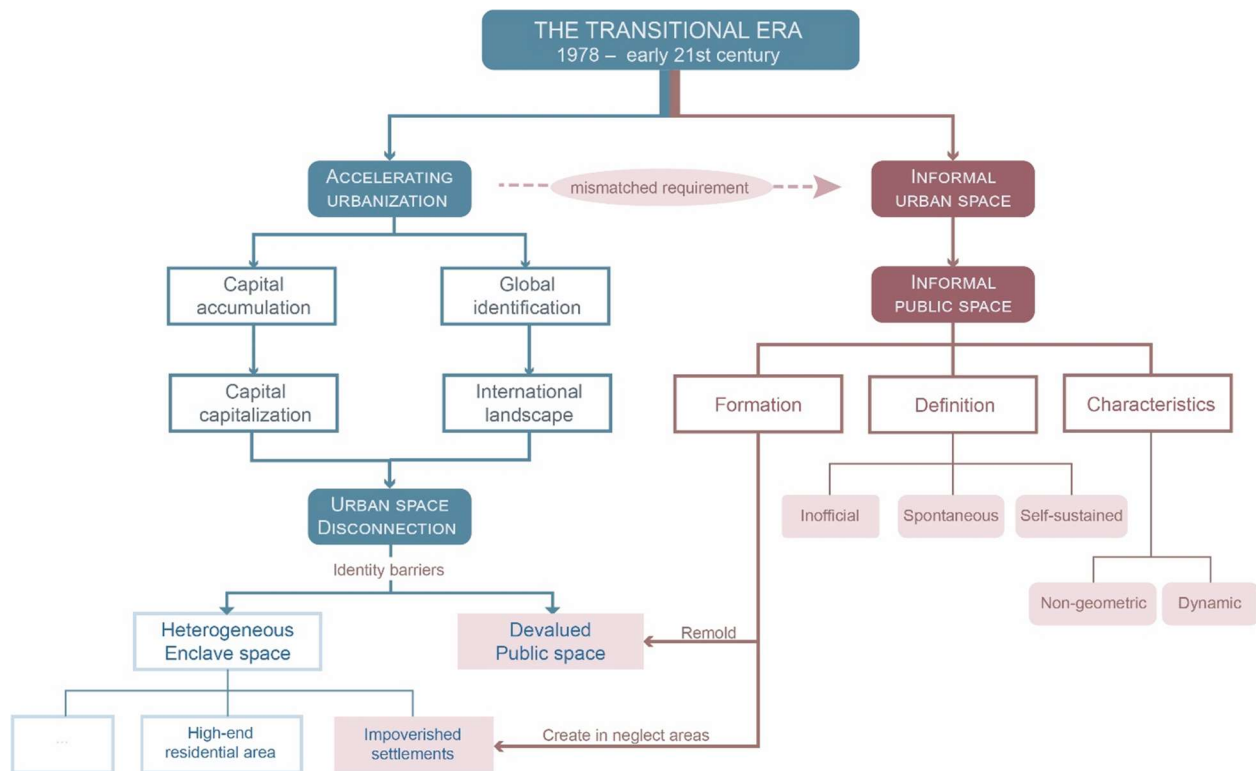


Figure 4-2 The scheme of informal urban space in the transitional era

4.2 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MOBILE HAWKING SPACE

4.2.1 NEIGHBORHOOD SCALE AND DISTRIBUTION LAW

The study of mobile hawking space distribution is the key to analyze **the necessity** and **feasibility** of **opening up the mobile hawking policy** for urban authorities. First of all, if the spatial relationship between mobile hawkers and formal vendors is co-location

rather than co-dispersion, which means that the two share consumers with the competitive relationship rather than compensate each other for the lack of commercial space, it challenges the necessity of them since cities prefer to protect formal vendors who pay taxes on time. In addition, if their spatial distribution is scattered or sporadic without any law or regularity, urban renewal projects placing them in special areas would be less feasible due to the mismatch between the areas and their distribution law. In the past, the government adopted simple relocation projects for mobile hawkers to place them in the outskirts and closed markets that let them lose the customer resources and the right to move freely, so that many turned back to the original streets regardless of losing legal identities and confronting the *Chengguan*. (Zhang Y et al., 2017) Furthermore, studying the relationship between spatial distribution and scale can provide planners and architects with specific technics for measuring and analyzing mobile hawking spaces. Most mobile hawker spatial studies in China are from the perspectives of spatial politics and governance, focusing on the causes and effects of the resistance on the mobile hawkers and how to optimize urban policies and management. A few studies have the perspective of physical spatial characteristics. Zhang Yanji et al. made the quantitative studies in detail on the spatial distribution characteristics of mobile hawkers in Chaoyang district, Beijing, which has reference significance to study their spatial structure and distribution laws.

Zhang Yanji et al. took Chaoyang District, one of the most populous urban areas in Beijing, as the research scope (excluding its enclaves, the Capital International Airport). Chaoyang District is in the east of Beijing with 470.8 KM², has CBD, Olympic village, CCTV Headquarters, and other high-standard built-up areas, including the East 3rd to 5th Ring Roads, the airport expressway, the Jingtong expressway, and railways. The researchers found that mobile hawkers densely spread around the southern part of the East 3rd and the Jingtong Expressway extension, where urban-rural junctions exist. Besides, the data came from the street vendor database in Chaoyang District Digital Urban Management System. They selected a total of 315,785 street vendor samples for the year 2010,

covering a variety of classified information such as the business type, spatial coordinates, and floor area.⁴ (Figure 4-3)

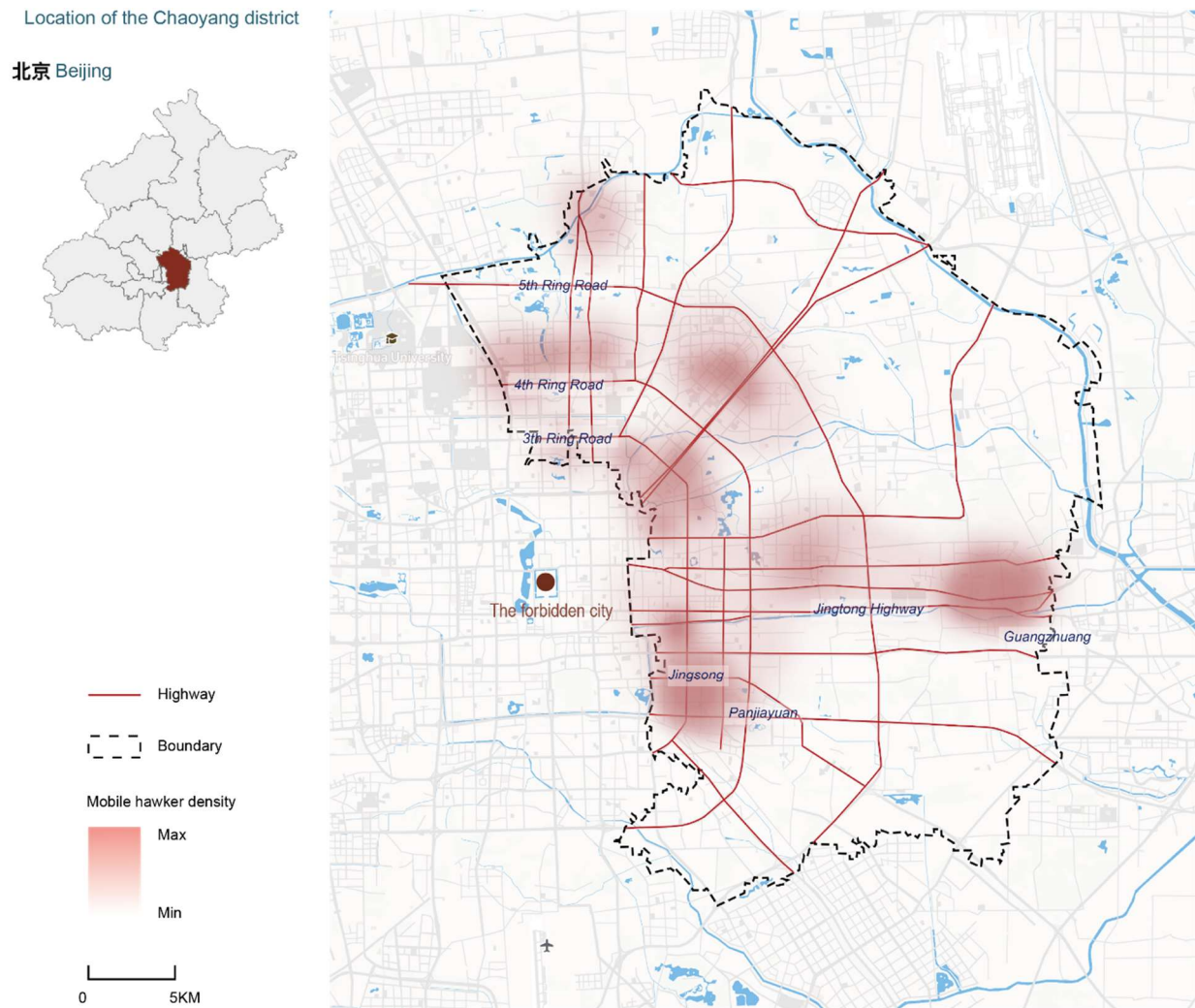


Figure 4-3 Kernel density of street hawking of Chaoyang District in Beijing (Made by the paper authors Zhang Yanji et al., 2017, reproduced by the thesis authors)

The researchers adopted the point-pair-distance methods for measuring agglomeration to present spatial patterns sensitively. They analyzed the degree of agglomeration via the DO index proposed by Duranton and Overman and its spatial relationship with formal commerce via the M function proposed by Marcon and Puech. We focused on the study's conclusion that proved the regularity existing rather than the algorithm part.

⁴ Zhang, Y. & Zhang, L. & Wu, L. (2017), *Spatial distribution of street vending and its spatial relationship with formal commerce: Quantitative research using distance-based methods*, ACTA Geographica Sinica, 72(4), 618-632. <https://doi.org/10.11821/dlxb201704005>

Above all, they analyzed each type of vendor's degree of agglomeration using the distance weighted floor area and found that all types had significant agglomeration in the spatial distribution that happened in the very small scales, around 200-300m, which is the length of the short side of one block. Besides, the degree of agglomeration and vendor types decreased rapidly as the scale augmented, though different vendors had different degrees of agglomeration with various scales. Furthermore, the degree of agglomeration is inversely related to the occurrence of vendors. That is to say, the vendor type with less demand in daily practices, rarely appearing on the street or having a lower proportion among samples, has a higher degree of agglomeration. On the contrary, the vendor type closely related to the daily needs, such as fruit and vegetable vendors easily seen on the street, presented a relatively scattered planar space pattern compared to those who did mobile phone stickers. The main reason is that the vendor whom people demand less in daily life needs to withstand external risks and uncertainties by gathering resources and sharing information. Moreover, there was no evident correlation between vendor type and spatial scale. (Figure 4-4)

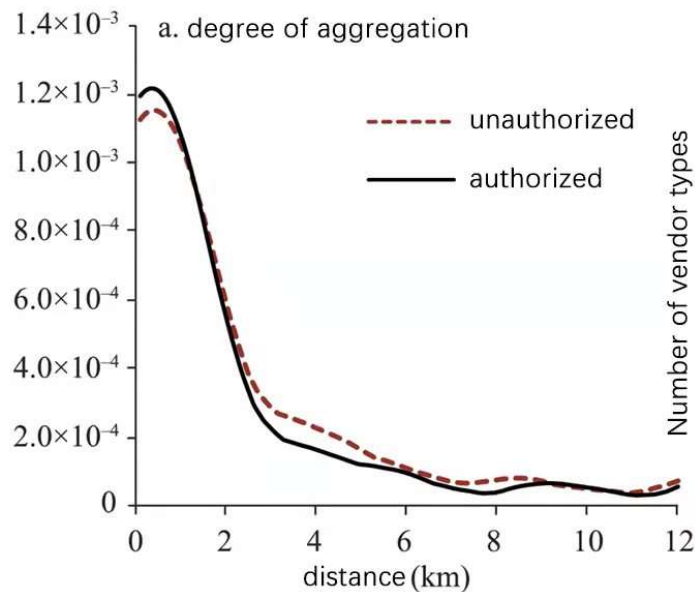


Figure 4-4 The relationship between the degree of agglomeration and the distance. Made by the paper authors Zhang Yanji et al., 2017

Secondly, the spatial relationship between the same type of mobile hawkers and formal vendors is the co-dispersion, no matter who the denominator is. Besides, as the space

shrank smaller, the degree of dispersion arose, and the types of mobile hawkers became much more than that of formal vendors. On the one hand side, it explained that the relationship between the same type of mobile hawkers and formal vendors is competitive; formal vendors may exclude mobile hawkers who run the same business but may accept other vendor types if they could bring more interest for them; for example, people can easily find cold-drink vending carts near grill houses. On the other hand, since mobile hawkers appeared close to impoverished neighborhoods with little spatial resources and public services, their existence can compensate for the shortage of commerce. Therefore, the authors regarded the study's conclusion as a counterstatement that the government banned mobile hawkers based on unfair competition. (Figure 4-5)

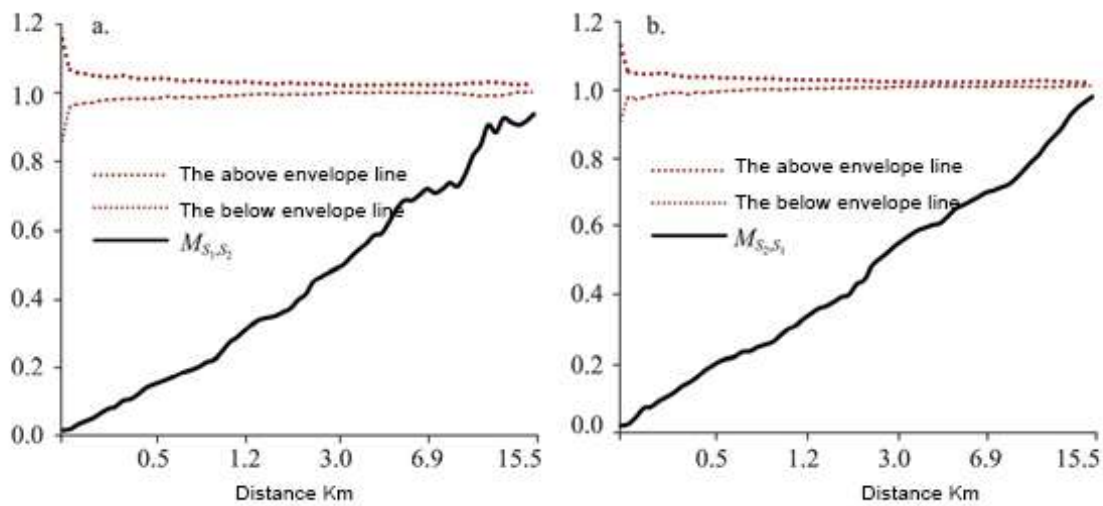


Figure 4-5 M function and global confidence bands for illustrative types, a. mobile hawkers as the reference value; b. regular shops the reference value. Made by the paper authors Zhang Yanji et al., 2017

To sum up, the spatial distribution of mobile hawkers showed no absence rule to follow. Zhang Yanji et al. affirmed the significance of the street hawker space after analyzing their spatial distribution characteristics. Furthermore, they suggested that municipal authorities may open mobile hawking spaces appropriately depending on specific spatial structures, the relationship with current commerce spaces, the consumption needs of surrounding residents, and the spatial conflicts triggered by government control. The establishment of the hawker-allowed areas should first conform to their spatial characteristics and patterns, maintaining a small scale. The overall location selection

should consider the income and consumption levels of the surrounding residents; the distribution of public services and formal businesses in the surrounding areas. The low- and middle-income groups who lack purchasing power have more needs on informal vendors and areas in the absence of resources and services welcome them for commercial complementarity in the short or long term. At last, they proposed the model of hawking space can be either a regular long-term, fixed, or a temporary, flexible type. Government can place hawkers with low occurrence on a regular and fixed vending zone, such as book fairs, on-site sewing, etc., and arrange hawkers related to daily life needs on changeable function areas.

4.2.2 MOBILITY AND SPATIAL FORMS OF HAWKING BOOTHS

The type of hawker studied in this paper is **the retail street hawker** because they are one of the important forms of informal economy and space in China's national conditions. The bazaar and community markets have official spatial locations and relatively fixed operation times, and hawkers have legal identities protected by the authorities. **The mobility and flexibility** of street hawkers are **the main features** that distinguish them from other official types of vendors, and it is also the way they survive and the unacceptable characteristics of urban governance. Unless they erase their unstable characteristics, they can obtain licenses to enter a regularized market.

The street carries the traffic function and public spaces with various modes of use determined by users. The foot traffic is the main cause that induces them to change positions by the traffic spaces, such as the sidewalks or bicycle lanes. Then, they find a good location in the staying space of the street to run businesses and earn money. Another important reason for their relocation is avoiding urban surveillance and governance.

In the beginning, spontaneous hawking activities have the characteristics of the short-distance movement. When studying the spontaneous night market in Kaifeng, Wang Quankun et al. (2020) have found that the social network and the neighborhood effect were the main reason for this feature: social interaction brings information dissemination,

which induces learning and imitation. Many hawkers entered the industry by the introduction of friends and relatives. They also shared experiences and exchanged information with others. Besides, streets as the open spaces gave them a scene to observe and imitate the business modes from others. Therefore, hawkers prefer to set up stalls in well-known neighborhoods rather than strange places.

Moreover, the means of transport they use need to carry commodities or produce raw materials and tools and serve as platforms for commodity display or on-site processing. The vending booths also need to help them leave the location quickly to avoid being caught by the surprise inspection by *Chengguan*. Therefore, hawkers need to integrate transport means with their business content to make easier and faster processes. However, they have very little start-up capital, so they can only use relatively easy transport that restricts their move distance. Besides, some of them choose to stay near their houses to conveniently take care of their families.

Since Kaifeng is not a first-tier city, its spatial complexity and degree of fragmentation are lower than first-tier cities. Most mobile vendors passively move over longer distances in big cities to obtain better space resources and inclusive space.

In addition, vehicles determine how they define vending space and conduct economic activities in street space. Hawkers choose streets with relatively dense traffic but also need to measure whether the space available on the sidewalk matches their business form. Besides, it can also leave enough space for customers to stop when it needs to accommodate itself. The following are five common mobile tools on the street to compare their cost, convenience, space, and activity.






Types and name	Actual usage	Cost (from low to high)	Moving Convenience (From easiest to hardest)	Spatial form	Commodity type and accessing method
A. Floor with cloth		Lowest (0-5€)	Carry goods on foot or bicycle, easier to organize	Small covered area; attract a few customers	small commodity for daily necessities; they entry and exit on foot
B. Easy foldable handheld table or chair		low (0-30€)	Carry goods and small furniture on foot or bicycle, easy to organize	Small covered area; attract a few customers	small commodity for daily necessities; they entry and exit on foot
C. Modified-tricycle		high (200-300€)	Modified from tricycle that can be loaded with raw materials and production work	Small covered area; attracting some customers	Sell fruit and vegetable, even cooked snacks. Moving using the bike lane or sidewalk
D. modified-motorcycle semi-motorized		higher (300-500€)	Motor vehicle, small transformable trucks that can carry raw materials and producing tools	Media covered area; attract some or a lot of customers	Most sell cooked snacks. Moving using the vehicle lane or bicycle lane, mostly used in official markets
E. Detachable tent		medium (100-200€)	Use vehicles to carry large size tent and goods	Large covered area; attract some or a lot of customers	More types of goods, carrying the tools by vehicle, mostly used in official markets

Table 4-1 The types of hawking booths and their application and activities involved. Made by the thesis authors

First of all, (see Table 4-1) types A and B are the least difficult to set up stalls, and the hawkers do not need to prepare vehicles for carrying items. Most people willing to try street hawking also apply this form for the first time. Types C and D are the most common forms of food vendors, can carry raw materials and production work. The transformed motorcycle is convenient for tidying up, can travel longer distances, and attracts customers by personal decoration. The above mobile tools occupy a small area and volume and have high flexibility. The regular hawking market and night markets established by the government will use D-type semi-motor vehicles, and they will have a uniform decorative appearance to ensure a unified image. Type E covers a large area and volume, and vendors generally use motor vehicles to carry tools. It is more fixed and less mobile, but it can attract and accommodate more people. Therefore, you will choose a spacious street space or a square to set up a stall.

4.2.3 WALLS AND THE IMAGE OF PATHS AND EDGES

Urban space is a set of spatial domains with power, and its distinctive city images are constructed by physical forms or the spatial elements. Traditional Chinese cities were strictly hierarchical spaces mainly classified by physical walls as the barriers of social classes. Streets were the narrow gap between different spatial realms, working for the traffic function also public spaces, and the walls on both sides gave them spatial facade characteristics and identities. In the past, the street vendors placed themselves under the walls because they had clear minds of their secondary roles in the street, reserving the central space for the flows of pedestrians or wheels. In return, the walls offered their backs a place for leaning on and served as a background screen for their vending stages. (Figure 4-6 Figure 1-1& Figure 4-7) Thus, the "walls" were a relevant element that defines a traditional street vendor space.

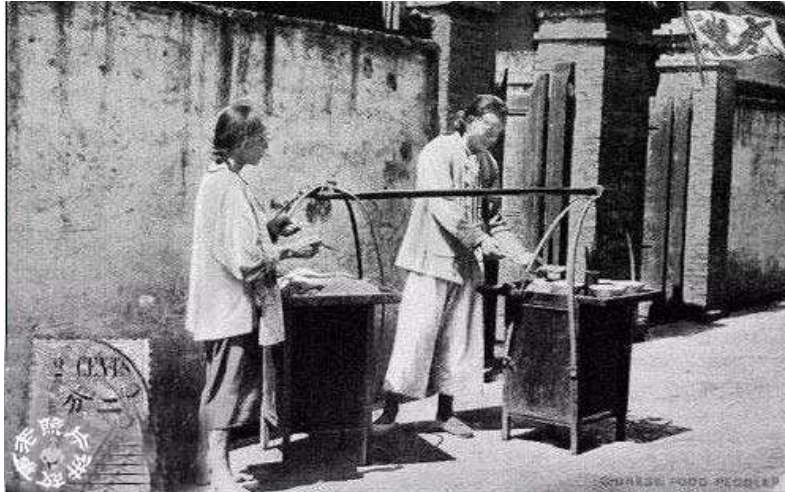


Figure 4-6 Photos of street vendors in the Qing Dynasty manifest the streets defined by walls and the position of vendors in the streets. (The shooting year unknown)



Figure 4-7 Photos of street vendors in the Qing Dynasty manifest the streets defined by walls and the position of vendors in the streets. (The shooting year unknown)

At the beginning of the 21st century, Chinese cities had demolished most of the solid barriers and introduced internationalist and postmodernist buildings to replace most traces in the memories. That has resulted in the new urban textures and spatial structures following the expanding city scale. Since then, we have ushered in a more modern and open urban space. in a more modern and open urban space. However, cities still need physical edges working as barriers to separate different functional areas, and instead of walls, more diverse forms appear, such as iron fences, road sign fences, or the sequence of bushes and trees. We can widely see them in administrative or social institutions,

schools, residential areas, parks, and squares, to delimit areas and distinguish other functional spaces.

Street vendors still adhere to these edge elements. Whether past or present, the penetrable parts on the boundaries obsess the mobile hawkers due to the implicit business opportunities. For instance, they used to stay outside the iron fences and keep watching the gates of a community, a school, or a square, waiting for the flow of people entering or exiting passing through there; sometimes, they sell goods to insiders through fences or sneak into the areas but keep a low profile. (Figure 4-8) Besides, the surrounding streets function as other directional paths guiding the flow of people. Mobile hawkers can capture the ambient information carefully and use it wisely. On the other side, the monotonous functions in the enclosed area generate internal demands towards the outside world. However, their unexpected wondering stays cause a more or less kind of space encroachment that often leads to government-forced evictions. Moreover, the advent of the internet era has further reduced such activities on boundaries. The virtual space has shortened the distance between the internal and external areas for resource exchange. Online platforms can provide insiders more choices and get commodities and quick services by takeaways and couriers who can possess access rights and reasonably replace the role of vendors on the boundaries.

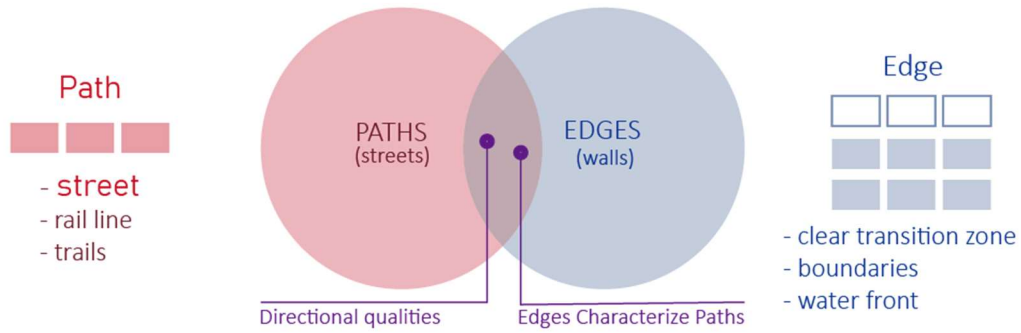


Figure 4-8 Mobile hawkers are selling goods to students outside the school boundary of wall. But in many cases, they receive complaints from parents and schools to be expelled

The *street* and *wall*, which are closely related to the activities of street vendors, respectively correspond to the two basic elements of *path* and *edge* in Kevin Lynch's city images (1960). The two are different spatial images, but there is an intersection between them. On the one hand, both are geometrically linear elements. Edges have the boundary characteristics distinguishing two areas but may also have directional quality connecting end-from-end distinction.⁵ On the other hand, as one of the basic paths, the street contains various edge elements, not just walls, such as the lawn and flower bed edges, steps, the sequence of the street lights, the rows of the trees, and the railings. They have mass entities and work as the identity elements to define and to characterize the street space. (Drawing 4-1) Besides, the edge elements also provide spatial reference and domain identification for mobile hawking space in the street, helping them establish their vending fields that are not official street design in urban planning. They spread the good on the mat extended on the pavement of the sidewalk; they stopped the vending cart among the row of the trees; they stood under the street light. They define their spatial realm by these street elements, around them interacting with pedestrians. Although they are not the protagonists on the street, their spontaneous actions subtly transmit a spatial atmosphere to trigger the social reciprocity from one end of the street to the other end.

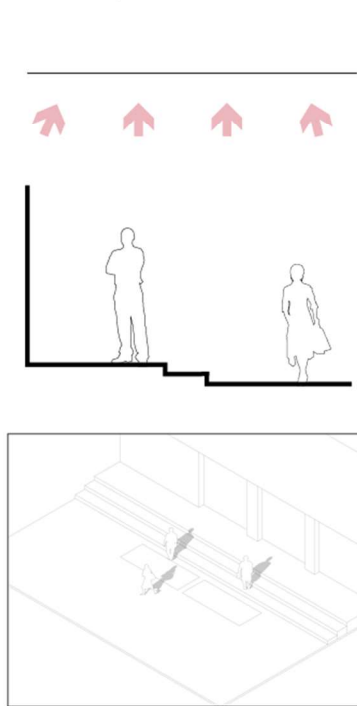
⁵ Lynch, K (1960). *The image of the city* (digital ed.) Publication of The Joint Center for Urban Study. pp.46-66, <https://www.miguelangelmartinez.net> › IMG › pdf

A. The diagram of paths and edges

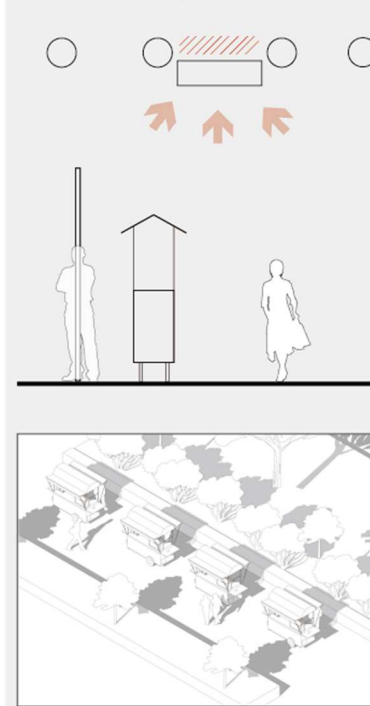


B. 3 examples of plan, section axonometric schemes of how mobile hawkers characterize the hawking areas by the elements of the edges and paths in the street space.

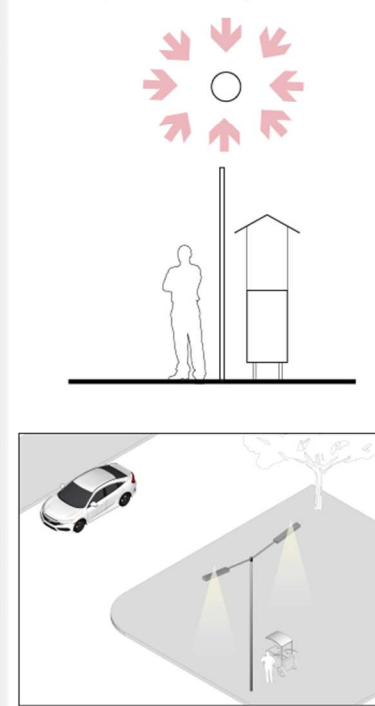
1. Linear steps



2. The continuous green area



3. The sequential street light or trees



Drawing 4-1 The diagram, the axonometric schemes, and the views of how paths and edges are relevant to the mobile hawking spaces and how these elements define and characterize the mobile hawking spaces. (Made by the thesis authors)

4.3 CASE STUDIES OF THE HAWKING SPATIALITY

Compared with other public spaces, the street is more tolerant and flexible so that mobile hawkers easily place their informal economic spaces in it. Their spontaneous behaviors meet their own needs and inadvertently have changed the surrounding environment. As the scope of their activities expands, the informal spaces may also lead to profound socio-spatial impact. **However, the regularity and evident characteristics of the spatial distribution can prove that the spontaneous behaviors beyond the rules done by the social group are not all irrational and do not contradict the regular space.** Mobile hawkers can reach some acquiescent agreements with other space users to reduce conflicts, such as regular traders, pedestrians, and vehicles. Suppose urban planners and authorities want to create more inclusive and equitable urban spaces. In that case, they need to dialectically study unruly behaviors of the bottom groups and analyze the characteristics of informal spaces and the laws of daily social practice by shifting perspectives.

Since individual phenomena cannot influence the surrounding environment and cannot shape a typical informal public space, we should focus on **the typologies of economic activities** that may cause the **aggregation** of mobile hawkers. We studied the cases and summed up economic activities **in three typologies: agricultural trade markets, night markets, and hybrid.** Since the commodities operated by these three typologies of economic activities have a size of market demand among the low- and middle-income population, mobile hawkers likely develop stable customers and fixed business premises from the neighborhood where they live. Also, these neighborhoods have likely inclusiveness that allows them to enter public spaces to influence and shape their surrounding environments. We analyzed three typical cases representing the three typologies of activities, which gave us **a bottom-up perspective** on the development of various activities, how mobile hawkers decide time and space enter the market, and how they interact with residents and environments. Based on these, we can better understand **the inner logic** of the informal public space created by mobile vendors and **the multiple factors** that affect the spatial distribution.

4.3.1 AGRICULTURAL TRADE MARKETS

Today agricultural trade markets continue the traditional form, and the business model uses individuals as a unit. The markets are cyclical and routine, with fixed business premises and business hours related to the lives of residents, with a large scale of operation and abundant commodities to meet the needs of citizens' daily life. The markets also have a social function, helping surrounding residents build interpersonal relationships. Regarding the construction standards of the market, the Ministry of Commerce instituted the "Standardized Vegetable Market Setup and Management Norms" in 2011, which made provisions for the establishment of the markets, such as the location, building structure, height, area, and layouts of interior passages, entrances, exits, and decoration. There are also local laws and regulations at various levels to regulate the construction and management of farmer's markets. Also, local governments issued adaptive laws and regulations for the markets at various levels. In recent years, the Chinese government has upgraded and transformed the traditional market, improved their environmental quality, and gained competitiveness with supermarkets. However, the agricultural trade markets that does not meet the urban norms and standards has not entirely disappeared, and some have even formed a symbiotic relationship with the formal market.

There are roughly three spatial distribution patterns in common agricultural trade markets: the first one is the linear pattern based on streets, which is a series of shops and vending stalls along the street to make up a market; the second one is the centralized pattern, which is a primarily large-span sheltered building made in steel-structure; the centralized pattern often consists of a cluster of large structures, such as Guangzhou Nanhua Market and the Changhuan Comprehensive Market; the third pattern is the affiliated market, which shares space in the same commercial building with other functions, and its location is often on the ground floor and underground.⁶

The affiliated pattern market has a relatively high level of consumption planned for commercial land, high buildings and surrounding environment requirements, and

⁶ Wang, X. (2017), *Research on strategy of urban public space design under perspective of urban informality*, a dissertation submitted for the degree master of South China University of Technology, Guangzhou, China: pp 34-41

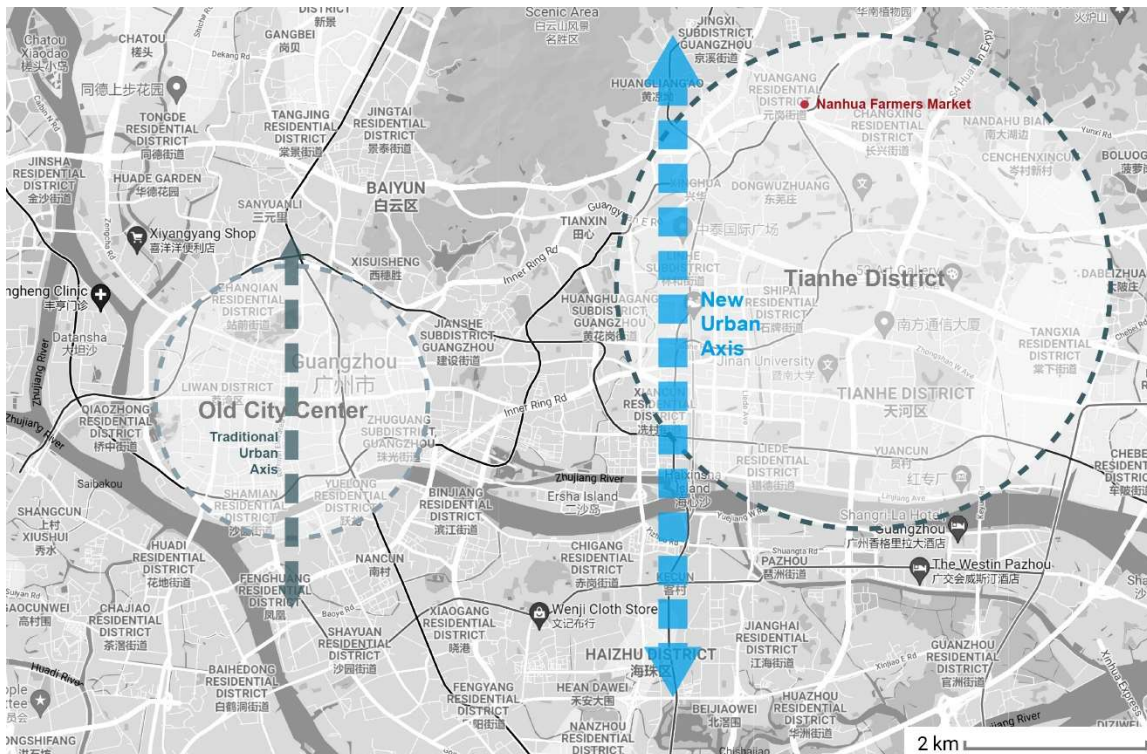
relatively strict management, so it is difficult for informal economic activities to develop here. However, informal economic activities normally develop by the periphery of the linear and centralized market in. The first reason is that these two markets are close to residential areas, providing daily necessities for surrounding residents and triggering the agglomeration effect of similar economic activities. Another reason is that these two markets locate in relatively poor settlement areas where the environment has deteriorated: dilapidated inner-city communities, workers' villages, or urban villages. However, residents from these areas normally possess close social bond. It frequently occurs that residents spontaneously create public spaces through neighborhood mutual assistance. Moreover, urban management is relatively loose, and informal economic activities are relatively easy to develop here. The Xiamen eighth market in the previous chapter represents linear markets, and the following Guangzhou Nanhua Farmers Market is typical of centralized markets.

- *Guangzhou Nanhua Farmers Market*

Guangzhou Nanhua Farmers Market locates in Tianhe district in Guangzhou city, one of the most important cities in southern China. *Tianhe District* is a new urban area established in the 1980s by Guangzhou City authorities, which allocated an area from the eastern countryside. Today it is one of the three large business districts in Guangzhou. It sits on the central axis of the new urban area and the intersection of axes of the east entrance and the south exit. In 2015, Tianhe District's GDP ranked first in Guangzhou City and second in Guangdong Province. Various transportation resources within the jurisdiction are highly concentrated. (Drawing 4-2 & Drawing 4-3)



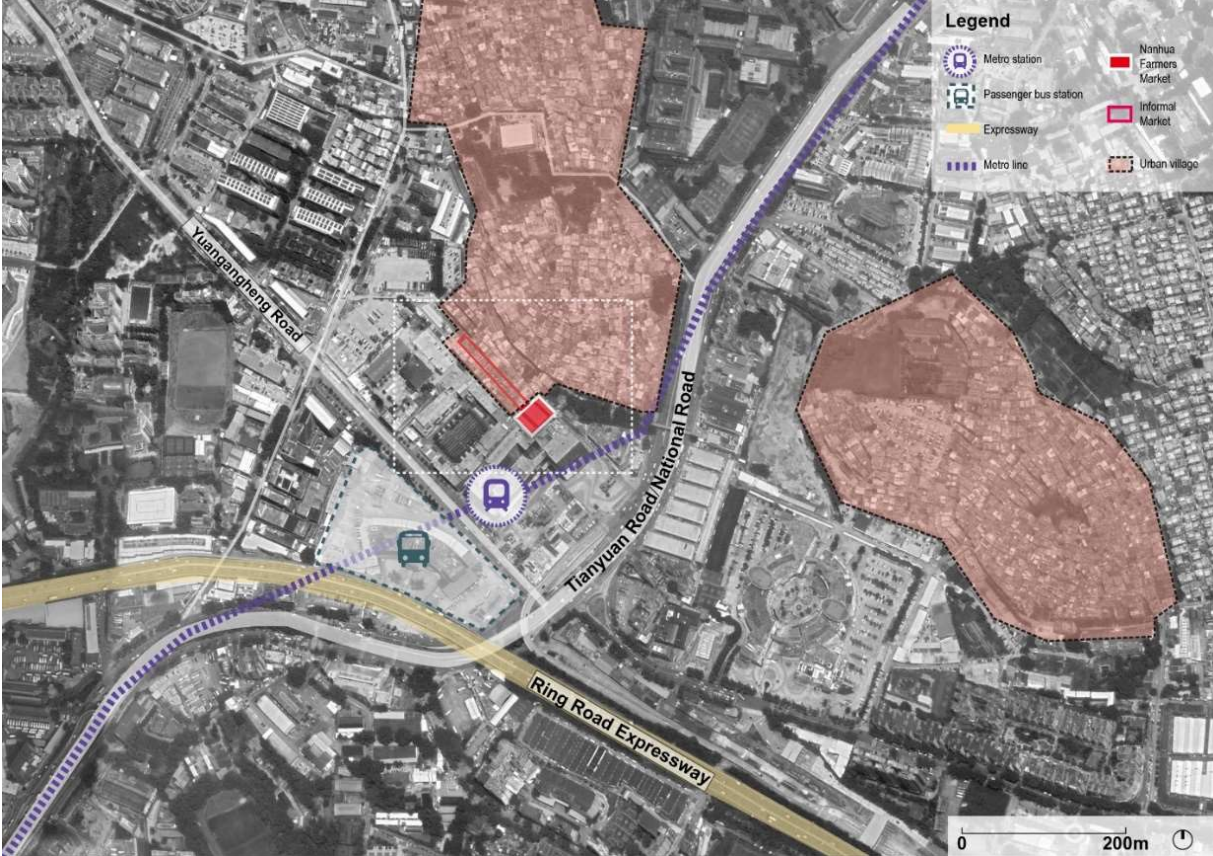
Drawing 4-2 The location of Guangzhou in national scale map. (Made by the thesis authors)



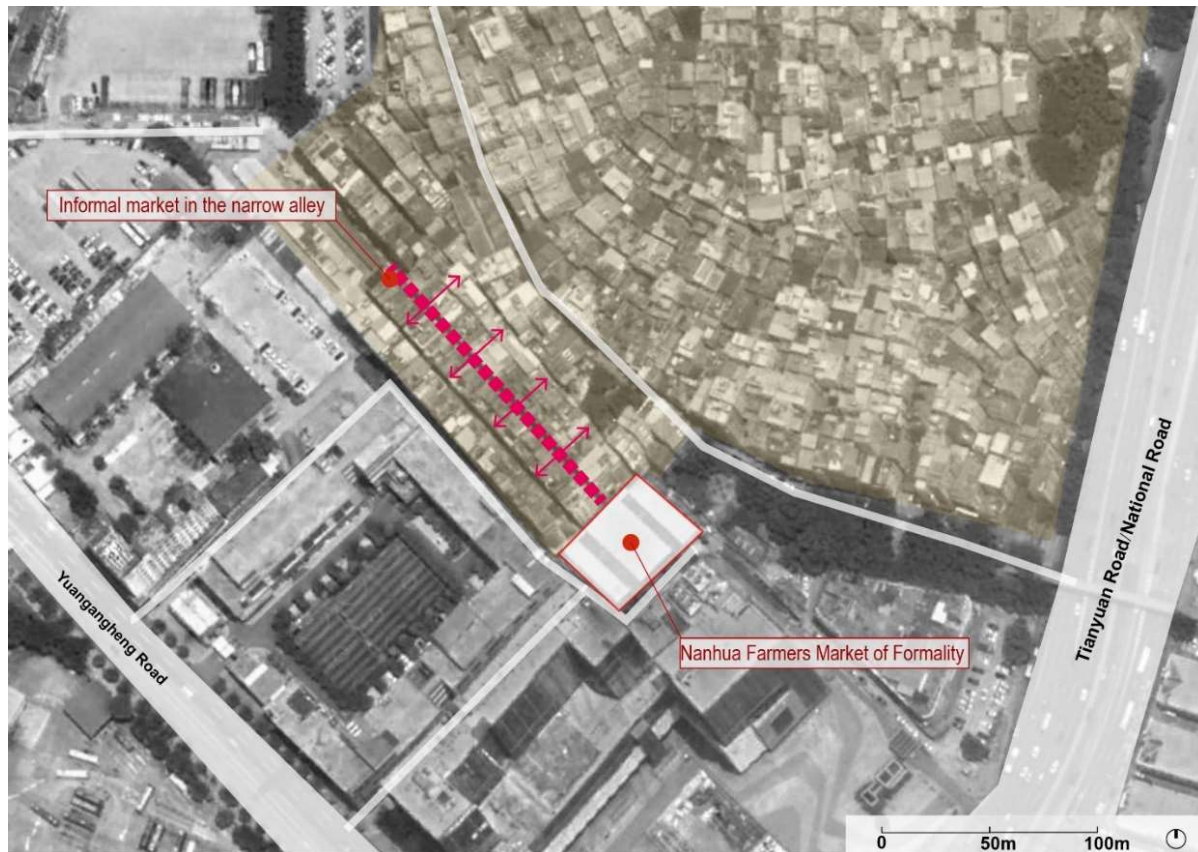
Drawing 4-3 Urban map shows the location of the Nanhua market in Guangzhou city indicated 2 urban axes and old and new urban areas, old city center and Tianhe district. (Made by the thesis authors)

The market is close to the subway station and bus terminal. Many migrant workers converge in the bus terminal, and the nearby urban village provides low-cost rental houses to them. Since the farmers market ordinarily offers a lower price than other supermarkets, it becomes the first choice for nearby residents in the urban village. It attracts thousands of customers every day, serving as a community center.

Nanhua Farmers Market occupies approximately 1,000 square meters and is a comprehensive standardized market sheltered by a steel structure canopy, seating on the southeast side of the urban village. Residents passing to the market have to go through the only alley with a width of 3 meters and a depth of more than 100 meters. Thanks to the agglomeration effect of the Nanhua Market, in this narrow alley, mobile hawkers have developed a slit-type informal market, which can be regarded as the extending commercial space of Nanhua Market but not under regulations. (Drawing 4-4)



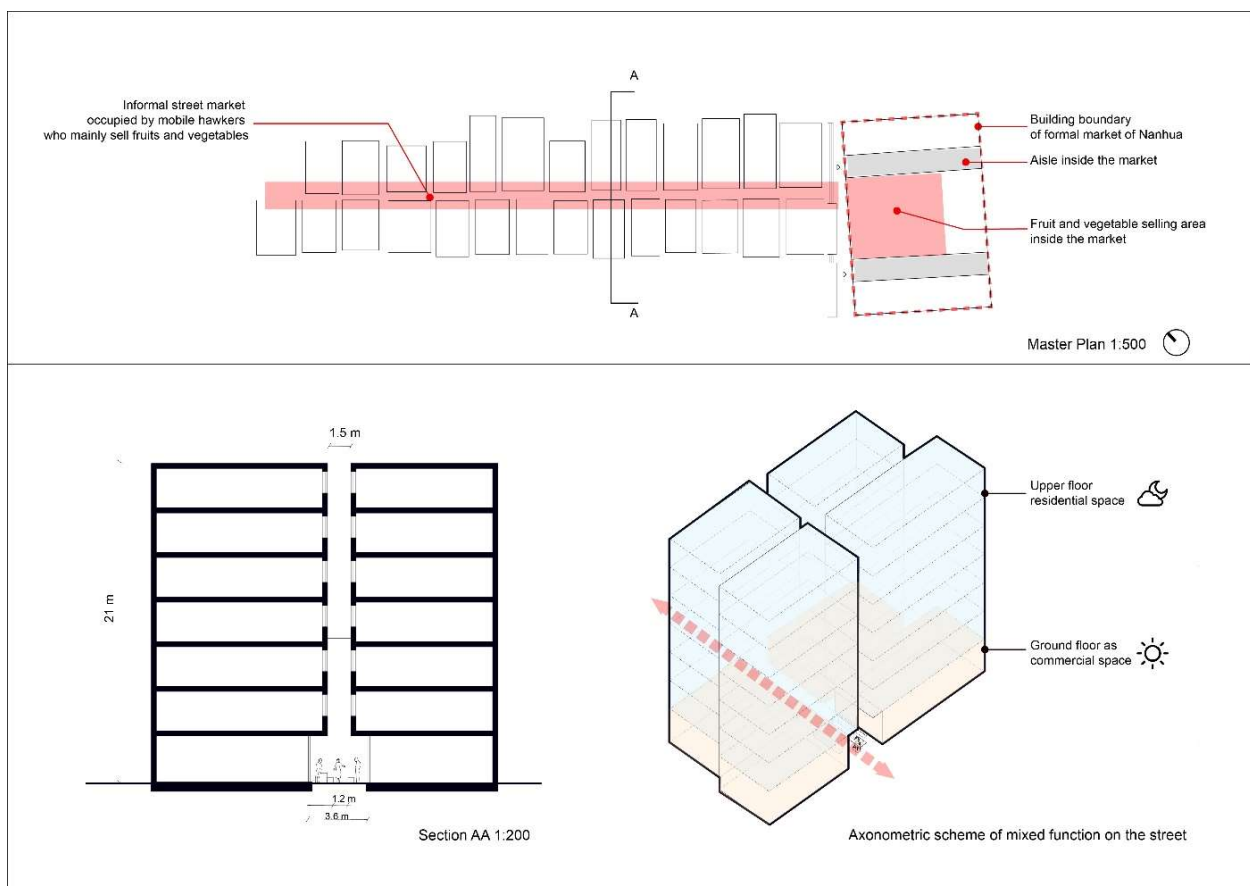
Drawing 4-4 The master plan of the Nanhua Farmers market in Urban scale. (Made by the thesis authors)



Drawing 4-5 The master plan of Nanhua farmers market in neighborhood scale, indicating the position of informal street market and its crossing passages in the urban village. (The figure is made by the thesis authors)

The slit-form market is similar to the traditional street market. The residential buildings in Guangzhou Urban Village, built by local rural landowners during the urban development period, have an extremely high density to accommodate more renters and keep low rents. (Drawing 4-5) Residential buildings, called *The Handshaking Building* by locals, with great height, are closely arranged along narrow both sides of streets to form an extreme scale of urban space. The proprietor often makes the building mixed-function, using part of the floors as rental houses and the ground floor as shops. On the extreme-scale alley, the residential and commercial spaces are in vertical distribution. The daily practice and commercial activities are staged regularly and alternately in periods without external intervention: First of all, mobile hawkers mainly sell fruits, vegetables, groceries, and other easy-to-move commodities, which form a competitive relationship with similar products in the Nanhua Market; They can provide customers with cheaper products, and because they are closer to the habitation, they can solve inhabitants' urgent needs in

daily housework; However, the vending stalls only appear at the time of the residents' three meals a day, after which the alley returns to quiet; In addition, mobile hawkers negotiate privately with the shops' owners on the ground floor to rent the open space in front of the shops to run the business when the flow of people is at its peak; No doubt does it further reduces the constrictive passage space but keeps the pass as unobstructed as possible; Although most owners and hawkers take the initiative to maintain the surrounding environment, some rubbish still is left after the market activities are over. ⁷(Drawing 4-6)



Drawing 4-6 The layout of the informal market which works as the extending selling area for the formal market; the section of the alley indicated the dimension; the axonometric scheme showing the mixed-function of alley (Drawn by the thesis authors)

This case is more in line with the view of the informal sector from the scholars represented by Hernando de Soto that the informal sector is flexible, adaptable to social needs and

⁷ Wang, X. (2017), *Research on strategy of urban public space design under perspective of urban informality*, a dissertation submitted for the degree master of South China University of Technology, Guangzhou, China: pp 35-40

the market, and complements the formal sector. Moreover, this case also allows us to understand that informal urban spaces are not completely negative. Under the appearance of noisy, crowded, chaotic, high-density, unstable, and poor environmental quality, the mobile hawkers in the informal alley-market have their own rules of survival and daily practice, not excluded by the neighborhood. In addition, we can see from the case that mobile hawkers have distinct spatial characteristics and regular temporal patterns in daily practices. First of all, the temporary market for mobile hawkers lies at the junction of the formal space, the Nanhua Market, and the informal space, the urban village. They use the penetrating boundary between the two to share the resources. The specific ecologic environment provides favorable conditions and space carriers for mobile hawkers, including low-income customer groups, the business climate created by the farmers' market and shops along the alley, and street public spaces suitable for implementing mobile tools. Secondly, they have effectively used the social and economic resources to form a cooperative relationship with the neighborhood from the dual dimensions of time and spaces. For instance, the daily practice of mobile hawkers abides by the local social and economic laws, are willing to cooperate with the local formal business, and follow the living habits of residents. Overall, urban villages represent informal settlements, blind areas of urban planning composed of migrants and marginalized populations. Most residential and commercial spaces are constructed and maintained by inhabitants spontaneously, which is the bottom-up logic of social organization. A low-quality environment forms a unique spatial texture underneath the exterior.

4.3.2 NIGHT MARKET

The night market is the largest gathering place for mobile hawkers in Chinese cities, and it is also one of the most active economic activities at night. Like the agricultural trade market, it reflects the Chinese people's emphasis on food culture. The night market is not just a business place but a cultural landscape with multiple meanings because the food culture of different regions in China contains the national and folk culture, which is rooted in the urban space through the daily practice of the citizens. A night market is a cultural

place constructed by the local food culture. On the one hand, it identifies with the night market's social and cultural connotations; on the other hand, it is annoyed with frequent violations in the night market, such as disturbing the clean and orderly environment in the city and evading taxes. Different city governments have different perspectives on night markets and adopt measures to accept or prohibit night market management for multiple purposes.

The author has introduced above the Kaifeng night market reconstruction project. The night market has a long history in traditional Chinese cities, and the formation follows the logic of bottom-up social organization. Mobile hawkers occupied public spaces spontaneously and aggregated by the market effect until the space boundary formed, then produced a public space with cultural connotations in citizens' daily practice and interaction for a long time. Generally, it ascribed the disappearance of night markets to the vanishing survival elements due to the changes of social structures and spatial resources, but not to the government ban for own purposes.

For instance, the well-known Pengpu Night Market in Shanghai used to be the largest gathering place for mobile hawkers in the north of Shanghai. It occupies about 2 kilometers of road and has thousands of stalls. Later, residents frequently complained about mobile hawkers occupying the roads, violating business requirements, creating chaos and noise, affecting the daily life of residents. The conflict between residents and informal vendors continued to expand until the government stepped in to ban the night market and implement environmental remediation. However, the former commercial prosperity of the streets also disappeared. Until the market force repaired and adjusted the business function to match the supply according to the consumption capacity of the residents by introducing new business formats, normalizing the vendors, and upgrading shops, the street has regained its popularity and vitality in recent years. In addition, other upgrading projects are similar to Kaifeng City, basically bringing the social self-organized night market into the formal economic model through identity norms and spatial transformation.

In marginal areas where urban control is weak, we can also observe the spontaneous gathering of mobile vendors to form spatial fields. Taking Shiliuzhuang Night Market in Beijing as an example, there is a high concentration of mobile vendors at night, forming a night market of a certain size.

- *Beijing Shiliuzhuang Night Market*

As the country's capital, Beijing's strategic positioning is the nation's political, cultural, international exchanges, and technological innovation centers, emphasizing the optimal use of resources and environment. Thus, its political needs put the maintenance of social order first. These are the key factors influencing the city's decision to legalize mobile vendors. (Drawing 4-7)

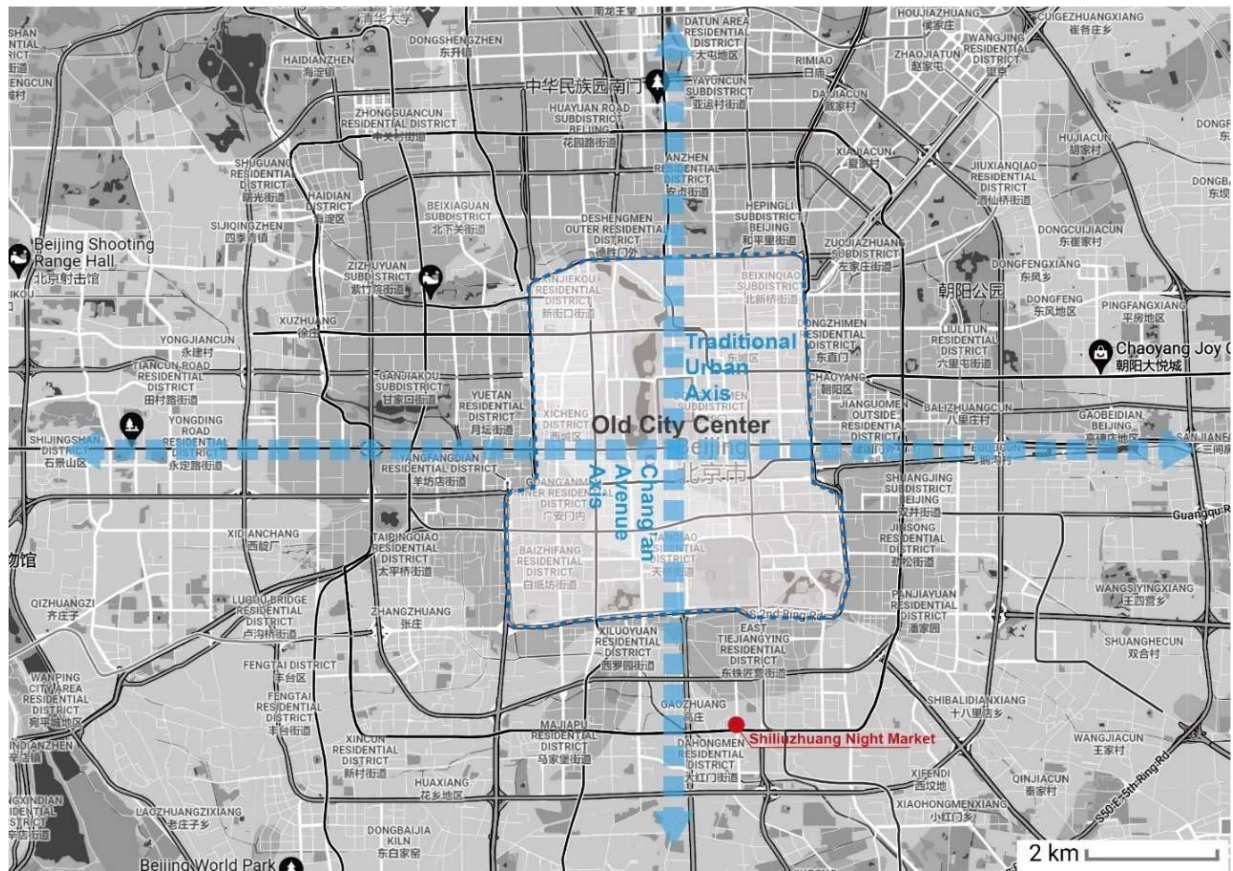
In the early days of Beijing, city authorities have undertaken all four mega-city **master planning projects**, in 1958, 1973, 1983, and 1993. This period focused on urban expansion. First, it developed from the old city center to the suburbs and expanded outward from the first, second, third, and fourth ring roads in terms of traffic routes and spatial distribution. In 1993, the city began to emphasize restricting the scale of expansion, building satellite cities outside the city to relieve the dense population and industries in the center, and demanding that the historical and cultural values of the old city be protected. However, by 2003, the planning space became saturated, new problems continued to emerge, population growth was too fast, the central area was over-saturated, traffic congestion and environmental pollution. In 2005, the State Council formally approved ***the Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020)*** and determined the development concept of *Two axes, Two belts, and Multiple centers*. The two axes are crosses formed by the traditional central axis of Beijing and the extension of Chang'an Avenue. The two belts are the east and west belts formed by incorporating satellite cities outskirts of the city that meant to include into the new urban pattern. Multi-centers separate the different functions of the city, such as the core area of the science and technology park, the business center CBD, and the Olympic area, to break the unbalanced and disorderly expansion of the single center.

The document *Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020)* has the following description of the population size of Beijing: In 2020, the total population size of Beijing should be controlled at around 18 million people, and the average annual growth rate should be controlled within 1.4%. Among them, the registered population is about 13.5 million, and the migrant population that has lived for more than half a year is about 4.5 million. ⁸Beijing strictly requires **the control of the total population size** and household registration ratio. Moreover, considering the various factors that affect urban population agglomeration and the uncertainty of population mobility, urban planning should regulate urban development and construction, coordinate the coordinated development of population, resources, and the environment, and other arduous tasks. Hence, Beijing has not adopted an open policy for mobile hawkers.



Drawing 4-7 The location of Beijing in national scale. (Made by the thesis authors)

⁸ Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020) from Wikisource.org: <https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%9F%8E%E5%B8%82%E6%80%BB%E4%BD%93%E8%A7%84%E5%88%92%E5%BC%882004%E5%B9%B4%E5%BC%8D2020%E5%B9%B4%E5%BC%89>



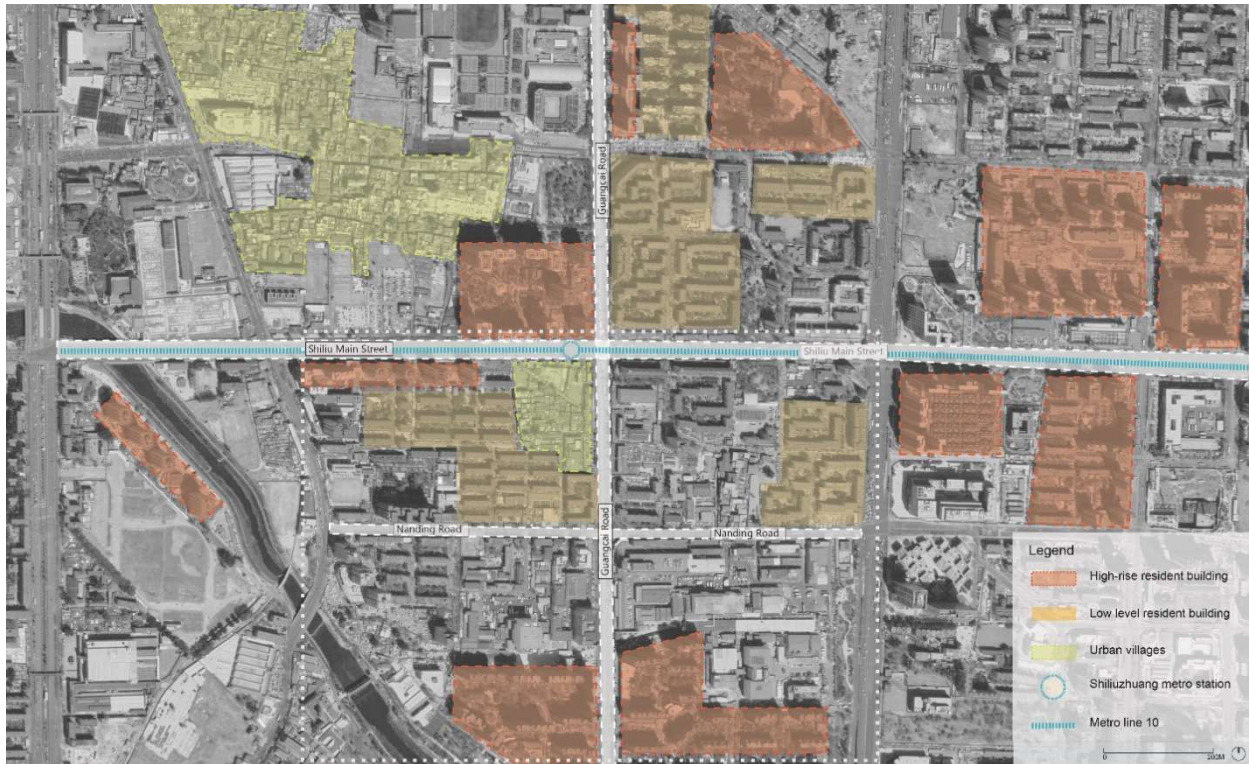
Drawing 4-8 The urban layout of Beijing, indicated the 2 main axes and the urban expansion by ring road in the last century, and shows the position of the Shiliuzhuang neighborhood. (Made by the thesis authors)

Shiliuzhuang was a rural area in the 1980s, then turned to an urban development zone in Beijing's urban expansion. Low-rise and multi-story residential communities gradually emerged on the vacant farmland. (Drawing 4-8) In 2000, urban construction erected high-rise residential buildings in the area along the street north of Shiliuzhuang. Nowadays, high-rise neighborhoods and urban villages remaining coexist around the Zhuangzhuang Road. The public buildings, including two food trading markets, sit on the south of the area. Since residential buildings near the markets have a relatively low-quality and -rental price, they have attracted many young people and migrants living here. Therefore, the demographic characteristics are high-density, relatively complex personnel composition: young people are the major group; most of them are low- and middle-income having uneven economic abilities. (Drawing 4-9)

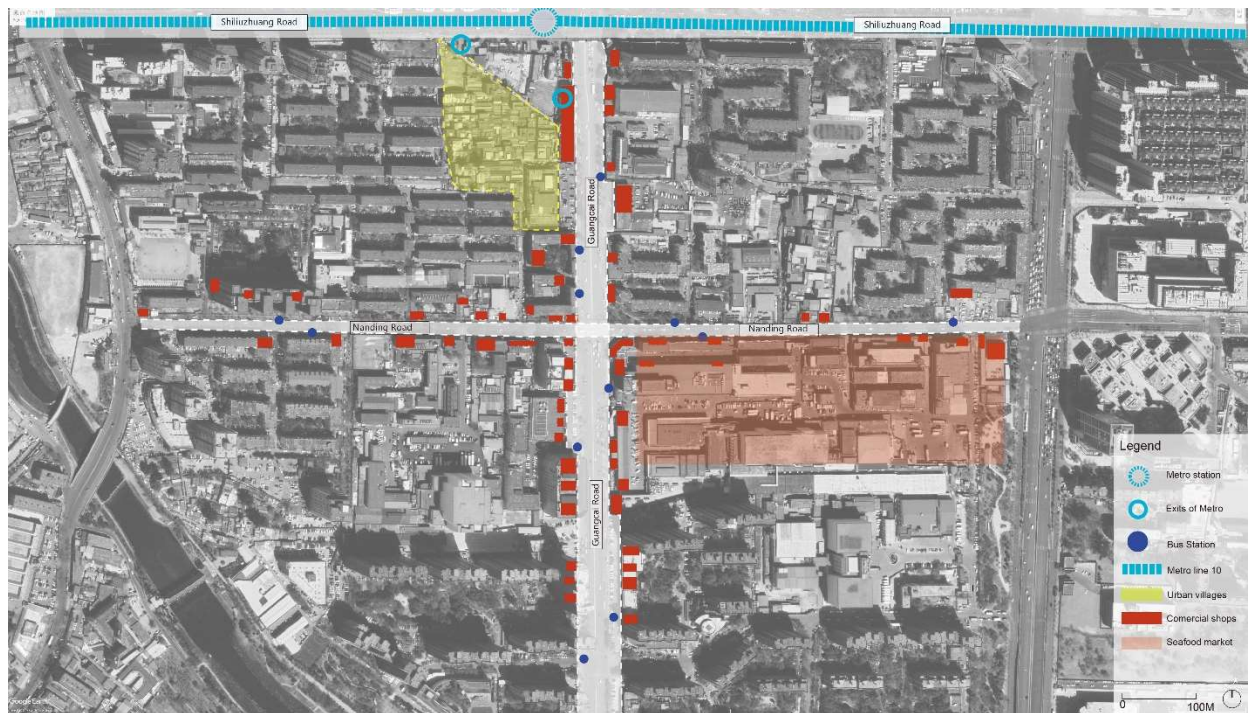
Shiliuzhuang Night Market has excellent transportation resources, located at located at the intersection of Metro Line 10 and Guangcai Road just outside the Third Ring Road in

Beijing. Besides, the urban roads can support auto-mobile, bicycle, and pedestrian various transportation, which greatly improved the accessibility of the night market, which attracts the residents of vicinity and outsiders. Moreover, Guangcai Road is the only way from the residential area to the subway station. On the sides of the road, the residents in the urban village, who live on the ground floor, renovated their houses and turn them into shops facing the street. On the sides of the road, some residents in the urban village, who live on the ground floor, autonomously renovated their houses and turned them into shops facing the street. Then, the commercial food streets started from the informal shops began to burgeon, centering on Guangcai Road. The restaurants of medium consumption level centrally operate on the northern section of Guangcai Road surrounded by high-level building neighborhoods. Besides, there are a small food court and supermarkets at the intersection of Guangcai Road and Nanding Road. Hence, the prosperous business atmosphere has attracted many mobile hawkers to operate street foods after 6 p.m., and their presence has further promoted business prosperity. Their main venues for activities start from Shiliuzhuang Road, the sub-main road of the city in the north, to the intersection of Guangcai Road and Nanding Road in the south. However, the distribution of mobile hawkers is not even in the public space.⁹ (Drawing 4-10)

⁹ Bai, R.& Wu, F. (2020), *Reflections on the Spatial Features and Layout Design of Stall Activities from the Perspective of Urban Vitality*, Urban and Rural Construction 2020(23): 40-42.



Drawing 4-9 The urban scale plan shows the surrounding residential condition of Shiliuzhuang. (Made by the thesis authors)



Drawing 4-10 The master plan of Shiliuzhuang indicated the transportation and commercial resources. (Made by the thesis authors)

Scholars Bai Rui and Wu Fengwen analyzed the relationship between the spatial characteristics of Shiliuzhuang Night Market and the dynamic distribution of mobile hawkers. The spatial characteristics include the density of POI (public of interest) and the population spatial heat. **First of all, there is a positive correlation between the density of points of interest and the spatial distribution of mobile hawkers.** The higher the density of commercial activities and public services, the denser the business activities operated by mobile hawkers. The public services are situated at the crossing road of Guangcai Road and Nanding Road and on the square on the west of Guangcai Road. The public services are situated at the crossing road of Guangcai Road and Nanding Road and at the square on the west of Guangcai Road. Mobile hawkers distribute in a strip along Guangcai Road. Also, the spatial heat of people's activities and mobile hawkers' spatial distribution are positively correlated. Mobile hawkers dynamically gather in areas according to the pedestrian density. During the day, crowds frequently appear near the subway station and residential blocks, where a few vending booths exist, and the number is steady. When sunset, residents return to their homes from their workplaces. The population heat raise and the pattern transform from the point at the subway station to the linear shape along Guangcai Road. The distribution of mobile hawkers extends following the street, and the number increases rapidly.¹⁰

¹⁰ Bai, R.& Wu, F. (2020), *Reflections on the Spatial Features and Layout Design of Stall Activities from the Perspective of Urban Vitality*, Urban and Rural Construction 2020(23): 40-42.



Drawing 4-11 The differences of spatial density of mobile hawker in day time. (Made by Bai Rui and Wu Yuefeng, 2020; Redrawn by the thesis authors)



Drawing 4-12 The differences of spatial density of mobile hawker in night time. (Made by Bai Rui and Wu Yuefeng, 2020; Redrawn by the thesis authors)

Night markets and agricultural markets are of great significance to the daily practice of ordinary Chinese people. Agricultural markets provide citizens with the ingredients

needed for three meals a day, while night markets provide the citizens with food, entertainment, and social places after work. Citizens who work hard all day like to hang around in the night market, enjoy the cheap food on the street outdoors, chat and drink with friends, sometimes walk around, sometimes sit down and rest. (Drawing 4-11 & Drawing 4-12) It succeeded because the inhabitants wanted a casual place to relax near their homes, although it did not come from urban planning. Hence, the activities of informal vendors reflect **missing functions at the urban and street scale**. The development plan of the new neighborhood in the area appropriately referenced the local informal economy. Then, the emergence of transportation nodes such as subways has made food streets more prosperous. Therefore, the Shiliuzhuang Night Market, like the Nanhua Farmers' Market, has included both bottom-up informal and top-down formal commercial spaces that penetrated each other. The two shared the resources and complemented each other.

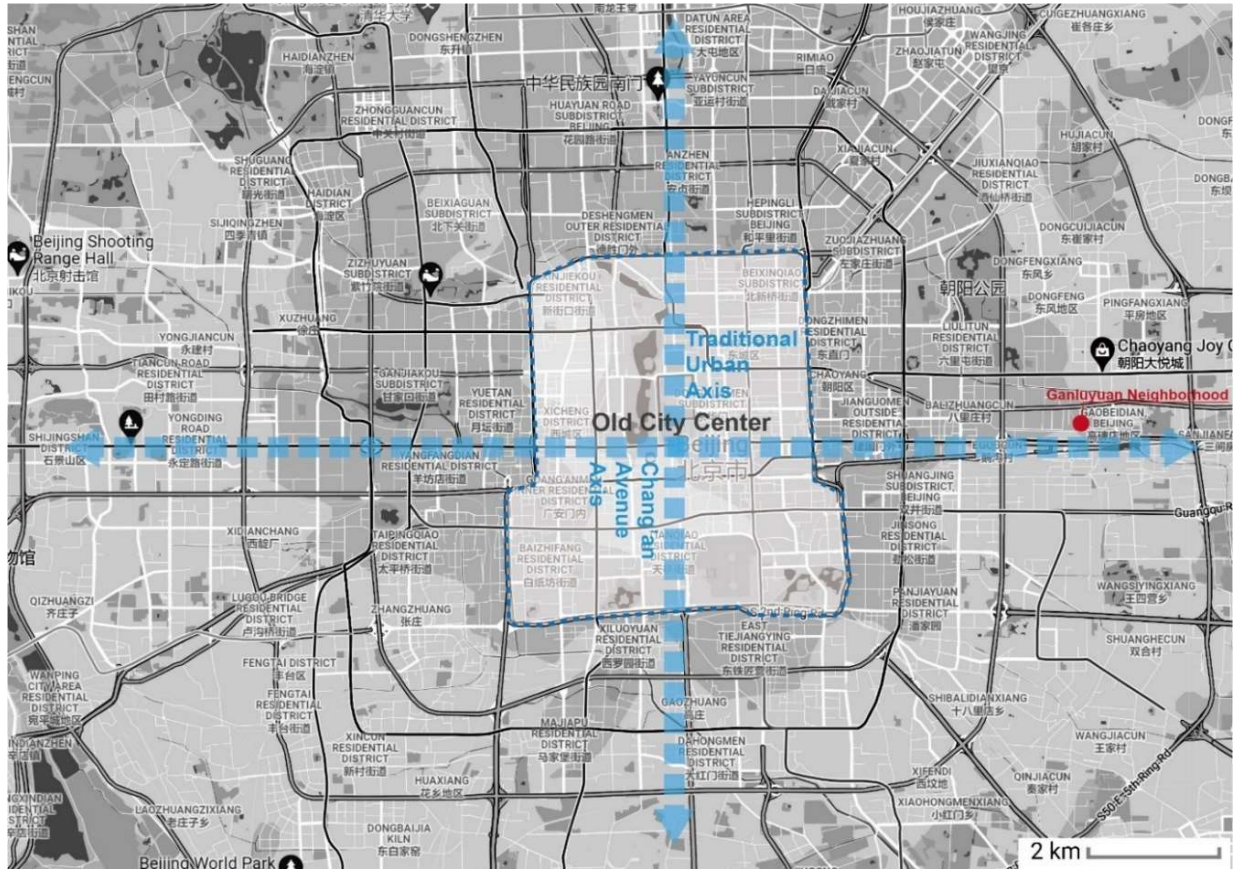
4.3.3 HYBRID

The hybrid neighborhood where mobile hawkers gather contains the above two patterns of economic activities. Similar neighborhood characteristics include settlements in a marginalized area with low housing prices, convenient transportation nodes, and ample public service facilities. Since the two economic activities correspond to different periods and location preferences, the distribution of mobile hawkers is more dynamic. The density of vending booths has changed significantly throughout the day, and there is a significant spatial displacement. Therefore, it is more worthwhile to analyze the spatial factors that affect the spatial distribution of vendors from the hybrid neighborhood. The following case narrated the importance of the environment of the street dimension for mobile hawkers.

- *Beijing Ganluyuan Neighborhood*

Beijing Ganluyuan neighborhood lies between East Fourth Ring and East Fifth Ring in the middle of Chaoyang District, covering about 0.57 square kilometers. (Drawing 4-13) The neighborhood is adjacent to the Sihui East Metro Station in the south. A row of shops

along the street on the west section of Ganluyuannanli Road leading to the metro. Supermarkets and agricultural trading markets sit at the intersections. One of the intersections leads to an unnamed small road from north to south, the only road leading to various residential blocks having different morphologic type. People go through the road every day for the metro that forms the superposition of the commuter flow of Ganluyuan and residents. (Drawing 4-14)

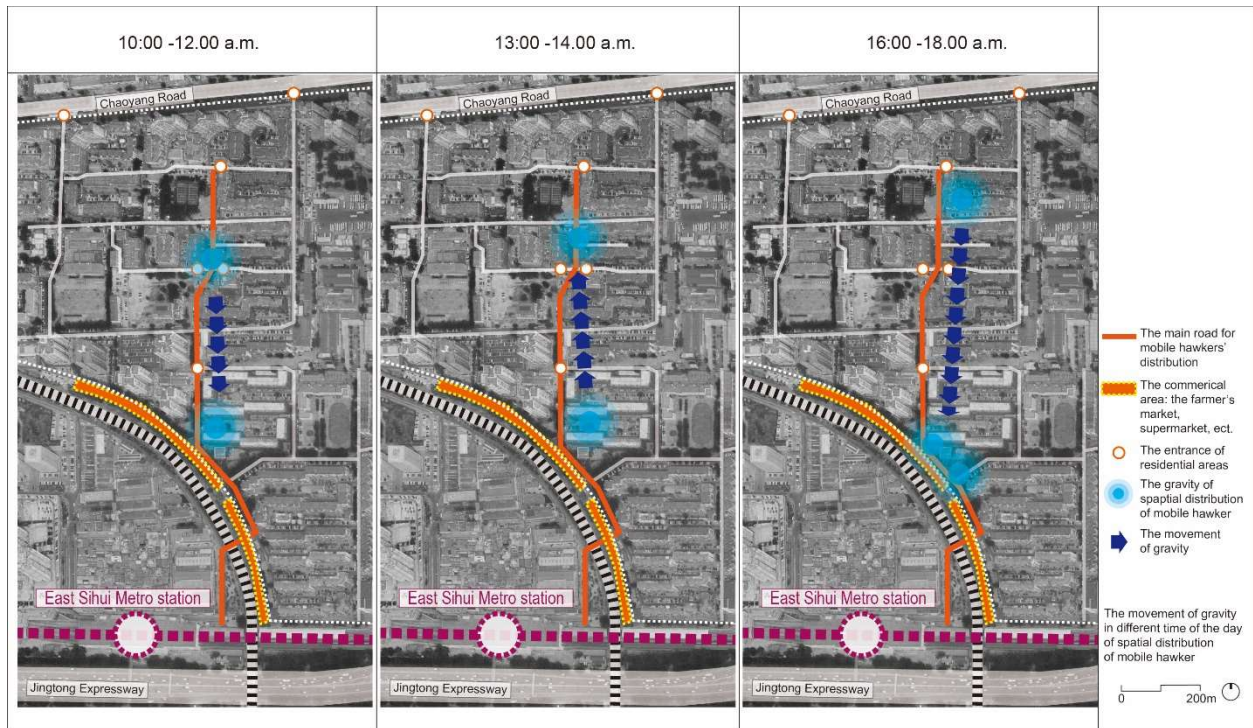


Drawing 4-13 The urban layout of Beijing, indicated the 2 axes and the urban expansion by ring road in the last century, and shows the position of the Ganluyuan Neighborhood. (Made by the thesis authors)



Drawing 4-14 The urban scale plan of the Guanluyuan neighborhood, the analysis of morphology of residential building and other resources, indicated the physical elements required by mobile hawkers (Reference from the paper of Zhang Yanji et al., 2010, Redrawn by the thesis authors)

Zhang Yanji & et. investigated the dynamic distribution of mobile hawkers in Ganluyuan. They found that mobile hawkers in ordinary time gather at intersections and the gates of the residential blocks. The density of mobile hawkers has a spatial displacement with the periodicity. Every morning, mobile hawkers assemble near the agricultural market. As the first peak ends at noon, the hawkers gradually move north to the inner roads of the residential blocks. When the second peak in the evening comes, they shift to the south, closing to the subway station. (Drawing 4-15) In addition, the distribution time fluctuates slightly in different seasons, but the overall schedule remains unchanged.



Drawing 4-15 The movement of gravity in different time of the day of spatial distribution of mobile hawker. (Made by the thesis authors)

Zhang Yanji & et al. then analyzed the influence of neighborhood factors on the spatial distribution by linear regression. First, the standardized regression coefficient of people flow is much higher than other independent variables, proving that **the flow of people** was **the primary factor** in hawkers' location selection. Besides, they discovered that both regular shops and mobile vendors sell similar products, but there is no situation where shop owners exclude vendors. Hence, they concluded that **formal and informal economies** realize **the sharing of the market** by providing differentiated products and services. The conclusion differed from their quantitative research in 2017, but both can prove that the conflicts between regular businesses and mobile hawkers are not inevitable. Meanwhile, they studied the **physical and environmental factors on the streets** that considerably impact hawkers' distribution, such as the width of sidewalks and roads, the proportion of buildings facing the street, the flux of motor vehicles, and the path of the sun. They analyzed and concluded that: a wide sidewalk is conducive to the activities of mobile hawkers because they need ample space to gather the flow of people; the large traffic volume may reduce pedestrians to hamper the business activities; dense buildings

on the streets have a negative impact because it leads to reduction of open spaces for gathering people; the direction of sunlight affects the distribution considerably because hawkers prefer shaded area for setting booths.¹¹

The above three cases of mobile hawkers' business activities manifested that their behavior patterns were logical and their spatial distributions in neighborhoods are **not disorderly and random**. To summarize the above **conclusions**, informal hawkers abide by the resource-driven behavior pattern, which determines their spatial distributions, and they primarily exploit **three resources** in the space. The first resource is urban **public services**. The landmark of mobile hawkers' dynamic range is commercial planning land, such as agricultural trading markets and commercial streets dominated by catering services, which usually have nearby transportation nodes. The great public services ensure the neighborhood's vitality and provide a sound business ecosystem for mobile hawkers. The second one is **social networks**. Vendors and residents come from the same social class and constitute an informal community with social bonds. They privately reached agreements to build mutually beneficial cooperation, which provides mobile hawkers stable operating positions in neighborhoods and protects them from the penalty of urban management officers. The last resource is **space and time**. Hawkers' movable tools provide them the freedom to choose when and where to operate a business. That gives them spatial fluidity and time flexibility, especially in the grey area at the junction of the formal and informal urban space. After carefully observing street physical characteristics and local's daily practices, they have successfully achieved cost reduction and relative profit maximization by embedding the correct operating space and time.

¹¹ Zhang, Y.& Zhang, L.& Wu, L. (2014), *The spatial distribution law and the influencing factors of the street vendors, the field research in Ganluyuan community, Beijing*, Urban Issues 2014(8)-229: 81-85, DOI: 10.13239/j.bjsshkxy.cswt.140814

4.4 THE SIGNIFICANCES AND INSPIRATIONS OF THE INFORMAL HAWKING SPACE TO STREET PUBLIC SPACES

4.4.1 INFORMAL AND FORMAL SPATIAL STRATEGIES

To recap, the influence of mobile hawkers far exceeds the economic field, and the poor status forces them to create a close social network to share resources and information among themselves and with locals. The vigorous social actions are principle for them to challenge the existing socio-spatial order. The informal hawking space strives for resources for hawkers and meets other groups' living needs and interests. They provide convenience for residents, bring visitors to shops, implant functions into undeveloped streets, and provide pedestrians the security and a living atmosphere. Hence, the hawking space is from bottom to up demand-based **supplement to the public space by the local collectivity**.

In terms of space strategy, the street has always been an important carrier to support them in acquiring urban space resources by transforming the formal spaces and breaking the boundaries, which is the main method for achieving their goals. They flexible exploit the transportation and the connection natures of the street to break the boundaries outwards from the restricted identities and enclaves, which we can detect from the above cases through the vendor's distribution located on the specific streets. Besides, they discreetly occupy a part of the street space, surrounding the edge elements to generate their realms which the municipal plans did not allocate. In short, **the spatial strategy of the mobile hawker** intends to spontaneously place the public space of the street in the **blurred zone between the informal and formal** economies to realize the **penetration** of resources on the spatial boundary. In a sense, the hawking space enhances the **continuity** of the city.

In many cases, the municipal and policy laws do not directly prohibit the hawking economy but use the methods of spatial governance to regulate and restrict mobile hawking spaces. Moreover, cities with more mature rule-of-law systems tend to adopt rule-based spatial strategies to regulate informal activities rather than enforced evictions. The allocating hawking area is the most widely used strategy. Municipal authorities divide

urban areas into prohibited, approved, and licensed hawking areas. The United Kingdom, India, South Africa, Hong Kong, and many other places implemented this model. Besides, Western Europe, New York, and other places implemented a mixed flexible model: the streets open to hawkers only on certain days. However, **the premise of** allocating areas is that **the government's spatial policy** must **respect** the rationality of the hawkers' **natural markets**. The spatial strategy needs to consider the **mandatory order** the authorities want to promote and the **spontaneous order** that the hawkers create driven by interest (Luo J., 2012 & Bhowmik, 2010). The key to the design of the hawking space is how to **balance the relationship** between the two, that is, on the premise of maintaining the city's macro development objectives and the mandatory orders, **ensuring the flexibility** of the street hawking to the greatest extent.

4.4.2 INSPIRATIONS FOR HAWKING-APPROVED STREETS - BASED ON THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION AND THE MOBILITY

First of all, the spatial distribution of mobile hawkers has the characteristics of agglomeration on a small scale, which is strong evidence to support the scheme of establishing approved streets for vendors in a neighborhood. The planner needs to control the scale of hawking-approved street with a diameter about 200-300m. Also, the hawking-approved streets in a neighborhood should be specific to points rather than areas, which was also the view of the flexible restriction proposed by the informal economy policy in Durban, South Africa (Ethewini Unicity Municipality, 2001). The purpose is to ensure the maximum flexibility of mobile hawkers, and only in this way do they have the will to abide by the rules.

Secondly, if the hawking-approved streets want to develop sustainably, the locations need to align with the vendors' core motivation of spatial distribution. The demand analysis based on demographic information is crucial, studying the effective demands through the structural analysis of the demography, occupation, income consumption, and other sections. These factors could influence the hawkers' demographic composition, business motivation, and business content. Then the degree of the agglomeration can also be a method to study the spatial distribution of local hawkers, but it depends on the data

collection of the municipal digital management system. Otherwise, we can use the observations with the manual and automated registration methods to collect data, which is low-cost but requires more patience and good common sense¹². After mapping the distribution of hawkers' spots, we can generate the candidates of hawking-approved streets.

Moreover, since the spatial relationship between informal hawking and regular commerce is complementary, the incidence of mobile hawkers is not related to the absence of commercial function and public services. On the contrary, the hawkers are contiguous with the cohesive business areas where formal commerce exists most. Mobile hawkers provide more convenient goods and services than that the regular shops cannot provide which are the blank sections in the consumption. The above three cases also explicated the mixture of business patterns in the spatial distribution. Hence, we should also analyze the distribution of regular commerce, especially the landmarks such as the Nanhua Farmers market in Guangzhou, which attract hawkers as a gravitational force. Also, we need to complete the knowledges of the relationship between the two by means of tracing and tracking people's movements.

The direct inducement factor for the hawking distribution is the flow of people, which is also one of the reasons for generating mobility. In addition to the distribution of commercial and public service facilities, traffic factors also guide the flow of people. The crowded bus stops and subway stations in the area are very attractive to mobile hawkers. However, the density of crowds in these places is not constant. During the day and the night, the density rate may arrive at the peak because of commuting; at that moment, there is no space available for hawkers due to crowded. Hence, hawking-approved streets must avoid the high-density traffic nodes. Instead, they can distribute on certain roads leading to the residential area after knowing people's movements about traffic stations.

¹² Gehl, J. & Svarre, B. (2013) *How to Study Public Life*, Island Press

Resource-driven type	Spatial characteristics and Informal spatial strategy	Formal spatial strategy for hawking-approved streets	Investigation methods and technics
Social network	Agglomeration in small scale	Control the diameter 200-300m; Specific to points rather than areas	- The quantitative study on the degree of agglomeration; - The observations with the manual and automated registration methods
Social network	Local residential condition Composition of hawkers and content of hawking	Local Need analysis: demographic information, residential typologies, accessibility, etc.	- The quantitative study on the demographic structure; - The observations with the manual and automated registration methods
Public resources Time and space	Contiguous with the official commerce and public services to form complementary markets	Suggestion of commodity types and booth forms.	- The observation; - Mapping the distribution; - Tracing and tracking people's movements;
Public resources Time and space	Following the flow rate of people brought by traffic nodes and Commuting rules.	Avoid the high-density traffic nodes but distribute along with main roads leading to residential communities	- The observation; - Recording the movement; - Mapping the distribution; - Tracing and tracking people's movements;

Table 4-2 The conception of formal spatial strategies for hawking-approved streets according to the informal spatial characteristics driven by various resources in the area, and corresponding investigation methods (Made by the authors)

The preliminary demand analysis and the research on hawking distribution support the necessity and the feasibility of establishing hawking-approved streets. We can map mobile vendors' current autonomous distribution patterns through basic observation and recording. Although the resource drive is the main factor affecting spatial patterns, many other factors exist due to the complexity of spontaneous social interactions. An in-depth field investigation of surrounding hawkers and residents can better reveal the nature of social networks in the area and give constructive inspiration for preparing the streets by screening or adding. (See Table 4-2)

4.4.3 EMBEDDING THE HAWKING SPACE INTO THE ROADSIDE

Once it is clear which street segments could serve as the hawking-approved streets, we need to assess the quality of the sidewalk to see if it can spare room for vendors. Mobile hawkers often interact with pedestrians on the sidewalks except for a few cases where hawking booths occupied the mechanical lanes vending foods at night for taxi drivers. Besides, they need to utilize the bicycle lanes for moving. Therefore, we propose to place hawking-approved streets on the roads that have **a combination of sidewalks and**

bike lanes. The Urban Walking and Bicycle Traffic System Planning and Design Guidelines (2013) pointed out that it is an urge to reform the traffic development mode that is over-reliant on car travel, advocating the use of pedestrian and bicycle lanes to organize the land use function and spatial layout of a city or area.¹³ First, the guideline book classified the pedestrian path along both sides of the road in 3. Then, in section 4.3.6 of the document, it said that when designing the urban road cross-section, the roadside belt should include sidewalks, green belts, and facility belts according to the *Code for Urban Road Engineering Design (CJJ37-2012)*, and each part should be specified its width. The total width of the roadside belt and the width of each part shall meet the following requirements:

Pedestrian Path Levels	Width of Roadside
Level 1	4.5 ~ 8.0
Level 2	3.0 ~ 6.0
Level 3	2.5 ~ 4.0

Table 4-3 One-sided width requirement of pedestrian paths for roadside area of all levels (Unit: meters, Made by the document)

The street-level can refer to the **accessibility and attractiveness** of a street. The first and second-level pedestrian paths can accommodate a large flow of people, and the street interface is more active, more friendly to pedestrians, and more suitable for street vendors. The third level is an auxiliary crossing road connecting the first two. We think it is possible to analyze **the relationship between the street level and the distribution of hawkers**, using **the street plan** to map the division of control lines for different interfaces and indicate hawkers' location. It is also possible to **analyze the openness, artistry, safety, and functionality** of the street through observation to analyze their influence on the hawking distribution.

In terms of space, section 5.3.1 indicated that the pedestrian-only road should maintain a suitable street space scale and the ratio of the width of the road space to the height of

¹³ Ministry of Urban and Rural Housing Construction (2013), *The Urban Walking and Bicycle Traffic System Planning and Design Guidelines*, <https://www.gov.cn/gzdt/att/att/site1/20140114/001e3741a2cc143f348801.pdf>

the enclosures (buildings or greenery) on both sides of the road space should be 1:1 - 1:1.5.¹⁴ The figure below shows a standard street section with well-established facilities:

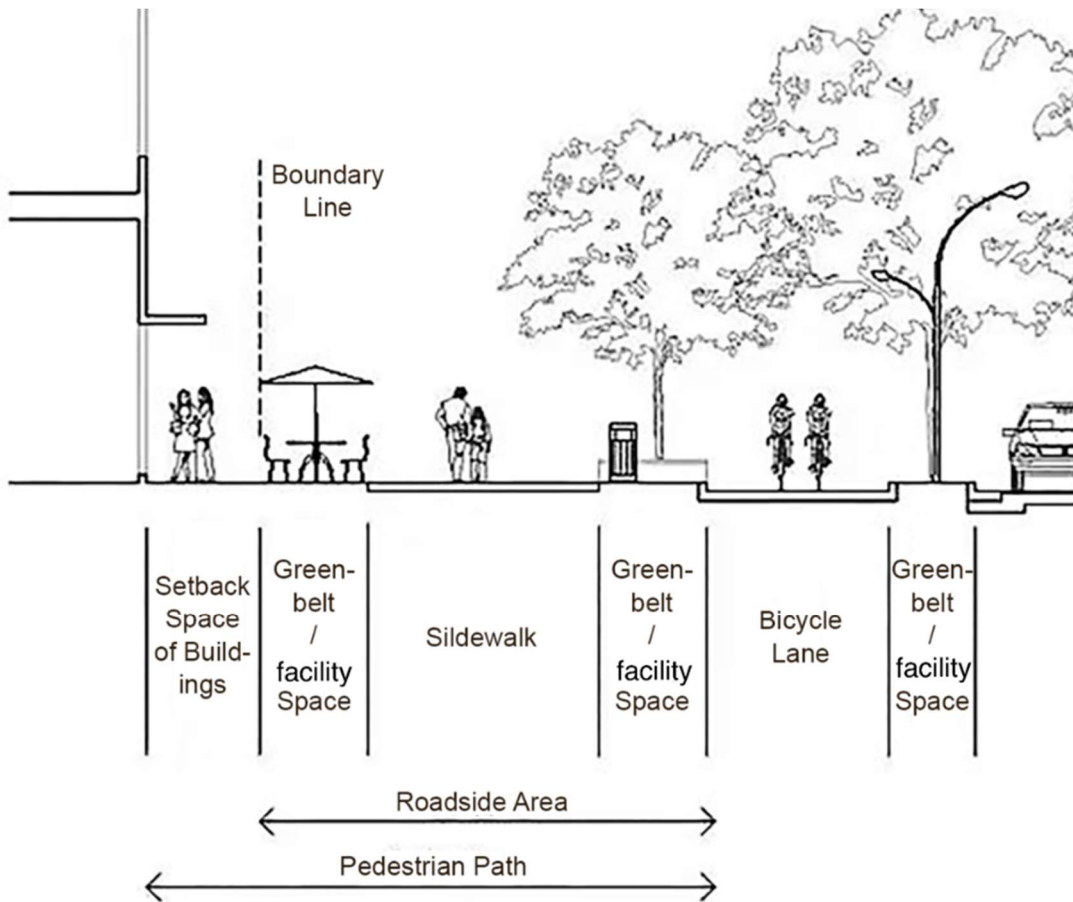


Figure 4-9 Schematic diagram of a regular section of the pedestrian path and the bicycle lane (Made by the document)

Streets of different levels have different functional elements and various widths between them. To be evident, **the width of the sidewalk** should not be inferior to **1.5m**. **The width of the green belt or the facility belts** should not be lower than **0.5m**. **An active pedestrian** path should be, as shown in the picture above, with **a relatively small aspect ratio** to increase the sense of safety and reduce the distance of the marginal landscape. Besides, **the full use of the building setback space** can strengthen the connection between the building and the street for the living space.

¹⁴ Shanghai Municipality, (2011) *Regulation 4.4.8 of the Technical Guidelines for Controlled Detailed Planning*



Figure 4-10 The negative and positive examples of the street furniture. Reference: *The Urban Walking and Bicycle Traffic System Planning and Design Guidelines*, 2013



Figure 4-11 The negative and positive examples of the greenery isolation. Reference: *The Urban Walking and Bicycle Traffic System Planning and Design Guidelines*, 2013

Moreover, isolation belts, facility belts, and green belts **separate the different traffic functional** areas to ensure the safety and comfort of pedestrians and cyclists. These **edge spaces** consist of green elements, rest facilities, and functional facilities or signs with height. Under the condition of ensuring sufficient walking width, we can **place the hawking-approved areas in the space of the isolation belt or against the isolation** belt facing the sidewalk to meet the edge effect requirement of hawkers. (See Figure 4-10. & Figure 4-11) Besides, the hawking areas are better **close to the bicycle lane** to facilitate the entry and exit in the street for hawkers. **Narrow streets** can no longer divide spaces, and hawking areas usually occupy sidewalks and mechanical driveways, so we would not recommend the hawker's activities here. However, in extreme cases like Nanhua Farmers' Market, the hawking space has already occupied the main function of the street.

To be detailed, the isolation belts forms can be:

- **Non-physical isolation** forms should use green belts, or facilities should **depend on conditions permit**.
- When urban branch roads use discontinuous physical isolation, the separation distance should be limited, facilitating pedestrians and bicycles to **cross the street flexibly** and preventing motor vehicles from entering the bicycle lane.
- The forms of non-physical isolation include **colored paving, colored spraying,** and marking of different uses, and there should be clear **guidance signs** when necessary.

The realm in public space does not regulate human behavior but stimulates users' imagination to develop possibilities. An inclusive public space **should not differentiate** between **formal and informal** spaces but stimulate vitality and diversity through the uncertainty of **the spontaneous order**. Therefore, the **relationship** between the staying space on the isolation belt and **the surrounding environment** should be **ambiguous**, and **the boundary** should be **non-physical** or hidden. The hawking areas can be full of intentions integrated with the street items of furniture performing at least one function: rest, shelter, display, sign, which can serve for the specific use of street hawkers, even for other users. In addition, Space design can also consider the integration with the landscape and with the historical and cultural context.

The ambiguous design of functions and boundaries in the isolation belts intends to **maximize the flexibility** of the hawking activities, but this does not mean that the administration does not need to **make rules and guide the use process**. First, the regulars need **to safeguard the interest and rights** of hawkers. They prioritize the use of the hawking-approved area, and an organization needs to be in charge of resolving disputes between them and others during the business activities. On the other side, hawkers should also **abide by public obligations and accept the monitor** for their behaviors. They need to keep staying inside the control lines, keep food with the hygiene and product with the quality, keep the environment clean and not make noises, and respect the set time range based on the daily practices of the street. In addition, the

guidelines should indicate the precautions for each operation and declare the penalty conditions and content of relevant violations.

5 THE CHINESE URBAN POLICIES AND PLANNING ABOUT MOBILE HAWKERS

5.1 THE POLICY ISSUE ATTRIBUTES AND GOVERNANCE MODELS

5.1.1 THE NEGATIVES OF THE HAWKING ECONOMY AND THE POLICY ISSUE ATTRIBUTES

The above article has demonstrated that the hawking economy is rational and necessary for city lives. It is a downward and flexible supplement to the urban economy, helping urban residents obtain cheap goods or services and providing low-income or marginalized groups with a means of self-employment. Besides, it can break down the urban space boundary, improve the permeability of the boundary, and increase the diversity and vitality of the public space. However, it has produced a contentious issue in the city since its negative sides still have harmed the urban economy and public space despite its positives.

Economically speaking, mobile hawkers commit violations such as piracy, food safety, tax evasion, and the sale of stolen goods (Morales, 1997). However, these are distinct from serious criminal offenses (Cross & Johnson, 2000). As discussed in the previous chapter, some rules spontaneously formed guide the daily practices and interactions with other roles in social networks.

For the city authority, the existence of mobile hawkers is inevitably contrary to modern urban spaces. Their activities have two main negatives on public spaces: first, traffic occupancy can be considered one of the transboundary behaviors. Hawkers occupy public sidewalks, overpasses, squares, and subway entrances to get customers, which hinders and interferes with the circulation and distribution and result in obstruction and congestion; second, the waste and garbage generated by their business practices reduce the quality of the urban environment. Some people think that the cause resulting in the above two is the functional **dislocation** of the hawking economy.¹Because according to

¹ YATMO, A (2009) *Perception of street hawkers as 'out of place' urban elements at day and night time*, Journal of Environmental Psychology, 2009, 29(4): 467-476 & SCOTT, J (1998). *Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998.

the modernist functional zoning theory, each social activity has its place, and the functional mixture could create chaos.

In addition to spatial dislocation, the hawkers also **challenge the stability** required by urban spatial governance. Their main characteristic is flexibility and mobility, which increase the unpredictability in municipal management. Because, in traditional streets, the mobile vendors were in the frame of the acquaintance society that restricted their behaviors.² However, modern cities promote rationalism and individualism, requiring detailed laws and norms to maintain the association of strangers. For street vendors, flexibility is an advantage, but in the eyes of the ruling class, it is a negative factor that increases management costs and uncertainty.

Firstly, the mobile hawking policy is a **contentious urban issue** that lacks a consistent consensus. The public, civil servants, economists, socialists, and politicians defend different views and attitudes. In addition, the issue is also **multi-faceted** because it needs to consider both the fact and the person. The facts in the policy issue relate to urban order, environment, hygiene, etc., while the people relate to employment, rights, interests, etc. (Sun, 2012). That leads to another question on the issue of mobile hawkers, who is responsible for the management of hawkers, whether to set up a specialized hawker management agency or to sort issues to the corresponding department.

Furthermore, the mobile hawking policy is a **marginalized issue**. The traditional economy it represents is not the mainstream urban and social development trend. Besides, most mobile hawkers belong to various subaltern groups, marginal groups (such as indigenous peoples and laid-off workers), and even disadvantaged groups (such as the disabled), who rank at the back of the list in the urban public service. Chinese city rulers in decades paid more attention to capitalization and urbanization. Compared to infrastructure construction, investment attraction, and cultural and educational

² ROSE-REDWOOD, S (2012). With numbers in place: security, territory, and the production of calculable space [J]. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 2012, 102(2): 295-319.

development, the issue of street vendors does not prioritize the city government's agenda.

5.1.2 POLICY-ORIENTED HAWKING GOVERNANCE MODEL AND SPATIAL STRATEGIES - IN ACCELERATED URBANIZATION PERIOD

According to the policy classification framework proposed by Lowi (1972), the hawking policy is a regulatory policy. Under the concept of modernism, the regulatory policy treats the hawking economy as an urban problem and an element of out-of-place (Yatmo, 2008), challenging the orthodox principles of modernity (Anjaria, 2006). The governing direction related to the policy points to the prohibition and eviction.

From the reform and opening up to the beginning of the 21st century, China has generally adopted a strategic governance model to deal with the issue of city hawkers (Sun, Z., 2012). The manifestation of this model is the misalignment between the policy and the implementation; that is, the laws and policies restrict or prohibit street hawkers, but governments tacitly permit the executives to use a placate method in the implementation. In many cases, governments adopt a clean-up campaign as the organizational strategy, whose subtext gives hawkers a long-term tolerance added by short-term harassment (Bromley, 2000). The point of the policy is not to eliminate city hawkers but to limit their development through deterrence. If it is not involved in criminal incidents, the government usually turns a blind eye. In Bangkok in the early 1970s, other countries in Africa, the Philippines, and Taiwan in the 1970s adopted this governing model.

However, in the second half of the 20th century, many cities influenced by the postmodern idea have changed the hawking governing model to the regularization. China during the same period was not affected in the slightest. Especially in the late 1990s, the city government almost eliminated all forms of hawking. Relevant documents promulgated by the State Council included Decision on Further Promoting the Work of Relatively Centralized Administrative Punishment Powers(2002), Measures for Investigating, Punishing, and Banning Unlicensed Operations (2003). The documents promulgated by the local government included Guangzhou City Management Supervision

Regulations (1997), Guangzhou City Management Comprehensive Law Enforcement Rules (1999), etc. Major cities have implemented clean-up campaigns under the slogan No Hawker in The City, escalating conflicts between law enforcement agencies and mobile hawkers.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, Chinese cities have also reorganized the spatial structures to fulfill the capital accumulation requirements under the new global competition mechanism. In 1990, the country began to implement the macro policy Creating the National Sanitary City, in short *Chuangwei*, which became the core guidance of shaping modern space. This social project includes multiple sub-items such as organizational management, health education, city appearance and environment, environmental protection, sanitation, and disease prevention. Huang Gengzhi, et al. (2011) believed that the city authorities adopted a panopticism spatial discipline for the street hawking space, which presented strategies to regulate behavior by closely monitoring and punishing threats.

In addition to the clean-up campaign, hawking governance methods included electronic monitoring, patrolling, and punishment. The government has also established the Comprehensive Law Executive System for Urban Management, referred to Chengguan. It is an authoritative organization that centralizes the administrative powers of various departments and can quickly and efficiently solve many problems that other departments find difficult to solve. The organization is also hierarchically distributed, dividing urban space into spatially controlled units from city to street scale. The Chengguan teams in specific street units carry out daily monitoring and inspections, ensuring supervision and coverage. The powers are progressively advanced to form centralized management. Sometimes, the Chengguan organization cooperates with other departments, such as the Department of Public Security and Commerce, to ensure execution effectiveness. (Figure 5-1)

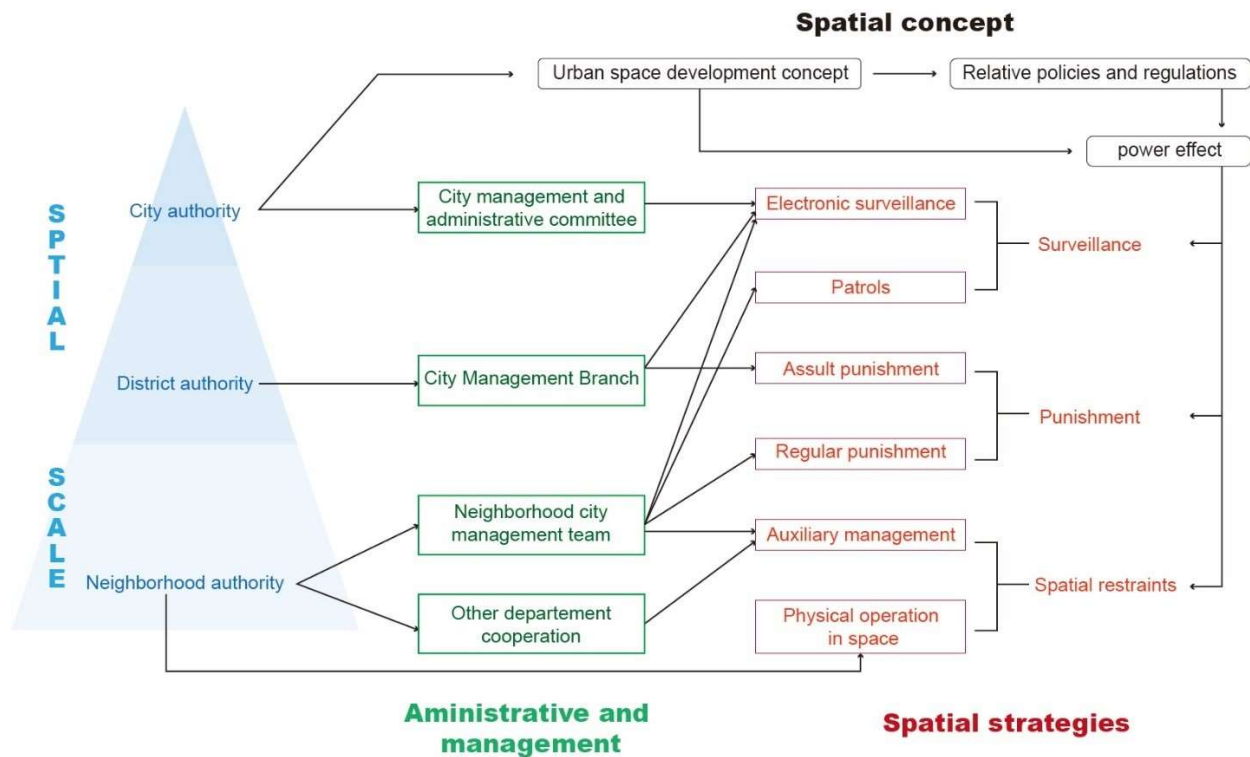


Figure 5-1 Scheme of the spatial politics of disciplinary for mobile hawkers. Made by the thesis authors, references Huang G., et al. (2012) Discipline and anti-discipline: Spatial politics of urban street vending in Guangzhou since the 1990s

However, recently the government has realized the model has instability and found the loss of authority by the excessive consumption of management and institutional resources. First of all, the supervision of hawkers by Chengguan has no legal reference and authorization, and it borrowed the function from other departments. The broad powers make them hard to choose the method and means of execution and control the process. Moreover, they have to pay more time, energy, and cost to negotiate with flexible and speculative hawkers, so sometimes they give up. In addition, they also have to control the degree of enforcement not to trigger public criticism of their abuse of power. Hence, many disputes on their legality and calls to abolish the organization have been on the table in recent years.



Figure 5-2 Urban management, Chengguan, is banning hawkers from selling food within 100 meters of a school, in Ying Yang City. Ying Yang Daily News: <https://cmsuiv3.aheading.com/Article/ArticleRead/3171695>

5.1.3 THE HAWKING GOVERNANCE'S CONVERT TO REGULARIZATION

Many cities worldwide had a hawking policy transition of "let it go - prohibit - open or strictly open" on the way to modernization (Cai, 2010). The postmodern concept advocates diversified development that absorbs multiple viewpoints and rejects the singularity of urban space. Hence, the urban regulation system included marginalized groups and upgraded to inclusiveness.

As mentioned above, the ruled-based policy employs various tools to govern the objects of both the person and the fact. **The authoritative tool** is the **core** part of the rule-based policy, which explains hawkers' identity and combines it with supervision. For example, Singapore requires only licensed street vendors to have booths on the street (Bhowmik, 2005). Mobile hawkers must gain official authorization or business license first. The defined identities explain the distinction between legal and illegal behaviors for law executives and make it the government easier to control the scale of vendors and prevent the objects from deviant actions. **Other policy tools** include information, organizational, fiscal, and taxation tools to help the government set more effective and reasonable rules and standards in law enforcement. On the other side, hawkers also benefit from public services and protect their interests by the rules. **The action strategies** of the rule-based policy consist of the spatial strategy and the enforcement strategy. As discussed in the

previous chapter, **the spatial strategy** refers to the spatial allocation by balancing the mandatory order required by the government and the spontaneous order of citizens. The enforcement strategy details the law and the regularity by classifying mobile hawkers (Sun, 2012), aiming to mediate the social complexity.

In 2008, Beijing successfully hosted the Olympic Games, a milestone of the country's 30-year reform and opening-up policy. The country has shown a significant increase in comprehensive national strength and improved its international status. Besides, the urban population also increased from 173 million to 594 million, and the urbanization rate increased from 17.92% to 44.99%. Hence, the national policy began to change during the 11th Five-Years Plan. The urbanization object has changed from stimulating economic growth to controlling the growth and improving the quality of urban life. Chinese cities proposed new urban plans to restrict the sprawling of city outskirts, slow down the population growth, and prevent urban-rural, inter-urban, and urban-nature segregation.

The changes in the street vendor policy are as follows: On April 16, 2009, the Legislative Affairs Office of the State Council issued the Regulations on Individual Industrial and Commercial Households, which mentioned mobile hawkers could apply for registration as individual industrial and commercial households to obtain legal status; The Measures for Investigation and Punishment of Unlicensed and Unlicensed Business Operations (State Council Order No. 684) implemented by the State Council in 2017 proposed methods for dealing with three types of vendors, which are unlicensed, no-permit, and unlicensed with no-permit.

Local cities are also actively exploring their governance models for the hawking space. China has a vast territory and multi-ethnic complexity. Especially at the economic level, the eastern coastal areas go much further than the central and western regions. Also, the Chinese government has adopted a hierarchical classification according to the cities' size to implement various policies. There are four first-tier cities: Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen, all of which are megacity scales and have a special status in politics, culture, and economy. With the development of cities, many second-tier cities have recently entered the first-tier class, such as Nanjing, Hangzhou, Chengdu, Tianjin,

etc. The first-tier cities have higher complexity in all aspects, so there are more controversies about the hawking policy. Guangzhou started researching street vendors and exploring the spatial governance models earlier. Many new first-tier cities have also promoted their spatial governance models. However, due to political factors, Beijing always rejects the opening of the hawking policy. (Figure 5-3)

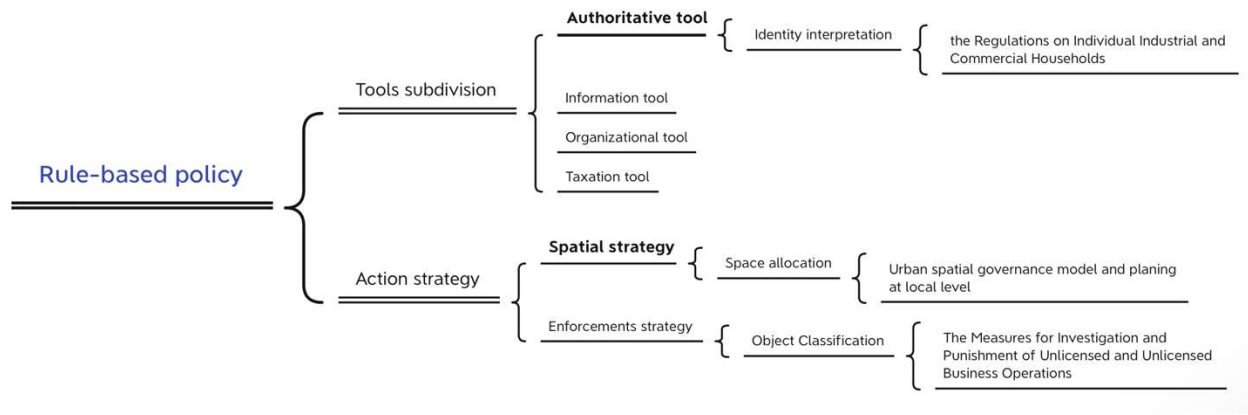


Figure 5-3 The diagram of the composition of the rule-based policy, Made by the thesis authors

5.2 THE REGENERATION OF THE HAWKING SPACE IN CHINA

5.2.1 THE COMMERCIALIZED HAWKING SPACE, THE CASE STUDY OF KAIFENG NIGHT MARKETS

Before the government officially issued the Regulations on Individual Industrial and Commercial Households, many Chinese cities had adopted space commercialization to guide the street hawkers into the normal economic system. Like cities in Southeast Asia, Chinese cities have the tradition of night markets and bazaars. The city can bring together street vendors for unified management and construct urban landmark sites to attract tourism through the commercialization of space. Taiwan, Singapore, and Thailand have relatively successful commercialization projects worthy of reference for Chinese cities, such as the Shilin Night Market in Taipei. Many famous historical and cultural cities in China have their night market brands. It aims to turn street businesses into tourist characteristics and drive business prosperity. Also, it embraces hawker groups in the regularized market. In addition to providing them a stable job and income, it intends to limit the space use and activities time. It sets the special management to coordinate

various functions of multiple departments to safeguard the interest and safety of the majority.

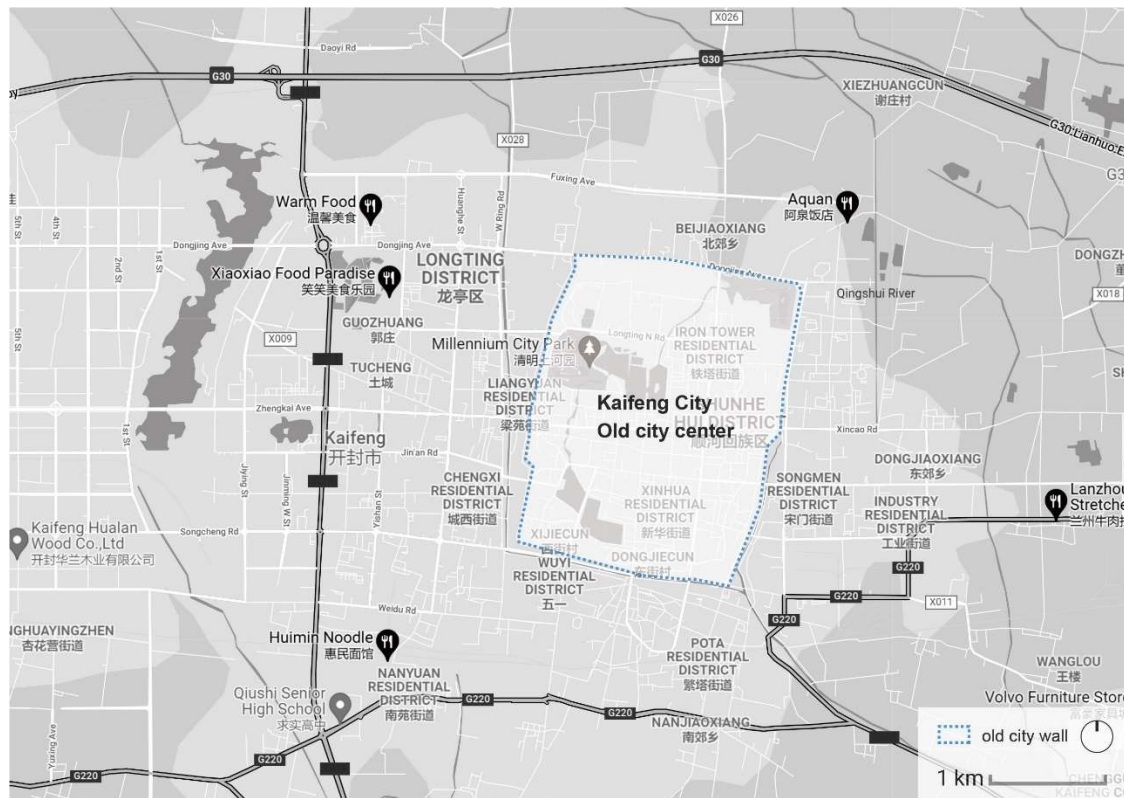
However, the upgrade of commercialization would head for consumerism at last. The profit-seeking process leads to uneven allocation of resources and profits and unilaterally inclines. Usually, the hawkers find the threshold of the market getting higher and higher, which indirectly causes the price increase and the advantage of convenience loss. Though commercialization can boost the economy in the short term, it would derail the original purpose of supporting the marginalized groups.

- *Urban Renewal Project of Kaifeng Night Market*

Kaifeng city is a historical city in central China with a long history of night markets. After the reform and opening up, many hawkers poured into the street food industry. They occupied many streets in the city to form the old night markets by self-exploration, such as Gulou Night Market, Xinjiekou Night Market, Bianjing Bridge night market, etc. The formation of the huge night market scale in Kaifeng city has a lot to do with ethnic attributes, mobility characteristics, and religious culture. However, the night market as a cultural landscape has deeply influenced the surrounding urban space with ripple-like commercial effects and formed a neighborhood effect embedded with religious culture in the community, which attracted many Han Chinese to join the hawker industry. (Drawing 5-1 & Drawing 5-2)



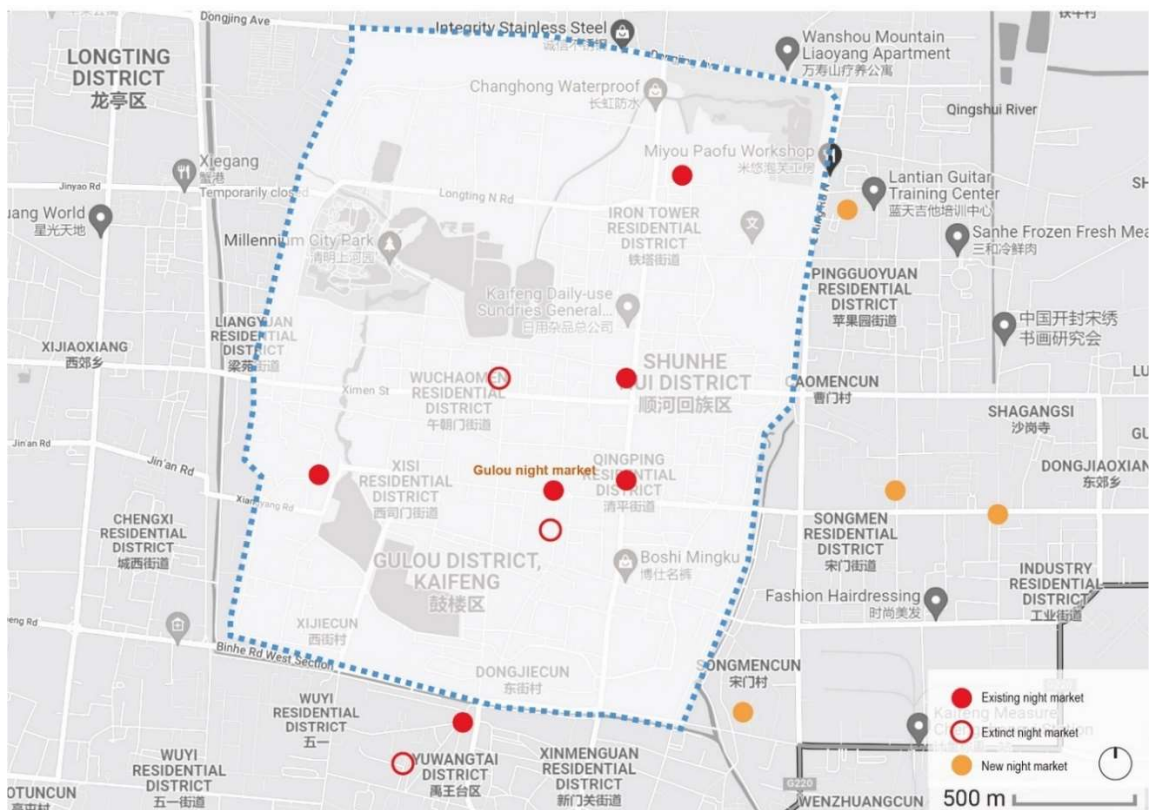
Drawing 5-1 The location of Kaifeng city in the national scale map. (Drawn by the thesis authors)



Drawing 5-2 The map of Kaifeng city indicated the old city center where the night markets spread around. (Drawn by the thesis authors)

Figure 5-4

The distribution of night markets in the city has been dynamically changing in the last 20 years. Some night markets, such as Xinjiekou Night Market and Bianjing Bridge Night Market, have disappeared due to the urban spatial development and the amenity improvement campaigns. Meanwhile, some new night markets emerged. One reason was that the management guided the mobile hawkers to formalize by waiving the rent, such as Wuyi Night Market. Others were related to the collective relocation due to the marriage, job transfer, or demolition of old houses. ³ (See Drawing 5-3)



Drawing 5-3 The plan indicates the dynamically changing distribution of night market in Kaifeng. (Drawn by the thesis authors)

Since 2014, with the expansion of the night market, the city required the night market to formalize the management upgrade. Firstly, the urban management clarified a market's location and boundary to ensure traffic function, then rearranged the internal layout for vending stalls to acquire the order. (See Figure 5-6) And the authorities uniformed the

³ Wang, Q. & Hu, X. & Ai, S. (2020) *Identify, mobility and power: the spatial practice of street vendors* [J]. *Human Geography*, 2020, 35(6): 35-43. DOI: 10.13959/j.issn.1003-2398.2020.06.005.

stall carts to keep the image of the street. (See Figure 5-7 & Figure 5-8) The management provided part of the subsidy for vendors to charge their vehicles. Secondly, they set the operating hours for hawkers using time constraints to coordinate them with other subjects on the street. Hawkers cannot enter the market too early, in principle 30 minutes after the end of the administrative unit, never to ensure the traffic needs of off-duty commuters. Hawker must leave the market after 00:00 to reduce the impact on the night rest of the neighboring residents and leave enough time for cleaning work. According to the surrounding environment, the management looseness varies between different night markets. For example, the East Gate Night Market of He Da is a certain distance away from the residential area, and the time management is moderately easy. It presents different time rhythms according to the season and other factors. At the same time, the Gulou Night Market represents the city's image, the supervision and execution are strong, and the time rhythm is relatively consistent. (See Figure 5-5 Figure 5-7)

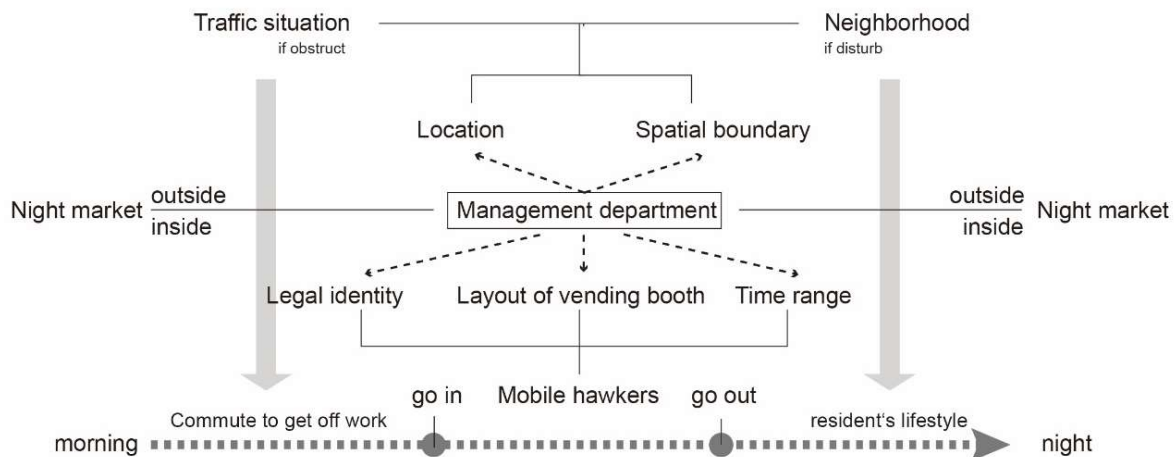


Figure 5-5 The scheme of formalization of mobile hawkers in a regular night market. (Made by the thesis authors)

The reconstructed spatio-temporal boundary changes the original spatio-temporal order, changes the power relations, and redistributes the benefits in the space. The fixed spatio-temporal boundaries make it easier for the management to redistribute spatial rights and maintain spatial order. Still, at the same time, they also lead to new rights inequality and conflicts of interests. For example, micro-zone inequalities originally existed in the Gulou night market, whose layout was enclosed in small squares, artificially exacerbating the differentiation in the market. In winter, the inner hawker, dissatisfied with the front row

of vendors whose shelters blocked the view of diners, took the initiative to contact the Gulou management committee to obtain mediation. The management has thus gradually built up its authority. In the preliminary stage, the managers were able to play a positive role in establishing a credible image to resolve disputes when they entered the self-organized group of hawkers early in the morning. However, in the long run, the tilting of power toward the unilateral also solidifies minority interests and new inequalities. For example, management has unilaterally established status barriers for hawkers with the sole purpose of limiting the number of vendors. It has led some of them to sublet well-located stalls after acquiring the status to operate and reap high profits from them. The solidification of rules has allowed night markets to breed many vested interests. The formalized management of night markets has created new inequalities in market opportunities.



Figure 5-6 The bird's eye view of Gulou night market (resource: thepaper.cn: https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_11327525)



Figure 5-7 The perspective view of the street of the night market (resource: thepaper.cn: https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_11327525)

According to the current situation in China and international studies, the government's spatial planning and formalization of mobile hawkers has given them space and legal status, but the results are not all positive. The intent is to maintain the needs of the underlying livelihoods, promote justice, and build inclusive cities. In practice, however, the aim is still to preserve the economic interests of the formal market, i.e., the main body of capital. Mobile vendors face multiple dilemmas such as unfair market competition, increasing costs, and diminished autonomy. Seemingly good policies stifle their flexibility and low-cost advantages. By limiting their space, managers teach them to follow the rules of the formal market, transforming their behavior so that their uncertainty becomes visible and manageable.



Figure 5-8 The unified vending booth in the market;



Figure 5-9 The mobile hawker is working hard for cooking

Whether banning or formalizing, informal mobile hawkers have not been completely eradicated from urban space regardless of cities' spatial planning and regulation mechanisms. Oppositional spaces reconstructed by the bottom-up social resist the regulated spaces constructed by the government through refinement management. As the dominated group, as Lefebvre emphasizes, the hawkers show their agency in

pursuing their right to live or survive and form the antithesis of spatial politics through an appropriate anti-regulation strategy.

They no longer congregate in groups in the streets where commerce once flourished. By dispersing, they can more easily use physical spaces to hide their movements, such as the alleys of inner streets and the curbs of parking lots. Combined with the help of mobile tools, they can take full advantage of their time and return to the site to sell their wares at the exact moment when the city police team leaves. A simple ban instead increases their mobility. At the same time, individual violence and collective protests occur when they encounter unfair treatment and unreasonable charges.

5.2.2 THE CASE STUDY OF THE DIVERSION MODEL OF GUANGZHOU

5.2.2.1 The rule-based policy and the spatial strategies

Like other Chinese megacities, Guangzhou started the upgrade of the urban environment in 1990, getting a better investment climate and global competitiveness. During this time, the city adopted a zero-tolerance policy for the hawking economy. The high-handed policy brought short-term effectiveness for the city but failed to eradicate them. The street conflicts and incidents of mass resistance occurred often. Besides, the city's limited law enforcement was insufficient to deal with the nearly 300,000 hawker population, whose mobility and flexibility nearly undermined the day-to-day procedural management of the city. As we enter the millennium, there was a growing call to stop the banning policy and integrate informal hawkers into the formal economy and the municipal regulation.

In 2010, Guangzhou proposed the Diversion Plan of Mobile Hawkers partially due to the historical reason that Guangzhou was hosting the Asian Olympic Games this year. On the one hand, the municipal authorities wanted to demonstrate prosperity and well-orderliness to the world, not to cause international disputes due to the hawker conflicts. On the other hand, they also complied with national strategic requirements, taking economic growth and a harmonious society into account.

The concept of the diversion plan came from the story of *The Great Flood of Gun-Yu* in ancient times. The moral of the story is that good governance lies in conforming to the

law of nature, and forcibly preventing things that violate the laws could make things worse and develop in a wrong direction. Therefore, Guangzhou City applies this concept to spatial planning and formulates the core strategy of diverting the mobile vendors staying in the city center to the unused or abandoned spaces.

The Interim Measures for the Administration of Mobile Vendors in Guangzhou issued in August 2010 stipulated mobile hawkers' business area, business types, and business markets. It also clarified the spatial governance methods for sub-district management and prohibited areas, such as main roads and areas around Asian Games venues. After that, the Municipality continued to study the successful cases of Singapore and released *the Program of the Remediation and Standardization for Street Vendors in 2011*, the updated *Trial Measures for the Regulation of Temporary Diversion Points for Street Vendors*, and *Notice of Prohibited Areas*. So far, Guangzhou has officially promoted the construction of the Diversion Points, aiming to provide a fixed legal business place for mobile hawkers and reduce the instability in the neighborhoods.

The Trial Measures stipulated that the Diversion Points must comply with four conditions:

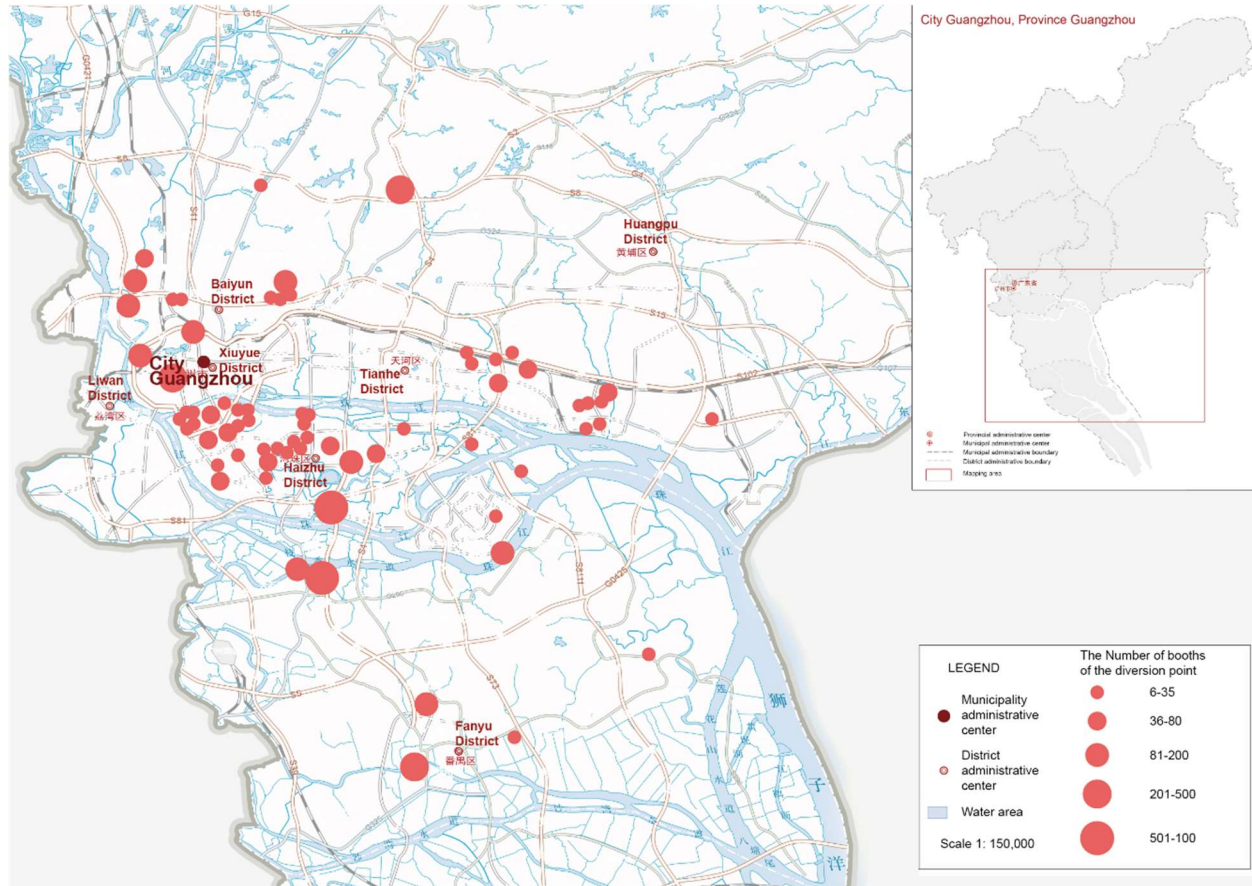
- Prevent horizontal competition, not vicious competing with surrounding businesses;
- Not affect the common life of locals;
- Not occupy the traffic roads and fire exits;
- Not destroy the street appearance and environmental hygiene.

In addition, the measures included the administration guidance that the department exclusive to the mobile hawker took in charge. The administrative unit of the Diversion Points is the community (town). The community or town committee, the property administration, and market management agencies collaborate to allocate the temporary points for hawkers, which need the district-level and the city-level leading groups' approval before the implementation.

The Trial Measures expired in 2016. In 2008, the Municipality Administration Committee officially issued the *Administrative Measures for Temporary Diversion Points for Street*

Vendors, revised the rules and regulations, added the review system, and clarified the standards for the change and cancellation of the points.

5.2.2.2 The spatial distribution and the typologies of points



Drawing 5-4 The spatial distribution of the Diversion Points in Guangzhou. The reference is from Huang, G. & et al. (2015) *Formalization of Informal Economy: Effects of the policy of permitted vending places for street vendor in Guangzhou*. The figure is remade by the thesis authors.

As of March 2015, Guangzhou has built 147 Mobile Hawker Diversion Points, providing 10,760 vending booths. Each point has 73 booths on average, with an area of 822mq. From the urban-scale spatial layout, the Diversion Points do not spread evenly in the city, and they are mainly in **Haizhu District and Panyu District**. According to the data provided by the Municipality Administration Committee, Haizhu district has 58 Diversion Points, accounting for nearly 40%, and Panyu District has 20, accounting for 13.6%. The total area of the points in Panyu District accounted for 28%, ranking first in

the city, and the area in Haizhu accounted for 21%.⁴ As shown from the figure above (Drawing 5-4), the Diversion Points in the Haizhu district are small in scale and distributed in clusters in the dense housing areas and industrial plants. The first reason is that Haizhu District is close to the historical center and developed earliest in modern times. It has a compact spatial pattern and rich public space resources. The second reason is that the district has a large number of hawkers. Although other center districts such as Tianhe, Yuexiu, and Liwan also demand diverting hawkers, the available public space is limited. Hence, they have a few points with the limited area. Panyu District has a large spatial scale and relatively small housing density as a peripheral urban development area. Thus, the scales of the Diversion Points are very big, and they spread discretely. Therefore, the number of Diversion Points depends on the available public resources and the demand for diverting local vendors. Their scale depends on the capacity of the public space limited by the urban spatial pattern.

Huang Gengzhi et al. analyzed the location and consumer market of the Diversion Points, combined with the characteristics of urban spatial structure. They classified the points into **four types: traffic space type, residential community type, urban village type, and shopping mall dependent type.** (See Table 5-1) Among them, the largest number is the traffic space type relying on pedestrian passages and distribution points. They sit in open spaces near the subway entrance or on the street where the flow of people passes. Their hawkers operate mainly snacks, serving daily commuters. The second-largest is the residential community type, whose locations are near the gate and close to the local market. The goods sold by the hawkers are vegetables, fruits, and daily necessities, serving residents. The Diversion Points of urban village type usually sit at the entrance of the urban village, and the hawkers provide clothing, food, and electronic products for the immigrants living there. The shopping mall-dependent type relies on the marketplace or shopping malls, and what the hawkers sell is also related to the commercial facilities. From these types, we find that the Diversion Points have respected

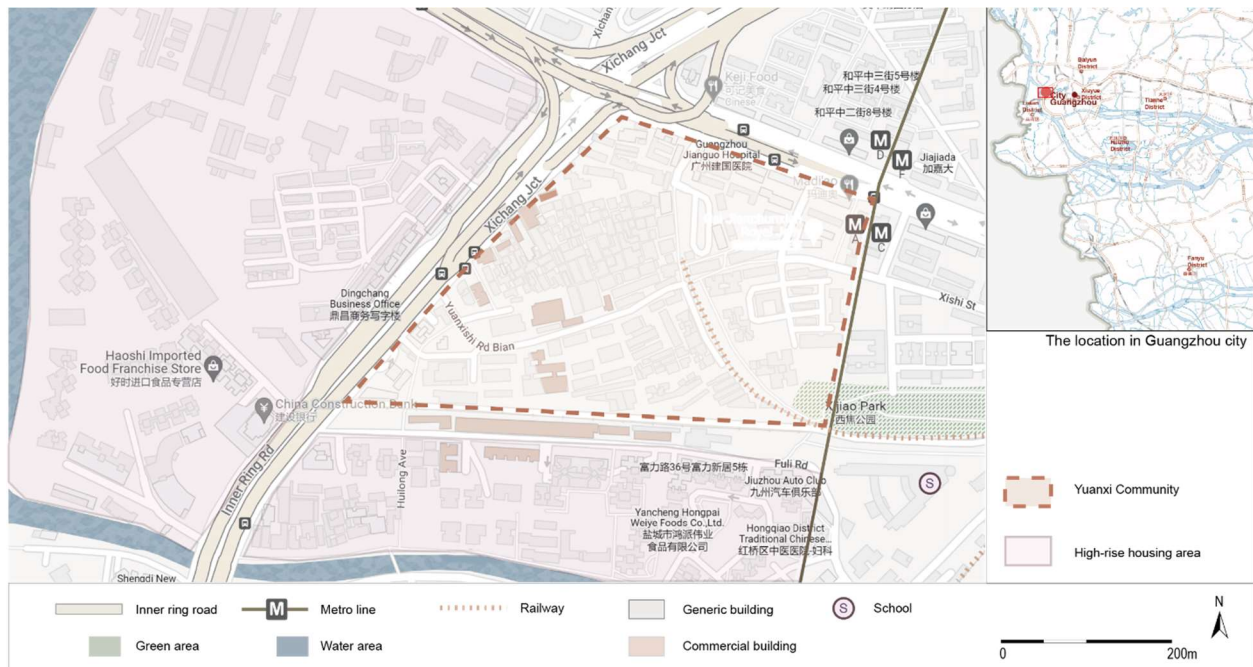
⁴ Huang, G. & Xue, S. & et al. (2019), *Governance of Informal Public Space in Urban China: A postmodern Critique of Spatial Formation of Urban Street Vending*, *Urban Planning International UPI-Planning* 34(2):47-55. DOI: 10.22217/upi.2019.015

hawkers' informal space distribution law mentioned in the previous chapter, have considered their spatial strategies and the consumption demands of citizens, and have integrated them with the formal economy. In addition, the temporary nature of the Diversion Point is reflected in **the regulation of the type of commodity and operating hours** to reduce conflicts between hawkers and other groups.

TYOLOGY	SPATIAL RESOURCE DEPENDENT	OPERATION TIME	TYPE OF COMMODITY	CONSUMER CHARACTERISTICS
TRAFFIC SPACE	Traffic distribution points	6.00-19.00	Snacks	Commenters (workers)
RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITY	Entrance of housing areas	6.00-20.00	Vegetable, fruit, daily necessity	Residents in the neighborhood
URBAN VILLAGE	Entrance of urban village	19.00-3.00	Clothes, food, electronic products	Migrants living in urban villages
SHOPPING MALL-DEPENDENT	Marketplace or shopping mall	10.00-23.00	Related to the marketplace	Related to the marketplaces

Table 5-1 The typology and the features of the Diversion Points. The reference is from Huang, G. & et al. 2019. The tabel is remade by the thesis authors.

5.2.2.3 The example of the Diversion Point in the Yuanxi community



Drawing 5-5 The context analysis of the Yuanxi Community. (Drawn by the authors)

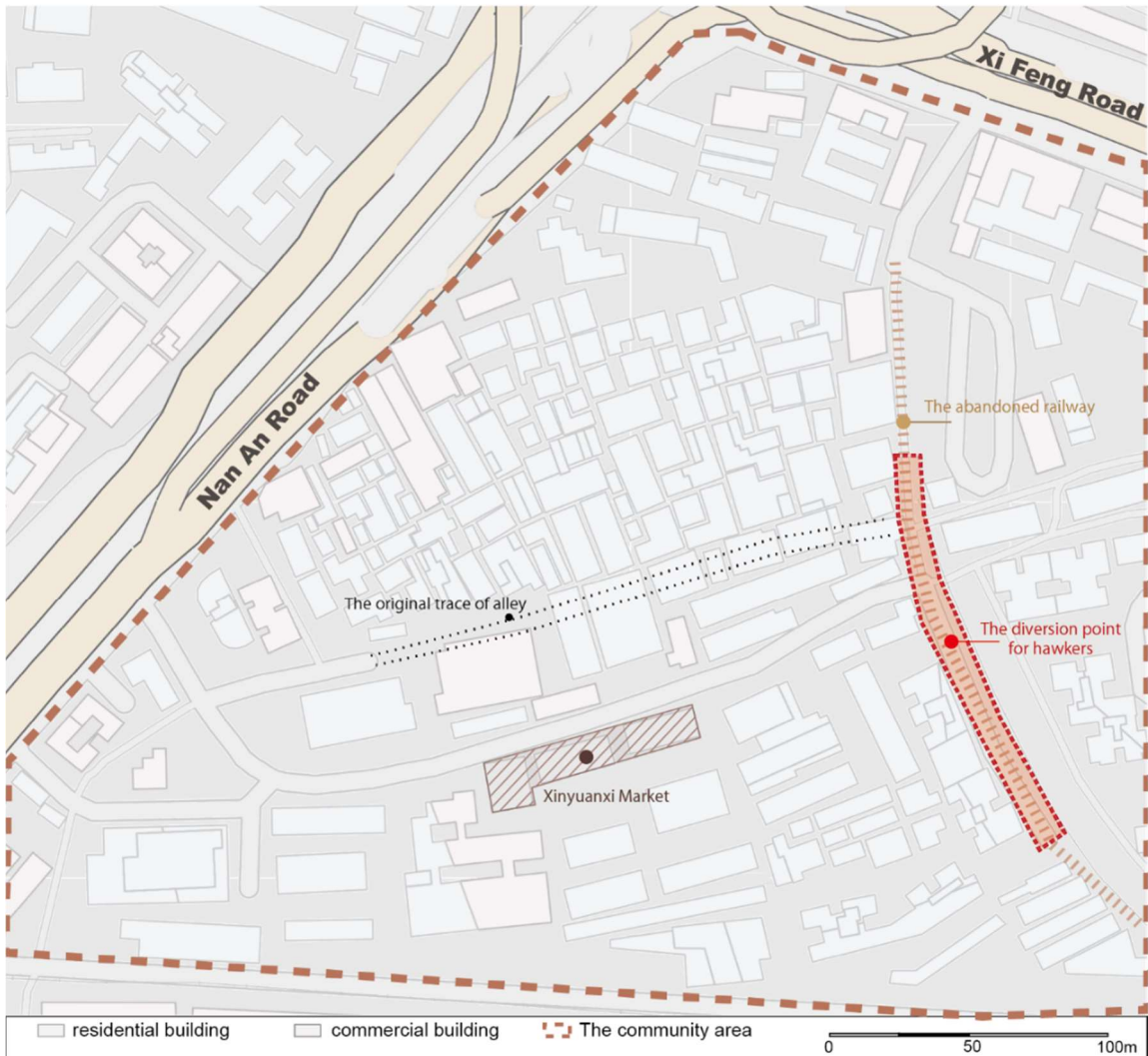
The successful case of the Diversion Point of Yuanxi Community in the old city center gave us a scene for the policy implementation and practical effects at the street scale. The Yuanxi community sits in Liwan District, the historical center, owning the traffic intersection and convenient transportation, and the surrounding area has the landmark Gangnam Market. (Drawing 5-5) At the end of the last century, it turned into a gathering place for street vendors to require a great demand for the diversion.⁵The first reason was that **the population** included many **laid-off employees** from state-owned enterprises such as power transmission plants and refrigeration plants in Guangdong Province. They became the main component of local hawkers, which is in line with the ILO's suggestion that the choice of the informal sector depends on the lack of opportunities to enter the formal sector. Secondly, the proportion of residents over the age of 60 in the surrounding neighborhoods was very high, and **the population structure** was seriously **aging**. Thus, the strong consumer demands owned by elderlies for low-price daily products have consolidated vendors' willingness to stay in place. In addition, the community sits in a marginal area in the district that led to the relatively **low urban supervision**, thus protecting the hawkers' activities. In 2010, the Municipality approved the pilot program of Diversion Points in the Yuanxi Community, and in 2015, they canceled the point due to the urban renovation project.

The **spatial development** of the hawking space had **three stages**. (See Drawing 5-6) The first stage was the bottom-up formation by hawkers' spontaneous gathering. The hawkers spread densely in the alleys directly connecting to the moto vehicle road and on the intersection of two alleys. Next, the government constructed the Xinyuanxi Market to guide the mobile hawkers to enter the indoor market and prohibit hawking on the street. The trial of the commercialized upgrade was unsuccessful due to the high entry requirement, and hawkers distributed disorderly in the same streets. In the last phase, the establishment of the Diversion Point has changed the distribution a lot. The local administration has transformed the abandoned community railway, which used to be the

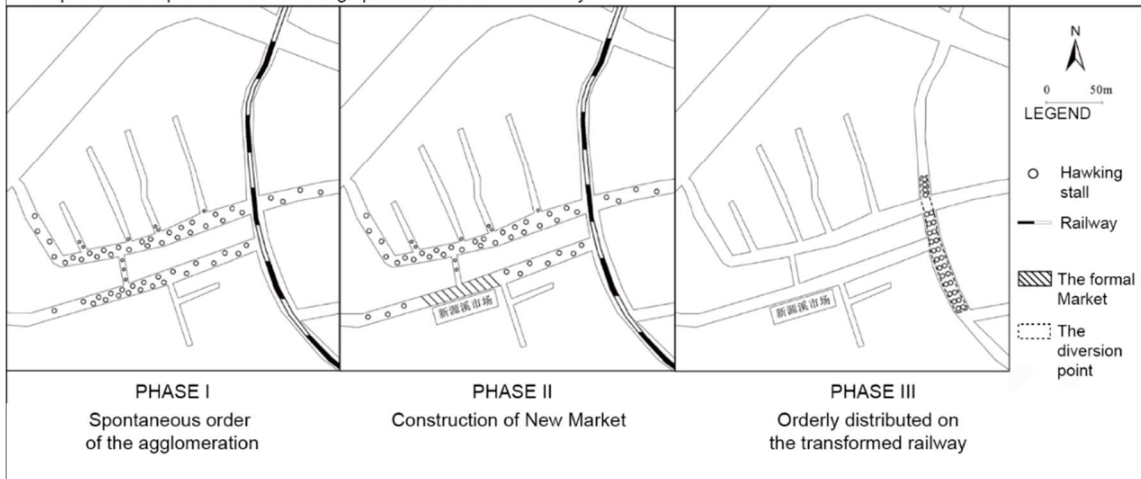
⁵ Fan, S. & et al. (2019) *Effect and challenge of the street hawkers' official vending sites, a case study of Yuanxi Community, Li Wan District, Guangzhou*. *Tropical Geography* 39(1):81-90

special line for cold transportation and the power plant, into the pedestrian path for hosting the hawking business. That has formed a regulated strip of the hawking public space. In 2015, the government announced to revoke the Diversion Point of Yuanxi Community, planned to transform the section into a community public space, and invited the vendors to move to three indoor markets. Nevertheless, as of 2018, some observed that the mobile hawkers remained at the original point.

The location of the diversion point in the Yuanxi Community



The spatial development of the hawking space in Yuanxi Community



Drawing 5-6 The location of the Diversion Point in the Yuanxi community and the spatial development of the hawking space. (The reference: Fan, S. & et al. (2019) *Effect and challenge of the street hawkers' authorized vending sites, a case study of Yuanxi Community*. Redrawn by the authors)

The administration of the Diversion Point had the **attribute of public services**, following the principle of caring for the disadvantaged. They **rented** the hawking stalls **preferentially** to local laid-off employees, poor households, and old hawkers and **charged low rents**. The rent stalls were temporary or fixed, with different charging standards. In addition, the administration had **requirements for types of commodities and operation time**. They permitted hawkers to sell only fruits, vegetables, and daily necessities and prohibited them from selling fish, meat, livestock, and nuts to prevent hygienic problems. They stipulated that the operation time was from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., thus not affecting the daily work and the rest of the residents nearby.

The interior space of the Diversion Point was **dynamic and non-static** due to **the differentiation of the business hours and locations** of different types of commodities. For example, the administration specific the business hour for vegetables was from 7 a.m. to 12 p.m., which for fruits was longer to 5 p.m., and the business for clothing and small commodities ran only in the morning. They required hawkers to stay in the fixed locations, and stalls could not be arbitrarily sublet. There was no sublease in the Diversion Point in the actual implementation, but there are dynamic changes in the stall locations. First of all, because the administration, **Chengguan, and the hawkers had already known each other well** in the previous long-term interactions, hawkers faced a high risk of subletting. Second, internal mobility refers to time differentiation. For example, when clothing hawkers exited the market in the morning, fruit hawkers would replace their stalls in the afternoon to acquire more advantageous business locations. These were **violations**, but Chengguan did **not intervene**. Since the administrative efficiency has increased thanks to the regulation of time and space, they had the confidence to control a small percentage of violations based on actual conditions.



Figure 5-10 The street view of the Diversion Point in the Yuanxi Community, the reference is from: Fan, S. & et al. (2019) *Effect and challenge of the street hawkers' authorized vending sites, a case study of Yuanxi Coomunity*

5.2.3 THE CRITIQUES AND RETHINK ABOUT THE DIVERSION MODEL

The orderly spatial organization and service-oriented administrative model of the Diversion Point in Yuanxi Community achieved to respect the law of informal spatial distribution of hawkers to a certain extent so that the commercial agglomeration of mobile hawkers has a positive spatial effect. We consider **the below factors influence a success**:

- a) **The transformation of local idle or abandoned space** into the Diversion Point has understood and **respects the spontaneous order of the hawking agglomeration**, which depended on the employment and consumer demands in the local;
- b) Controlling the Diversion Point **on a small scale corresponds to the local space capacity**, and the orderly space organization can **elevate the space utilization**;
- c) The regulation required hawkers to sell commodities that are different from those in the formal market to **promote healthy competition and complementarity between mobile hawkers and formal businesses**;

- d) The Diversion Point can **radiate its influence** outward, attracting more neighborhoods and foreign consumers to promote local business prosperity;
- e) The administration highlighted the public service attribute by **prioritizing entry rights to the disadvantages** and ensuring the economic rent of vending stalls;
- f) The regulation refined the differentiation of the operation time and space that complied with the market law and **improved the administrative efficiency**;
- g) The Diversion Point sustained the long-term local development, and there is **a neighborhood effect** among participants, such as mobile hawkers, Chengguan, consumers, and residents. Hence, the mobile hawkers achieved to **sense security and belonging** and enhanced self-identity by **gaining respect** from others.

A successful case does not represent the success of a policy. According to Huang et al.'s survey (2015) on operators' satisfaction after entering the area, the proportion is only 23%. The proportion of hawkers who entered the point ranges from 4.8% to 46.7%. The comprehensive **feedback** was **not ideal**. The researchers believed that the fundamental problem was **the following contradictions** between **the governance model** of the Diversion Point **and the hawking characteristics**:

- a) The core contradiction is between **the fixed geometric location and the hawking nature of mobility**. Spaces become the criterion for distinguishing between formal and informal economy rather than the phenomenon itself. However, mobility provides hawkers the means to adapt to the dynamic changing market so that their products can access larger consuming markets. It also explains why the Yuanxi point had an internal dynamic space.
- b) **Commercializing space** with **rent as the controlling hand** creates a new resource squeeze. The rationale for mobile hawkers to enter the formal market lies in paying rent. However, it probably leads to only negative results. First, the rent may exclude hawkers in real difficulties and let non-hawkers occupy resources and spaces to create unfairness. Then, with the market competition, the rent must rise, which may lead to space commercialization and further prevent hawkers from the profitability;

- c) A contradiction exists between **the contract constraints and flexibility of hawkers**. The diversion area has a formal contract with the clear deposit, lease term, and lease withdrawal requirements, of which the hawker must consider the risk. For example, most people who temporarily engaged as hawkers, such as seasonal hawkers, part-time hawkers, and self-employees, do not incline to enter the Diversion Point.
- d) The Diversion Point has strict **control over the types of commodities and operations hours**. The regulation required hawkers could only operate certain commodities and sell them within a certain period. However, the basic intention is to protect the formal market order rather than meet market demands and consumer preferences. Some Diversion Points had an excessive competition of the same commodity that caused over-accumulated, or hawkers **lost profits** and **reduced the flexibility** by having no suitable position and operation time.

Therefore, the governance model of the Diversion Point is the product of the consciousness of *the regularity standard*. It adheres to immobility, regulated space and time to **opposite the characteristics of mobile hawkers**, and achieves the purpose of protecting the public order and formal economy interest. The successful case in Yuanxi Community can attribute to the neighborhood effect of the actors involved. Chengguan kept the flexible governing methods of the clean-up campaign and acquiesced in the irregular interior movements. In many cases, Chengguan has hindered the advantageous characteristics of the hawking operation, leading to the contradiction between public order and informal, spontaneous order.

Moreover, there are **two more reasons** why the Diversion Point policy has **not remained long**. First, hawkers' **land use rights are temporary and unstable** due to the low-rent regulation and limited added value of hawkers. In addition, thanks to the hierarchical administrative structure, according to the renovation of the upper-level urban planning, the administration can change the use right at any time. The second reason is that **hawkers lost the right to speak in public spaces**. Many residents complained that the noise and garbage generated in the Diversion Points had affected the daily life

of the surroundings to a greater or lesser extent. After that, the demographic structure changed the consumption structure, which pushed most residents to object to the Diversion Point that provided cheap commodities. They believed that the hawkers occupying public space might generate hygienic problems and proposed replacing it with public spaces for recreation and activities to meet their needs. The hawkers have less right to speak than the residents in the public space. Hence, the municipal authorities paid more attention to the majority's demand and ignored the hawkers' wishes of staying.

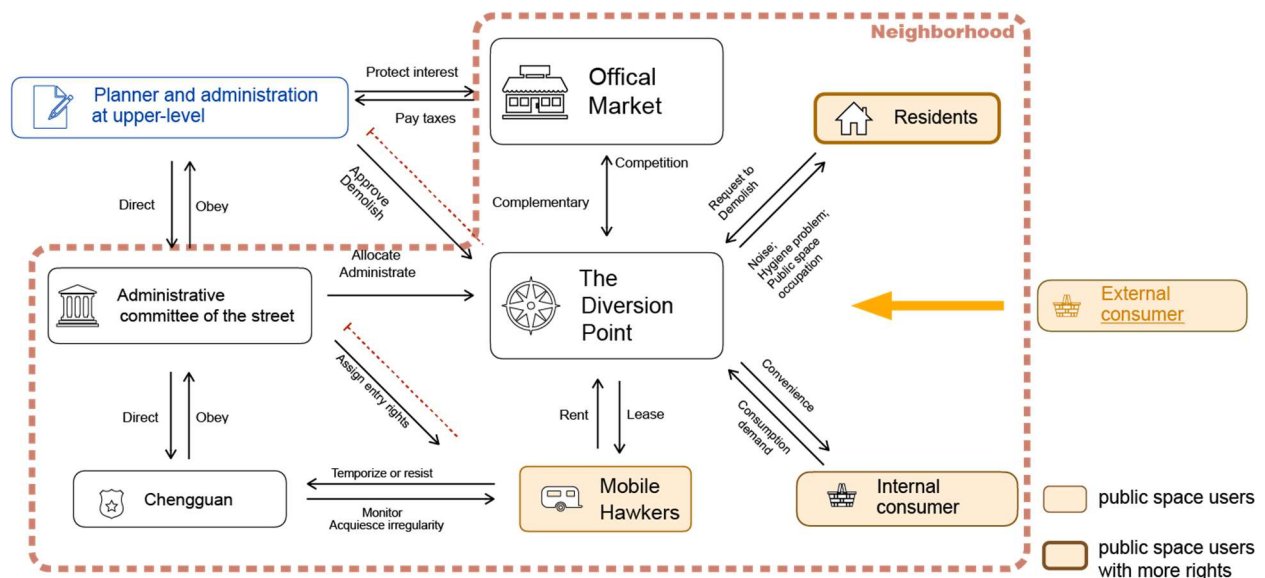


Figure 5-11 The relationship of stakeholders in the Diversion Point for mobile hawkers. (Made by the thesis authors)

The hawking space in the Diversion Points is the **result of multi-interest negotiation and games** with other **stakeholders**. (Figure 5-11) In addition to the spontaneously gathered hawkers, it also involved other actors like surrounding residents, consumers, the competitors or partners in business, the administration members of Chengguan and the street committee, and the decision-makers and planners at the upper level. The diversion area must integrate the attitudes of multiple parties and adjust their interests and expectations, thus reducing the conflicts and solving problems in the implementation. Therefore, only a few successful cases can consider the publicity and privacy in the public space, accommodate mobile vendors' flexible characteristics, and keep the direction of the macro plan.

It is evident that under this model, **the diversion model of rule-based policy** can only realize a temporary formalization for hawkers and **cannot completely transfer them from the informal sector to the formal one**. The main reason is direct to **the current national political system**, in which the power of **the hierarchical administration** is ascending from top to bottom. Decisions made by superiors can directly overrule subordinates. In addition, the informal sectors **have few channels to apply for their demands and the unequal right of the discourse** given by the authorities compared to other groups. At present, the hawkers can only obtain the temporary entry right of the formal sector or pay the price to play a game with other stakeholders.

The informal sector is a product of urban development, and cities are learning to listen to the voices of disadvantaged groups and accommodate their externalities. We believe that Guangzhou's Diversion Point program has already **demonstrated inclusiveness** for marginalized groups and **respect for spontaneous order** in the informal public space. Besides, the implementation and the social effects tell it is a **feasible solution** in Chinese cities. However, the policy cannot change the weak position of the hawker in the multi-stakeholder network, which indirectly resulted in the **unsustainability** of the project. Regarding **the lack of discourse channels** for hawkers, someone suggested that the current network can **invite a third-party** organization to establish a communication platform for multi-stakeholders and assist the administration in optimizing the diversion model. Others proposed that **hawkers organize their management system** to consolidate cohesion within the sector and set external support and recognition for the informal economy. We consider the solutions should not be easy to implement due to the complexity of the multi-stakeholder relationship with the hawkers and probably encounter resistance from all directions. The planner and the administration should put them on tables and carefully study them on a case-by-case basis.

5.3 THE NEW MOBILE HAWKING POLICIES IN THE POST-PANDEMIC PERIOD

In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic caused a global recession. On June 1 of that year, Premier Li Keqiang caused a stir in China when he sent out a political signal to release the restriction on mobile vending during an inspection tour of Shandong province. However, the government has already decided to open the hawking economy to alleviate the job market crisis long before. In March 2020, the General Office of the State Council proposed to set up a reasonable management model for vendors without fixed business premises and reserve free markets and business outlets. Besides, a specific policy released on May 27 by the Central Commission for Guiding Cultural and Ethical Progress Office clarified that the assessment of civilized cities in 2020 should include the street market and the mobile hawkers. Before that, the evaluation of civilized cities in the past three years can serve as the brand target of Chinese city marketing and represent the achievements of local governments in urban governance. The evaluation criteria can directly affect local governance policies. The standards reform has greatly re-flourished the informal hawking economy in Chinese cities.

Since 2015, the state has carried out administration reform by streamlining administration, delegating power, strengthening regulation, and optimizing public services. It aimed to transform administrative departments from traditional institutions to service-oriented ones, which set the fundamental for the country loosens the shackle and share economy to make by 2020. The streamlining of administration reflects the integration of multiple licenses in the business system, reducing the difficulty for mobile hawkers operating without business licenses to enter the market. Second, separating certificates from business licenses simplifies the process of administrative approval and transfers the authority of local governments to the market. Moreover, in terms of fiscal taxation, the state has given tax cuts to micro and small enterprises, cleaned up tax categories, standardized the restoration of industry associations, and avoided the formation of industry monopoly. In these respects, the economic policy transformation in recent years has been beneficial to developing the mobile hawking economy.

As of June 4, 2020, more than 50 cities across the country clarified that they would support the recovery and development of the hawking economy and open up the hawking economy to varying degrees. According to the number of policies and measures introduced in the report, the regions with **more open** policies were concentrated in **central and southwest China**. (Figure 5-12) In March, Chengdu took the lead in promulgating the policy of deregulation of the hawking economy, which aroused widespread concern across the country. Thirty-five thousand hawking booths solved about 100,000 jobs at one time. On May 27, Shaanxi Province announced to open temporary stalls in concentrated residential areas, where mobile hawkers can operate in fixed hours. Zhejiang Province issued a provincial-level notice to develop the night-time economy vigorously, simplify the approval process, establish mobile vending points without fixed locations, and reserve free markets and outlets for hawkers.⁶

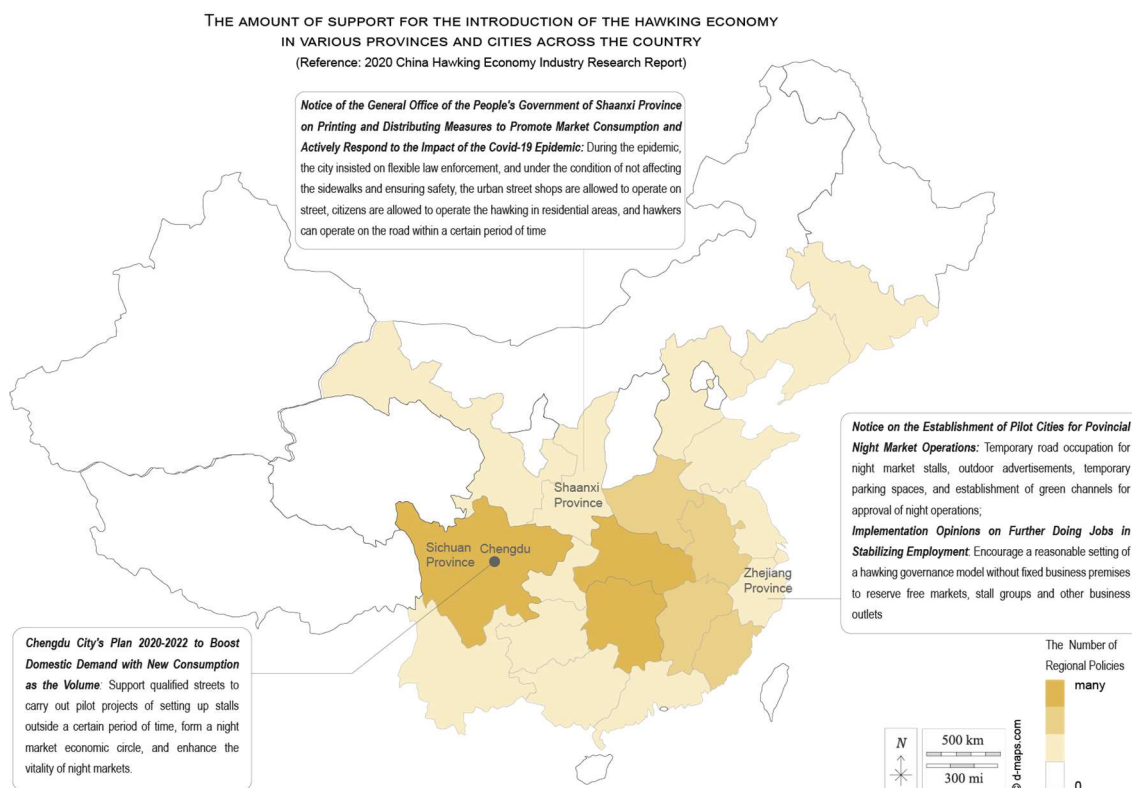


Figure 5-12 The amount of support policies for introducing the hawking economy in various provinces and cities across the country. Reference: 2020 China Hawking Economy Industry Research Report. (Made by the thesis authors)

⁶ Forward research institute (2020) *China Hawking Economy Industry Research Report 2020*. <http://bg.qianzhan.com>

The economic measures issued by cities in various regions actively responded to the economic crisis under the epidemic. Compared with the past, the policies in **East China and Central China** no longer emphasize the regularization of mobile hawkers but **instead affirm the flexible characteristics**. The policy mainly adopts careful site selection to establish pilots for temporary hawking economy and simplify the approval process to open channels for vendors to enter the market. Citizens can easily apply for a business license and start their own business at the hawking points allocated by the government. The hawking points have special managers to supervise and maintain order. Besides, the policy was more inclined to open the night economy, ensure the normal operation of urban traffic functions during the day, and use the hawking economy as an additional sub-employment to solve the family's economic crisis and stimulate local market consumption.



Figure 5-13 Temporary hawking point for mobile hawkers in Ruichang City, Hunan province. From https://m.thepaper.cn/wifiKey_detail.jsp?contid=7685030&from=wifiKey#



Figure 5-14 Citizens buy fruits and vegetables in the temporary hawking points in Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province. From *Xinhua.cn*: http://m.xinhuanet.com/sn/2020-06/03/c_1126067984.htm

However, we can also clearly see the **uneven development** between cities from the figure. Especially in cities with **slower economic** development outside of southeast and southern China, urban measures in other regions emphasized the hawking economy's formalization, limiting the right to set up stalls only to large shopping malls and regular shops but not mobile hawkers. In addition, the hawking economy policy was only at the stage of policy-making. Only **the economically developed cities** in the coastal areas of East China have the purpose of developing long-term policies and governance models for the hawking economy's future development and having practical plans to incorporate it into the economic system. Other cities were mostly temporary measures and trial operations without long-term planning.

6 THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING AND THE RETHINK OF THE GOVERNANCE MODE

6.1 MEGACITIES AND NEIGHBORHOOD BASED DIVERSIFIED CO-GOVERNANCE

Megacity governance has become a global issue. From the perspective of urban planning, the current megacities governance faces three challenges:

- a. h provision;
- b. the sustainable development of risk management and control;
- c. the system construction of multiple co-governance.

The United Nations proposed the concept of Good Governance in its 1997 report. It believes that the evaluation criteria of future urban governance are *the principles of participation, openness, transparency, responsiveness, and fairness*. Among them, *participation* is the foundation of good governance. A co-governance system composed of the government, enterprises, social organizations, and resident self-governments is an ideal way to meet the diverse needs of society.

In recent years, the failure of grassroots neighborhood governance seems to have become a consensus in China. The government issued the document "Opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on Strengthening and Improving Urban and Rural Community Governance" in 2017. In the same year, the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China put forward "to create a social governance pattern of joint construction, joint governance and sharing", requiring "to promote the focus of social governance to move down to the grassroots level", and the key is to "transform the way of social governance and strengthen the

construction of neighborhood governance system".¹ Many cities must seek breakthroughs in content and methods in neighborhood planning, improve local environmental quality, cultural heritage, financial support, multi-governance, and other governance elements and coordination mechanisms. The government plays an active role in urban governance compatible with the informal economy. In addition, the municipal administration is attempting to become public service providers and assigning public resources as evenly as possible to support disadvantaged minority groups.

As the basic unit of urban life, the neighborhood is the spatial carrier of residents' daily activities and the practice place of national governance and local self-governance. Grassroots neighborhoods are keys to meeting governance challenges in megacities. As we can see from the above, the communities where mobile hawkers exist have high complexity and diversity. Only within the neighborhood can quickly respond to the large, dynamic, and differentiated living demands of residents and regulate the behavior of members. And through long-term internal interactions, people build social capital, including trust, solidarity, mutual assistance, volunteerism, and respect.²

However, we can see the starting point of the rule-based hawking policy is to commercialize space that opposes the characteristics of flexibility and mobility of hawkers, regardless of the advantages in urban survival for the minorities with few resources. The government can take care of disadvantaged groups through partial interest concessions and tax exemptions. The inferior administration can also apply humanized flexible management to monitor the hawking space. Even though these measures can work in a period, the rule-based governance model could abort due to the complex relationship and

¹ Ge, T. (2019), *Three Logics and Theoretical Synthesis of Community Governance Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China*, Social Policy Research 2019(1), http://www.cssn.cn/shx/202001/t20200120_5081488.shtml

² Yang, C. (2021), *Community Planning Approaches for Megacity Governance*, UPI Urban Planning International 2021(6), DOI : 10.19830/j.upi.2021.561 <https://read01.com/zOyGeMB.html#.Yk0WKOhBxEY>

rough treatment with other stakeholders. Hence, it is probably unsuitable for long-term governance.

Some view informality as the result of the state's excessive control of the people, in which measures should increase the government's costs and inspire people to resist. The state needs just a legal bottom line but not coercive intervention. Contrarily, it also led to the decline of the government's credibility and functional effectiveness. The government will encounter obstacles in implementing any legal measures in the future. Hence, the letting it goes solution is the retroversion of the urban administrative system rather than the progress, and it is inappropriate to the national condition. Therefore, we believe that the key to solving the issue of mobile hawkers in megacities lies in the neighborhood where they live on.

6.2 THE INTEGRATION OF THE HAWKING SPACE WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING

The hawkers' spatial distribution has the feature of aggregation on a small scale benefited from the neighborhood effect. A good neighborhood is the foundation of a good city. Great neighborhoods contribute to the external attraction and internal vitality while allowing the city to respond to an ever-changing world. In 2011, the UK introduced the neighborhood development plan as a new planning layer in the urban planning system. The shift demonstrates **the dual methodologies**: on the one hand, **centralizing power promotes** the development from the top; on the other hand, devolving **other powers down** to the local. (Shen, Y. & et al., 2021) The interaction between the two can characterize the new urban pattern. The system gives autonomy to neighborhood building and promotes spontaneous order forming the space. Integrating vendor spaces with neighborhood planning can allow them to maintain maximum mobility and flexibility within the neighborhoods they live. Therefore, the original intention of the planning **from the perspective of the community** can regard the hawking space **building as a strategy** to increase the vitality and diversity of the neighborhood, helping the community build communication with the outside world to achieve spatial continuity. Thus, the hawking space **can avoid the formality standards** intuitive from the upper power.

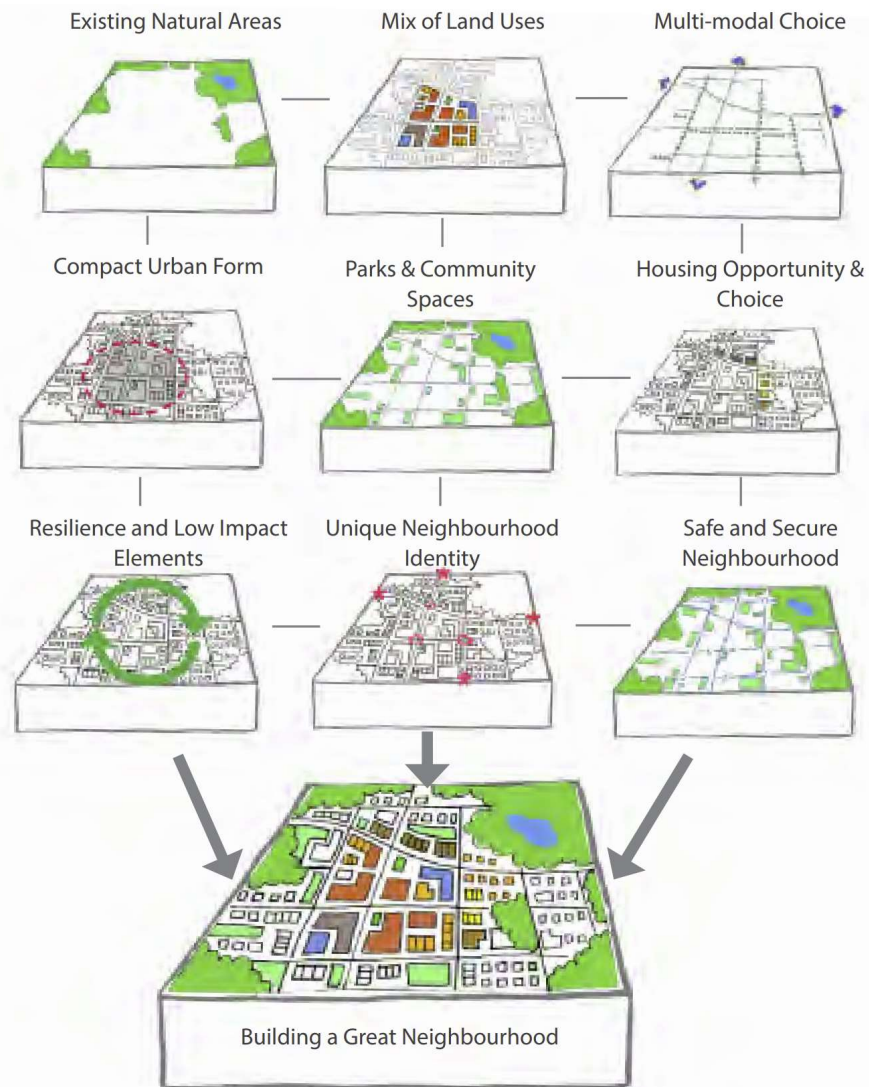


Figure 6-1 Integrating the key components and layers within a neighborhood. Reference from: Red Deer City Council, MASP (2013) *Red Deer Neighborhood Planning & Design Standards 2013*

The sustainable development community consists of various key components and layers. (Fig.6.1.1) Two key principles can bring positives to the housing space distribution. One is the **mix of land use** that provides residents with various options to live, learn, work, and play; the other is **the multi-modal choice** that offers mobility choices for residents to travel with the neighborhood. ³Due to these, we can ©:

³ Red Deer City Council, MASP (2013) *Red Deer Neighborhood Planning & Design Standards 2013*, <https://www.reddeer.ca/business/planning/neighbourhood-planning/>

- a) First, hawking spaces can distribute in the main road of the system combined with the **road network and key neighborhood nodes**. The design should be mixed-use with abundant public resources and active uses, have a good pedestrian experience and be easily accessible by bicycle and foot from the surrounding residential neighborhood. However, the scale in the neighborhood should not be too large, and the best block length is not over 200m.
- b) Second, **the streets should design in multiple modes** based on the environmental context, in which users can define and determine how to use the street. As we studied in Chapter 4, the street has **a good pedestrian experience** appropriate to the hawking space. The sidewalk should have an appropriate aspect ratio in the section. The edge element plays the role of facades by the greenery and non-physical isolation, where the flexible street furniture accommodating hawkers is place. Hence, the allocation of the hawking points should attend the context, such as not occupying the outdoor business area of regular stores.
- c) Then, the hawking point should use **non-physical boundaries** to determine **the hawking-use area**, such as using colors or a slight slope. There should be **signage with a certain height** in the hawking-use area by converting street greenery or furniture. During non-operation hours, the hawking point can accommodate other users for alternative purposes.
- d) Furthermore, street managers can provide vendors with a range of **commodity types and operation time** but are **not obligated**. If hawkers want to operate beyond the scope, they need to apply to the manager first, and they can do the business after having permission.
- e) Finally, the hawking space can also be inserted in the **open public space of the neighborhood, as a temporary market and night market**, as a temporary or specific public event organized by the community, as a means of attracting outsiders and commercial resources to publicize and radiate influence. Besides, organizers can recruit designers to achieve a unified visual design for hawkers' booths to enhance the identification of the neighborhood.

China is converting the urban planning system under the turning point in urban development. The introduction of neighborhood planning has far-reaching significance for developing new urban areas and regenerating the existing urban space, particularly addressing the fragmented geography of enclaves. First of all, the centralized power descends in a waterfall with the hierarchical administrative mechanism, and its effectiveness should drop little when it reaches the bottom. Besides, the humanized governance of grassroots workers is also unstable. Neighborhood planning can effectively avoid these two defects. Secondly, the community as a planning unit provides residents with various activities and multiple modes of use. The mixed-use of land is the foundation for the neighborhood to build a sustainable ecosystem that accommodates the diverse needs of different residents. The connectivity of the road network and nodes increases the accessibility of the area and options to travel. Besides, the neighborhood also needs an external interface by extending the network and the entrance identity design. The neighborhood center with a compact pattern in a shrunk scale creates a centripetal force, where the users determine and define the environmental context. Based on these design principles, neighborhood planning can transform the residents' demand for the hawking economy into the hawking space embedded in the pedestrian path and public spaces. Using their advantageous characteristics enhances the street's pedestrian experience and the neighborhood's vitality generating external attraction.

6.3 SELF-ORGANIZATION OF HAWKERS

Mobile vendors spontaneously form self-organization similar to a labor union, which can safeguard the interests of the group and restrain the behavior of internal members. Self-organization strengthens cohesion within the industry, ensures compliance with conventions, promotes representation as a group to communicate with other stakeholders, and negotiates solutions with management. Street vendors in some areas have formed organizations through WeChat chat groups but have not played their due role as a union. In the future socialized mobile vendors governance mode, the administration can guide hawkers to form internal organizations and join the management system to play a role.

6.4 THE HUMANIZED ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS

Chinese cities have the characteristics of Humane governance from historical development. Under the rule of law, modern society does not rely on institutionalized governance. The regulation of mobile street vendors shows more extrajudicial mercy because the public has a heartfelt partiality to the vulnerable groups. On the premise that it does not infringe on public interests and is illegal, public opinion protects disadvantaged groups.

Moreover, humane governance can adjust and avoid the strict implementation of policies in the hierarchical structure of The Chinese government, and it is still an indispensable management mode for the current system. Humanized management lies in "Handle special cases with special methods," which requires grassroots governments to have good credibility and discretion. There will be an abuse of power outside supervision while adopting humane management, so people must have a dialogue channel with the higher government. Otherwise, fairness and justice are only a few cases.

7 CONCLUSION

Street hawkers' legal status and business space have temporarily revived in the post-epidemic era. However, we also noticed that the region faced adaptability difficulties in implementing macro policies. Due to uneven geographical development and economic capacity gaps between urban areas, many local authorities and grassroots workers cannot understand the meaning behind national policies; their implementation is immature and cross-border. For example, many urban management officers who used to patrol and drive away street hawkers then called to persuade them to return to the streets, to do superficial work in response to the state's call. We recognized that the problems of the identity of the street vendors, the high flexibility of the business space, and the quality of goods still exist. After the releasing employment difficulties, most cities should return to their previous state. In addition, the municipal administration has a lot of arbitrariness in temporarily selecting areas, lacking scientific research and systematic analysis and decision-making. The random allocation of hawking spaces leads to areas that oppose hawkers' and consumers' needs, leaving hawkers to return to former locations.

The hawking economy has absorbed many low-income people for the city. The main body is the rural migrants affected by urban capitalization and the state institutive transition's victims. Most people only maintain urban life through various self-reliance, rather than blindly demanding public resources and benefits that they should enjoy. Moreover, the form of outdoor business is the inheritance of traditional business, carrying certain cultural traditions, enhancing the vitality of urban outdoor pedestrian space, and the regional cultural charm of the city.

The spatial planning of dual objectives and rule-based mature governance models is far from widespread in China. The neighborhood planning concept proposed in the article is based on the existing rule-based policies and maximizes the retention of the characteristics of mobile hawkers. We've seen the contribution of informality to the urban functioning, and the flexibility and mobility of hawkers are not the regular violations of urban order and the invasion of other commercial interests. The hawkers' spatial

distribution demonstrates in the community-scale aggregation, but the interior flexibility in time and space. Successful hawking spaces always occurred with the community effects.

Advanced space governing technology should have the ability to grasp dynamic activities, but that should not rely on all-around inspecting and monitoring. Some cities with relatively good economic development in China have begun to change their urban development policies and upgrade the governing models to law-based administration and regulation. However, the rule-based policy generally adopts the intervention method of immobility and detailed regulation. Still, it runs counter to the characteristics of hawkers and has no possibility of sustainable development. The main reason is that cities strictly demarcate formal and informal boundaries. If we can see the removal of street vendors from the government's negative list, future space planning can better research how to reveal the real advantages of the hawking economy in urban new patterns.

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