



Analysis of Temporary Spatial Function Transformation at the Baleendah Sunday pop-up Market

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the transformation of temporary space functions at Pasar Minggu Baleendah by integrating Henri Lefebvre's theory of space production and Amos Rapoport's cultural theory. Using a qualitative approach, the research reveals the dialectic between power structures and social practices in converting streets into weekly markets. Lefebvre's framework helps analyze the conflict between representations of space (official urban planning designating the area as a transportation route) and spatial practice (actual economic use) as well as representational space (community's cultural meanings). Meanwhile, Rapoport complements the analysis by exploring environmental elements, particularly the role of semi-fixed features (stalls, pushcarts) and non-fixed features (social interactions) in creating adaptive spaces. Findings indicate that this market represents not merely a zoning violation, but an alternative space production reflecting community resilience against urban restrictions. Its spatial flexibility follows local cultural logic prioritizing economic needs and social networks. The study critiques rigid urban planning approaches and proposes more inclusive governance models for temporary spaces. By combining Lefebvre-Rapoport perspectives, this research contributes to urban studies in understanding informal space dynamics.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Densely populated areas in Indonesia have seen the spontaneous emergence of *pasar kaget* (pop-up markets), which represent a unique circulation of buying and selling activities within limited urban spaces and under economic pressure or opportunity. These markets simultaneously function as sites of social and cultural interaction. One notable example for architectural spatial analysis is the Sunday Market in Baleendah, Bandung. Operating every Sunday morning, this market takes over public roads that on weekdays serve as major inter-regional vehicle routes. The market has existed for over 30 years, continuing to operate every week regardless of national holidays or religious celebrations such as Ramadan and Eid. This phenomenon offers a compelling case for examining temporary spatial transformations from an architectural perspective.

The *pasar kaget* phenomenon represents informal economic activity that organically shapes informal spaces within both urban and suburban environments. These markets attract people from various social backgrounds due to their strategic locations, ease of access, high mobility, and strong connectivity. Despite a relatively low level of security, they meet economic needs and serve as spaces where small vendors can compete with large scale businesses. Therefore, it is crucial to explore how communities respond to such markets to understand the factors driving their growth, as well as the social and spatial impacts on surrounding environments.

The emergence of traditional markets, including *pasar kaget*, reflects the increasing need to meet daily necessities. The rise in population mobility also contributes to the presence of markets embedded within local communities (Listihana et al., 2020).

Henri Lefebvre, as a social theorist, grounded his thinking in the realities of the society he lived in. His critical reflections contributed significantly to the development of urban sociology (Sugiyono, 2022). According to Paulus's interpretation of Lefebvre, the concept of a city is not merely a physical entity or a social network, but a complex blend of social, economic, infrastructural, ethical, and cultural dimensions (Biagi, 2020).

Space, in this sense, is defined by human interactions through activity and visual experience. It is formed through lived experiences and reflects a dialectic between spatial reality and its representation. Furthermore, space is subjective—perceived uniquely by individuals, groups, or communities.

The pasar kaget Sunday Market in Baleendah appears every Sunday morning until noon along Kiastramanggala Street and Anggadireja Street, near monument Tugu Juang and Al-Ihsan Regional Hospital. As a form of spontaneous economic activity, it provides business opportunities for lower-middle-income residents to sell various goods. Beyond its economic function, the market also acts as a social space that strengthens community interaction and has become an essential part of local life and the economy.

The concept of the market is multidimensional and can be analyzed through economic, social, cultural, and political lenses. Economically, the market is understood as a meeting point between supply and demand a construct that has evolved alongside society's transformation into a capitalist system (Febrianti, 2024). This necessitates spatial flexibility and small vendor friendly environments. Consequently, market management policies should not only enforce spatial regulations but also promote sanitation awareness and provide sustainable trading facilities (Mahendra et al., 2025).

Four core principles define the nature of public space. First, it must serve as a venue for community interaction. Second, it must be inclusive and accessible to all. Third, it should accommodate the needs of diverse groups regardless of age, gender, or physical ability.

Fourth, public space must reflect *publicness*, or a true sense of shared ownership and access (Natsir et al., 2022).

To improve environmental quality, both government and local communities maximize the use of open spaces and implement *Car Free Day* every Sunday, allowing residents to enjoy the urban environment free from air pollution and traffic noise (Saputro et al., 2024).

Markets have evolved from ancient trading posts to modern community hubs, reflecting shifts in social interaction and urban planning (Sultanova, 2023). While architectural design and market behavior theories offer insight into consumer interaction, they may overlook the cognitive biases influencing consumers and regulators highlighting the need for a more integrated approach to market behavior and spatial design (Dudley & Xie, 2020).

On the other hand, some argue that although architectural design can influence behavior, individual agency and cultural factors also play crucial roles in shaping urban interaction. This perspective underscores the complexity of urban behavior beyond mere design elements (Creutzig & Reisch, 2024).



Figure 1. Morning street atmosphere around Al-Ihsan Regional Hospital on Sunday
(Source: Author, 2025)

Each actor involved in the operation of the weekly market holds specific roles and interests that must be managed to ensure the market's long-term sustainability. This management is carried out through an actor-oriented process that includes the formulation of rules and regulations aligned with the ideas, goals, and interests of the stakeholders, as well as with the values, norms, and cultural practices embedded in the community. Key aspects of managing the weekly market include licensing, fees, financial administration, sanitation, vendor organization, security, mobility, and public relations most of which are handled by local residents serving as operational staff for the market (Styawan & Rahman, 2021).

A continuous mechanism is required to integrate social capital, urban space, and natural capital in order to build a sustainable urban society. The goal of societal sustainability is to achieve intergenerational equity in the distribution of development outcomes while maintaining ecological balance. This involves the responsible use of renewable resources, avoidance of overexploitation of non-renewable resources, and efforts to preserve environmental sustainability (Kibukho, 2021).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a descriptive qualitative study employing a phenomenological approach. This approach is used to understand the meaning of space as created and experienced by the community within the context of informal markets, specifically the Pasar Minggu Baleendah. Through the phenomenological lens, the study aims to reveal how people create, utilize, and interpret informal market spaces in their everyday lives.

Rather than viewing space merely as a physical entity, this study perceives it as a social product as articulated by Henri Lefebvre in his theory of the production of space and as the result of interaction between humans and their environment, as explained by Amos Rapoport through the environment-behavior studies approach. Accordingly, the Pasar Kaget (pop-up market) space is understood as a living and dynamic space shaped by the community's social, cultural, and economic practices.

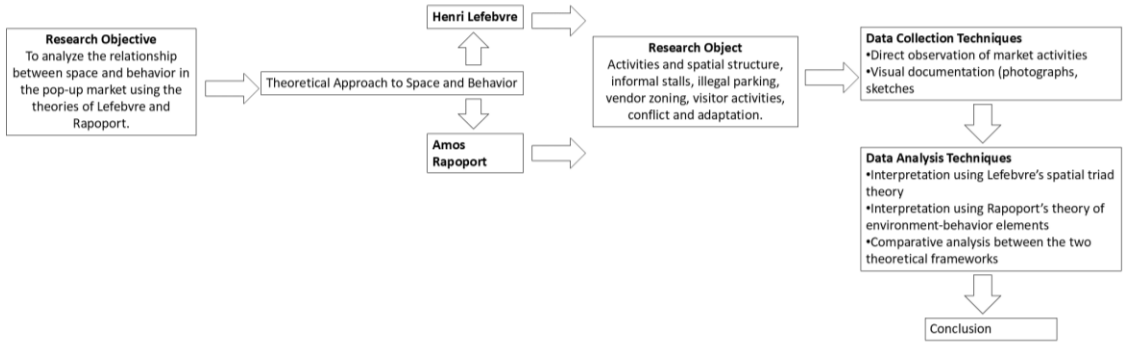


Table 1. Research Method Diagram
(Source: Author's Analysis, 2025)

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Location and Activity Description

This *pasar kaget* (pop-up market) is located in Bandung Regency, specifically in Baleendah the most densely populated district in the regency. The market appears every Sunday morning until noon along Kiastramanggala Street and Anggadireja Street, between the Tugu Juang Monument and Al-Ihsan Regional Hospital. This route serves as one of the main roads connecting the areas of Majalaya and Banjaran.

A wide range of activities takes place in this area, including buying and selling, exercising, socializing, and engaging in spontaneous commercial opportunities such as residents informally offering parking services. The formation of this market initially occurred spontaneously and unintentionally. On regular weekdays, street food vendors were already present around the hospital and monument. Over time, the increase in people coming to exercise near the Tugu Juang Monument on Sunday mornings attracted more individuals looking for commercial opportunities.

Eventually, this spontaneous activity evolved into a routine cultural and economic event, occurring every Sunday, and has continued to grow in scale with more vendors participating each year and the market area expanding accordingly.



Figure 2. Location Viewed from Map
(Source: Google Earth, 2025)

3.2 Government Intervention

As of the time this article was written, there are no formal regulations or policies from the Bandung Regency local government specifically addressing the existence of the Baleendah Sunday Market. However, there are certain restricted zones where trading is prohibited, such as the area directly in front of Al-Ihsan Regional Hospital.

The market has grown spontaneously and organically, operating without formal permits, yet it continues to occur regularly every week. The government's stance appears to be ambiguous on one hand, they do not prohibit or forcibly disperse the market activities, but on the other hand, they also fail to provide basic urban infrastructure such as trash bins, public restrooms, parking areas, or proper zoning.

This creates a gray area between legal and illegal urban space. This situation aligns with Henri Lefebvre's concept of space as a social product, formed through resistance to dominant or officially planned space. In this case, the market represents a grassroots form of space production by the community itself.



Figure 3. Zoning Location Viewed from Map
(Source: Google Earth and Author's Analysis, 2025)

The buying and selling activities, along with the lack of designated parking spaces, have led the community to create improvised parking areas in vacant lots or along the roadside. This has resulted in a mutually beneficial relationship between landowners and nearby shops, indirectly increasing visitor traffic to the area.

More than just a shopping venue, the Tugu Baleendah Market has also become a recreational destination. Visitors are not only shopping, but also enjoying the fresh air and scenic views of Mount Batu's foothills. Additionally, many come to engage in sports activities such as group aerobics, cycling, or jogging (Ginasari, Nindya Putri, 2022).

3.3 Implications for Urban Planning

The existence of the Baleendah Sunday Market reflects the need for adaptive spatial planning that accommodates informal activities emerging from community needs. This market shows that public spaces are not solely functional according to urban zoning plans, but are also reinterpreted by society as social, economic, and cultural spaces.

Although the market operates temporarily, its regular presence demands policies that allow for spatial flexibility while maintaining order, cleanliness, and urban safety. Thus, it is essential for local governments to formulate regulations that support informal public spaces through participatory and contextual approaches, in order to build inclusive and sustainable cities.

Streets serve as access routes for people to move from one place to another, whether by vehicle or on foot. They are equipped with complementary components designed to serve all users efficiently. However, the phenomenon of public spaces shifting into private ones appears to be inevitable. In some cases, this transformation is driven by economic, artistic, and cultural activities (Hantono & Ariantantrie, 2018).



Figure 4. Pop-up Market During Peak Hours
(Source: Personal Documentation, 2025)

3.4 Opportunities and Challenges

Pop-up markets such as the Pasar Minggu Baleendah offer various opportunities and development potential that can stimulate the local economy. These temporary markets encourage the growth of micro and small enterprises (MSMEs), provide access to informal trade, and serve as social interaction spaces as well as affordable and easily accessible entertainment. However, several challenges and issues still need to be addressed. The activities of the Baleendah pop-up market often disrupt traffic flow and pedestrian mobility due to the unplanned and unauthorized use of roads and sidewalks. Waste accumulation after market activities, due to poor waste management, poses a serious issue that affects the environment and the city's aesthetics.

Additionally, spatial conflicts with formal users such as shop owners, landowners, or the local government may arise due to the ambiguous stance of the authorities. Therefore, clear and adaptive spatial management policies are needed to balance the community's economic needs with the requirements of urban order and regulation.

The market's lack of formal recognition by the sub-district government is another factor that hinders the implementation of community empowerment through the development of Pasar Tugu Baleendah's spatial governance. This location has existed since 1986 and has become an iconic site in the Baleendah area, frequently visited by the Regent and various Bandung Regency government departments such as the Department of Trade and Industry, the Department of Cooperatives and MSMEs, and even the Department of Tourism over the years (Ginasari, Nindya Putri, 2022).

The existence of this pop-up market causes road users to experience a significant change in activity levels from morning to evening. This condition creates several problems, such as a lack of cleanliness in the market area, disorganized vendor layouts, and a very crowded

atmosphere that causes discomfort for road users passing through Jalan Kampung Gusti (Hantono, Butudoka, Prakoso, & Yulisaksono, 2019).



Figure 5. Transformation of Road Shoulder into Parking Area
(Source: Personal Documentation, 2025)

3.5 Characteristics of Pasar Minggu Baleendah

Vendors at Pasar Minggu Baleendah begin arriving as early as 05:00, using various modes of transportation such as private vehicles, motorcycles, public transportation, pickup trucks, motorized rickshaws, pushcarts, and others. They typically take about an hour to set up their stalls and goods, usually until around 06:00. During this time, visitors also begin to arrive, with foot traffic peaking between 09:00 and 11:00. Around the time of the Dhuhr call to prayer, at approximately 12:00, vendors gradually begin packing up their merchandise and preparing to leave.



Figure 6. Vendors Preparing Their Goods at Dawn
(Source: Personal Documentation, 2025)

This pop-up market offers a wide variety of goods, ranging from snacks and ready-to-eat meals, vegetables, fruits, clothing for men, women, and children, toys, accessories, to household items. Additionally, raw cooking ingredients such as fish and chicken, kitchen utensils, bags, sandals and shoes, tools, and even live animals like rabbits, hamsters, chickens, and fish are also available. The diversity of goods sold has turned this pop-up market into both a vital economic hub and a lively social space within the area.

Ultimately, this phenomenon illustrates that space is never static it continuously reproduces itself. The forces of capital, believing they can fully control space, are eventually confronted by the reality of the *lived space*. The production of abstract space always leaves behind residues, which become the foundation for generating new spaces social spaces (Setiawan, 2024).

The most commonly used type of stall for food and beverage vendors is the pushcart, which allows sellers to move easily from place to place. Temporary tents made of waterproof tarps are often used by clothing and accessory sellers to protect their goods from sun and

rain. Some vendors spread their products on mats or simple coverings, especially those selling small items like toys, accessories, or agricultural produce. Others use tables and racks typically made of wood or metal for a more structured display; these are popular due to their ease of setup and removal. Finally, some sellers carry their goods using baskets or shoulder poles, moving around the market to reach customers directly.

For certain segments of the community, the pop-up market is seen as a solution offering more affordable prices. For lower-income residents, it often serves as the primary option for shopping. This condition pushes the government to seek appropriate responses, such as deploying officers to manage traffic and regulate vendor activities in strategic locations. Despite the lack of formal facilities, these vendors fighting daily for their livelihoods are, in essence, life warriors for their families.



Figure 7. Various types of vendor setups
(Source: Personal documentation, 2025)

3.6 Conflicts and Adaptations

Various conflicts have arisen due to the presence of the pop-up market. The closure of roads for market activities hinders vehicle access and causes severe traffic congestion, particularly since the roads around the market serve as main routes connecting Banjaran, Baleendah, and Majalaya. Additionally, sanitation is a concern, as leftover waste is often left behind or piles up in the market area. Bamboo stalls that are left standing daily along the roadside contribute to a disorganized urban environment.

On the other hand, incidents of crime such as pickpocketing and vehicle theft continue to occur, raising public concern. Public transportation vehicles stopping carelessly further worsen the traffic jams around the market. Issues such as extortion targeting vendors and the presence of unregulated and haphazard parking also pose significant challenges to managing the market effectively.



Figure 8. Issues such as waste and abandoned bamboo stalls
(Source: Personal Documentation, 2025)

In addition to the transformation of roads into commercial areas, various other spatial function changes have occurred around the pop-up market. The road shoulders, originally designated for traffic safety, have been converted into informal parking spaces or stops for public transportation such as angkot (minivans). Sidewalks, which should serve pedestrians, are repurposed as vendor stalls or places to display goods. Vacant lots and open spaces, such as former car wash sites or unused land, are utilized for parking motorcycles and cars or for spontaneous trading. Furthermore, previously unused spaces are now serving as social areas for local residents, gathering points, and informal waiting areas for both buyers and sellers.

These changes illustrate how public spaces spontaneously adapt to the economic and social activities of the community, creating a mutualistic symbiosis where vendors and local residents rely on and benefit from one another. Although this often disregards the original functions and urban planning regulations, such adaptations highlight the socio-economic dynamics that reinforce community bonds and sustain the continuity of the market's activities.

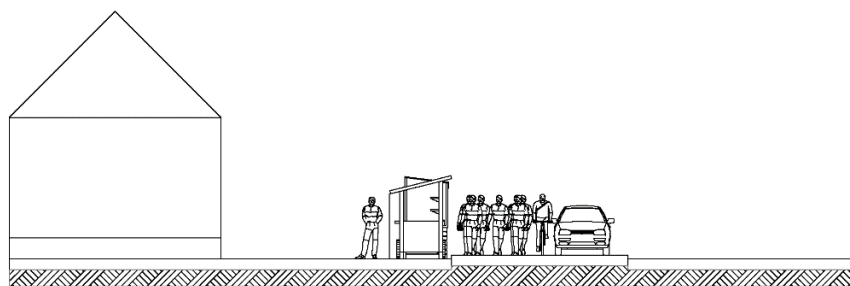


Figure 9. Spatial adaptation on the street between pedestrians, vendors, and vehicles
(Source: Personal illustration, 2025)

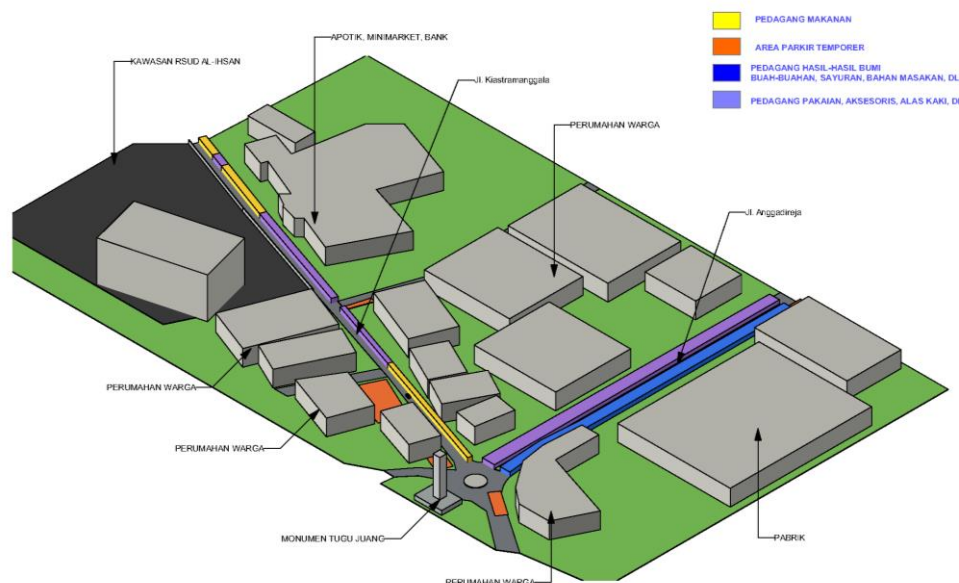


Figure 10. Vendor segmentation space in the Baleendah Sunday Market
(Source: Personal documentation, 2025)

The surveyed vendors primarily originate from the Baleendah District. When expressed as a percentage, only about 30% of the traders are residents of Baleendah District. This figure can serve as a reference point for the market coordinator and the subdistrict head to increase local interest in entrepreneurship and commerce. The subdistrict government is actively promoting entrepreneurship and expanding the number of business actors in the Baleendah area through the "Baleendah Bedas Ekonomi" program, which is being increasingly

disseminated to the public through village and urban neighborhood offices in Baleendah District (Ginasari, Nindya Putri, 2022).

3.7 Henri Lefebvre's Theory Applied to Pasar Minggu Baleendah

Henri Lefebvre, in his seminal work *The Production of Space* (1991), offers a critical perspective that space is neither neutral nor passive, but rather a dynamic product of social construction. He challenges the traditional view of space as a mere physical entity and instead emphasizes that space is produced through complex interactions between social, political, economic, and cultural forces.

Lefebvre distinguishes the production of space into three interrelated dimensions:

1. Spatial Practice (Perceived Space)
This refers to the material and practical dimension of space, manifested in everyday activities. In the context of a temporary market, this includes circulation patterns, stall distribution, and the routines of both vendors and visitors. Spatial practice reflects how space is physically organized to fulfill functional needs.
2. Representations of Space (Conceived Space)
This dimension refers to space as represented in formal discourse, such as zoning regulations, architectural designs, or government policies. In the case of Pasar Minggu, it is reflected in how the layout and usage of the market are (or are not) planned by authorities, expressing structures of power and control.
3. Representational Space (Lived Space)
This is the space as experienced subjectively by its users, filled with symbolic meanings, memories, and cultural practices. In the temporary market context, this dimension is evident in the spontaneous adaptations by vendors, social interactions, and local values that shape the identity of the space.

Lefebvre emphasizes that space is not merely a static container, but a dialectical product of these three dimensions. The conflict or transformation of space, as observed in Pasar Minggu Baleendah, can be understood as a clash between spatial practices of the community, the conceived space imposed by authorities, and the lived space shaped by collective experiences. This approach is particularly relevant for analyzing the transformation of temporary markets, which often involve negotiation between formal interests and informal practices.



Figure 11. Area originally intended as a vehicle lane in front of Al-Ihsan Regional Hospital
Source: Personal documentation, 2025

3.8 Amos Rapoport's Theory and Pasar Minggu Baleendah

In the past, architecture was predominantly guided by designs created by architects. Houses or structures not designed by professionals were often disregarded as valid subjects for design studies. However, with the evolution of architectural thought, Amos Rapoport

offered a new perspective. He proposed that built environments like houses are design products shaped by local contexts and environmental conditions, not merely the work of architects (Putrawan et al., 2022).

While Rapoport's theory provides a comprehensive framework for understanding urban space, some critics argue that it may overlook the complexity of economic and political forces that also shape urban environments. This highlights the need for a multi-faceted approach to urban studies, incorporating various theoretical perspectives (Koch, 2024).

Basic Concepts of Rapoport's Theory

In his theory on *Environment and Behavior*, Amos Rapoport rejects architecture that focuses solely on physical design. He argues that space is formed through culture and human behavior, not merely by the physical structure. He divides the elements that shape environments into three categories:

1. Fixed-Feature Elements
 - Permanent components such as streets, sidewalks, buildings, and urban infrastructure.
 - In Pasar Minggu Baleendah, these include the main roads, sidewalks, and shop buildings, which serve as the physical framework for the market's location.
2. Semi-Fixed Feature Elements
 - Components that are movable or modifiable, such as tents, carts, market tables, and temporary decorations.
 - At the market, these are seen in the form of temporary stalls, which are assembled and dismantled weekly, demonstrating spatial flexibility.
3. Non-Fixed Feature Elements
 - Human activities that bring the space to life social interactions, bargaining, visitor movement patterns, and economic rituals.
 - In Pasar Minggu Baleendah, this is evident in the bustling atmosphere, conversations between vendors and buyers, and social dynamics that make the market feel "alive."

Application in Pasar Minggu Baleendah

This market is a tangible example of how culture shapes space. Although the area was officially planned as a transport corridor (fixed-feature), the community has transformed it into an economic and social space through:

- Physical Adaptation (Semi-Fixed): Vendors use folding tents, carts, and mats to create temporary stalls, reflecting their ability to reshape the environment according to their needs.
- Social Activities (Non-Fixed): Economic transactions, bargaining traditions, and the market's function as a site for social gathering reflect cultural values that are not captured in formal urban design.

Conclusion: Space as a Dynamic Cultural Product

Pasar Minggu Baleendah is not merely a violation of spatial planning, but a manifestation of cultural adaptation in response to economic constraints and urban spatial limitations. Through Rapoport's theory, it becomes clear that this market:

1. Is spatially flexible: Dominated by semi-fixed and non-fixed elements, allowing weekly reconfiguration.
2. Is rooted in social needs: Its function extends beyond economic exchange to become a space of community interaction.
3. Critiques rigid urban planning: Spatial policies often ignore cultural embeddedness, neglecting how deeply culture influences spatial use.



Figure 12. Activities taking place, including social interaction, recreation, sports, and buying and selling
Source: Personal documentation, 2025

3.9 Synthesis and Comparison

The theories of Henri Lefebvre and Amos Rapoport complement each other in analyzing the production of space at the Pasar Minggu Baleendah. Lefebvre, through his triadic concept of space (spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space), highlights the conflict between formal planning discourses that conceptualize roads as transportation zones and the everyday practices of communities who transform these spaces into weekly markets. Meanwhile, Rapoport, with his categorization of environmental elements (fixed-feature, semi-fixed feature, and non-fixed feature elements), explains the cultural adaptation mechanisms that enable such spatial transformations.

Together, these theories reveal that the temporary market is not merely a violation of urban zoning regulations, but rather an alternative form of spatial production born from the complex interactions between power structures, economic needs, and cultural values. On one hand, Lefebvre emphasizes the tension between the authorities' effort to preserve the official function of space and the community's reinterpretation of it as an economic-social arena. On the other hand, Rapoport provides detailed insight into how semi-fixed elements such as tents and carts, along with dynamic activities like bargaining and social interaction, collectively generate a lively and meaningful space.

This combined analysis reveals that the persistence of the market reflects the community's creative resistance to rigid spatial limitations and highlights the adaptive capacity of local culture in responding to urban spatial constraints. The findings challenge conventional urban planning approaches that often overlook socio-cultural dimensions in the production of space and instead advocate for more flexible and participatory spatial policies ones that accommodate deeply rooted community practices in everyday spatial use.

Table 1. Comparison of Henri Lefebvre and Amos Rapoport's Theories

Aspect	Henri Lefebvre	Amos Rapoport
Theoretical Focus	Social production of space	Relationship between behavior, culture, and space
Space is viewed as	A social and political process	A result of cultural adaptation and meaning
Approach to the market	Resistance and negotiation over public space	Temporary spatial adaptation by users
Example in Baleendah	The market as a lived, socially-produced space	Flexible arrangement of tents, carts, and social interaction

(Source: Personal data, 2025)

4. CONCLUSION

Pasar Minggu Baleendah is not merely a symbol of economic activity, but a real and ongoing process of spatial and social production carried out spontaneously and informally by the local community. Through Henri Lefebvre's spatial theory, the market illustrates a flexible and dynamic interaction between planned space shaped by governmental authority and lived space formed through everyday practices of the people. Furthermore, from the perspective of Amos Rapoport, the market reveals how local culture, habitual practices, spatial flexibility, and behavioral dynamics play essential roles in shaping and adapting informal spaces.

This study underlines the urgent need for more dynamic urban planning that genuinely responds to how communities use, experience, and give meaning to space, rather than focusing solely on symbolic or aesthetic ideals. It is hoped that this research will encourage local authorities to acknowledge and formalize the presence of Pasar Kaget in Baleendah by clearly regulating and meeting the spatial needs of the community. This includes providing essential public infrastructure such as trash bins, parking areas, toilets, seating, and clearly defined zones for social and commercial use.

By offering these clarifications and facilities, ambiguities regarding the use of public space can be reduced, helping to minimize future conflicts and recurring spatial issues within the community.

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