

Between Marginalization and Integration – Hawkers on the Streets in Downtown, Amman, Jordan

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ABSTRACT

Hawkers are very common in Jordan and are mostly present in condensed urban areas such as the downtown of Amman. Hawkers in this area suffer due to daily eviction campaigns carried out by Amman Municipality and other parties. They consider them to be the main cause of visual pollution and trouble to shop owners and pedestrians in the downtown area. This study is a field ethnographic study by implementing an embedded design. The study uses qualitative data, which is supported by quantitative data analysed by using the SPSS software. The findings of the study are the result of a deep understanding of the patterns of hawkers using the qualitative methodology, which reveals how hawkers generally obstruct sidewalks by displaying their goods and with their physical presence. The marginalization experienced by hawkers has a great effect on them psychologically and financially because they are on constant alert to evade eviction campaigns, and if arrested they are at risk of losing a large part of their goods, which are sometimes stolen or lost. Results show that there is a correlation between them and that physical defensibility is higher than social defensibility. This research is an appropriate standing point in investigating and developing solutions for this issue in downtown, Amman, Jordan, and similar cases in different settings. The outcome of this study is a comprehensive and descriptive spatial analysis that can provide socio-spatial interpretations and can recommend urban response policies in re-defining the meaning of urban space.

1. INTRODUCTION

Hawkers are social groups that exist largely on commercial streets, consuming a part of the their public space. Hawkers can be defined by their mobility or by their use of public space for economic purposes (Jones and Varley, 1994; Donovan, 2002). They offer services or goods for trade to the public without having a permanent built up structure, but a temporary fixed structure or a mobile stall (Bhowmik, 2005). Hawking is considered a universal phenomenon and can be found worldwide and discrepancies between first, second and third worlds – or developed, transitional and developing economies – are not highlighted, nor stressed. However, it is important to state that hawking

activities are more widely identified in poorer regions and they are highly concentrated in urban areas (Bhowmik, 2005; Sekar, 2007). People are forced into hawking because of rapid urbanisation, inadequate opportunities for formal work and a perpetually increasing population (Husain et al., 2015). Some observers argue that the worldwide number of hawkers is increasing. This is because of both wide-spread, rural migration of low-skilled workers towards cities, along with global economic crises and the deficiency of employment opportunities (Bhowmik, 2005). Generally speaking, the majority of hawkers lack the sufficient skills and education which would enable them to find decent, paid and secure employment in the formal sector. Thus, they end up working in the informal sector

(Sharma, 2015; Roever, 2016). As a concept, the informal sector was established in development theory and policy terminologies in the early 1970s. The term was invented by Keith Hart, who used it primarily to define various forms of self-employment, mainly on the borders of the controlled modern part of the economy and sometimes as technically prohibited and illegal. Discovering the informal sector put forward the idea that the problem in developing economies was not a consequence of unemployment or of under-employment, but rather of the large number of people undertaking low productivity work.

Governmental institutions, such as the Amman Municipality, which is one of the major stakeholders analysed in this study, consider hawkers as problematic, untidy and noisy and a major cause of financial burden to the authorised shop owners. Therefore, the main hypothesis of this research is that the defensibility of local shop owners against hawkers on the streets of Amman downtown is affected by the behaviour of hawkers. However, hawking is the only source of income for this socioeconomic group and if this phenomenon is successfully integrated into the urban public space, its negative socio-economic impacts can be reduced. This study attempts to highlight the problem of hawkers in order to provide a deep understanding of their integration downtown Amman. The study aims to help realise the consequences of any future actions towards this important socioeconomic group by providing a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of hawkers and how they can be more integrated into the communities of Amman and presenting it to policy-makers.

The main questions of this research are:

- What are the impacts of hawkers on the streets of downtown, Amman (King Faisal St., King Talal St. and Al-Hashimi St.)?
- Who is marginalizing the hawkers?
- Who are the policy-makers: traders and the different governmental institution?
- What are the every-day tactics and measures put into practice by policy-makers to marginalize hawkers?

In order to examine hawking and its impacts on Amman downtown, two major aspects will be analyzed: the socio-behavioural pattern of hawking and the physical pattern of hawkers. Based on these two aspects, further analysis will be conducted to investigate the positive and negative impact of hawkers, both of which are discussed from two points of view; first is the economic impact, and second is the socio-spatial impact of hawkers on the streets of downtown Amman.

2. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

A large number of studies undertaken on precise divisions of economic activity enhanced the

understanding of the dimensions and structure of informal sector employment (Sekar, 2007; Graaff and Ha, 2015). Although, such specific studies differ in their methodology, scope and use of the concept, they complement information on general studies on the informal sector and bring their contribution to the elaboration of policies. Concerned with specific themes, studies evidently establish that a substantial fragment of the urban labour force is involved in informal activities and highlight the engagement of vulnerable groups - migrants, the uneducated or semi-literate, the unskilled and women and children from rural regions (Sekar, 2007; Graaff and Ha, 2015).

In a recent study, Freier and Zubrzycki (2019) examined the role of legislation programs in managing and control the informal labour market of the immigrants in Argentina. Amman shows high similarities when we discuss the issue of immigrants, since the city witnessed continuous waves of immigrants throughout its modern history (Al Tal and Ghanem, 2019).

The location aspects of the hawkers' activities establish one of the most important factors in their actions. They run their businesses in areas that can be categorised as public spaces and which are usually unintended for trading purposes. For example, these zones are located nearby public markets, at points of transportation transfer and close to recreation and commercial zones, for rigorous economic causes (Solomon, 2011). Public space refers to designated areas that would take importance over individual rights and in which the right of accessibility is given to everyone. In some cities, like Hong Kong, practical requirements of streets comprise access to neighbouring property and routes of both vehicular and pedestrian traffic. However, the out flowing hawking actions on the streets are continuously affecting the use of streets as public spaces. In most situations, hawkers, their customers, other street-users and vehicles compete each other for space and right of passage (Kostof, 1992; Li, 1998). Unfortunately, this pattern of hawker cluster is the main cause of conflict with the administrative parties in the city (McGee and Yeung, 1977).

Conflicts of the physical features of public spaces are not the whole picture; streets as public spaces are also considered with respect to social and political features. The vital reality of a street is political. Thus, the hawking arena is a political situation in which a public sphere is designated for a collective community in which everyone included faces the rules of shared norms of social civility. Schindler (2013) examines the socio-spatial inter-relationships and conflicts between hawkers and the middle class in Delhi.

The street is not just an avenue designed for circulation only. It configures the community exhibiting social life and cultural actions like street hawking, improving the image and affording a backdrop for the

city (Kostof, 1992; Li, 1998). Social defence is the non-violent community resistance to aggression or oppression, taking various shapes such as defence against government, male violence against women and exterior threats to the community. It is based on widespread protest, persuasion, non-cooperation and intervention in order to oppose what property owners feel that threatens their community. Social defence is considered a non-violent defence of the vital features of society - including human rights, local autonomy and participation against all oppressive forces (Martin, 1993).

According to Newman, defensible space could be defined as a “*surrogate term for the range of mechanisms - real and symbolic barriers, strongly defined areas of influence, and improved opportunities for surveillance that combine to bring an environment under the control of its residents*” (Newman, 1973). Such physical defensibility is seen in the response to the offenders who invade private property in the form of the erection of physical barriers (Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010). L’Hote and Gasta (2007) have reported that hawkers work and support each other instead of acting alone, as each member plays various roles in supporting the others. Some act as lookouts, some as transporters of merchandise, others as bankers to hold money to avoid confiscation and others as street captains to coordinate the whole process.

Hawkers choose places that attract tourists, namely historic places. Moreover, they attract the local, lower economic class due to their competing prices and the atmosphere they create. Hawkers display their products on carts, stalls, cartons, wooden stands and fabric. They occupy the sidewalk and block pedestrian movement. Officials believe that the behaviour of hawkers is unacceptable and is highly harming tourism. Hawkers pollute vital spaces with their loud noises and foul language. Moreover, hawkers affect neighbouring shops with their ability to reduce their prices. Therefore, governmental institutions try to marginalize them and prohibit them from carrying out such activities in urban public spaces. Furthermore, many of the difficulties connected to the activity, including the wider society’s negative perception of them, are related to different methods of space management undertaken by authorities (Bromley, 2000).

Hawkers are distributed differently on the downtown streets of Amman, namely on King Faisal St. and King Talal St. In the case of King Faisal St. the majority of hawkers place their stalls at the end of the sidewalk, nearer to the street. King Faisal St., King Talal St., and Al-Hashimi St. are located right in the centre of Amman city and, politically speaking, they are part of the Amman’s modern formation (Al Tal, 2006). The importance of these streets lies in them being tourism-oriented and vitally economic. They are full of hawkers that gather along them, on both sides. They were

selected for study in order to test and analyse the phenomenon of hawkers, because they include various categories of population, a large percentage of population, and influence a large share of the authorised shops.

The selected streets are few hundred meters long, and are two-way urban streets, with two lanes on each direction, on a north-south direction, and connecting King Talal St. with Al-Salt St. Land in the vicinity. This area is mainly designated for commercial use with many antique shops, coffee shops, restaurants, boutiques, banks, barber shops, and other official buildings (Fig. 1).

Consequently, they leave some space for passing pedestrians between their stalls and neighbouring shops. Narrow sidewalks are less dense and almost uninhabited by hawkers. Most hawkers sell different merchandise than the neighbouring shops and the majority of their products are either clothes or toys (Fig. 2).

On King Talal Street, hawkers place their stalls randomly across sidewalks, especially at Al-Husseini Mosque Plaza, making movement less comfortable. Some hawkers place their stalls in the empty space between fellow hawkers and shops. As a result, the sidewalk accommodates two lines of hawkers, making it difficult for pedestrians to pass through.

On King Faisal St., stalls seem to be a bit more organised compared to the ones on King Talal St. Hawkers on King Faisal St. sit next to their stalls, which are placed at the end of the sidewalk, near the road. This behaviour leaves a continuous pathway for pedestrians without obstacles. Hawkers on King Faisal St. sell a variety of merchandise. The majority of them sell clothes and toys. Fewer stalls sell different products, such as towels, accessories, watches, belts, medals and corn.

On King Talal St., the presence of hawkers is denser. They place their stalls randomly on the sidewalk and sometimes on the street, plus they stand in the way of passing pedestrians. Their spatial distribution is chaotic and their behaviour makes the sidewalks narrower, especially in front of Al-Husseini Mosque. The sidewalk becomes invisible with the high density of hawkers and passing crowds. On this street, most of the hawkers sell clothes similar to the nearby shops. In addition to clothes, they sell watches, shoes, belts, accessories, shavers, toys and corn (Fig. 3).

An embedded mixed methods design was used to conduct this study as illustrated (Fig. 4). It is a type of research design in which qualitative and quantitative data are collected simultaneously or sequentially, but the qualitative form of data plays a supportive role to the quantitative form of data. This method gives a complete understanding of the research problem resulting from collecting both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell, 2013).

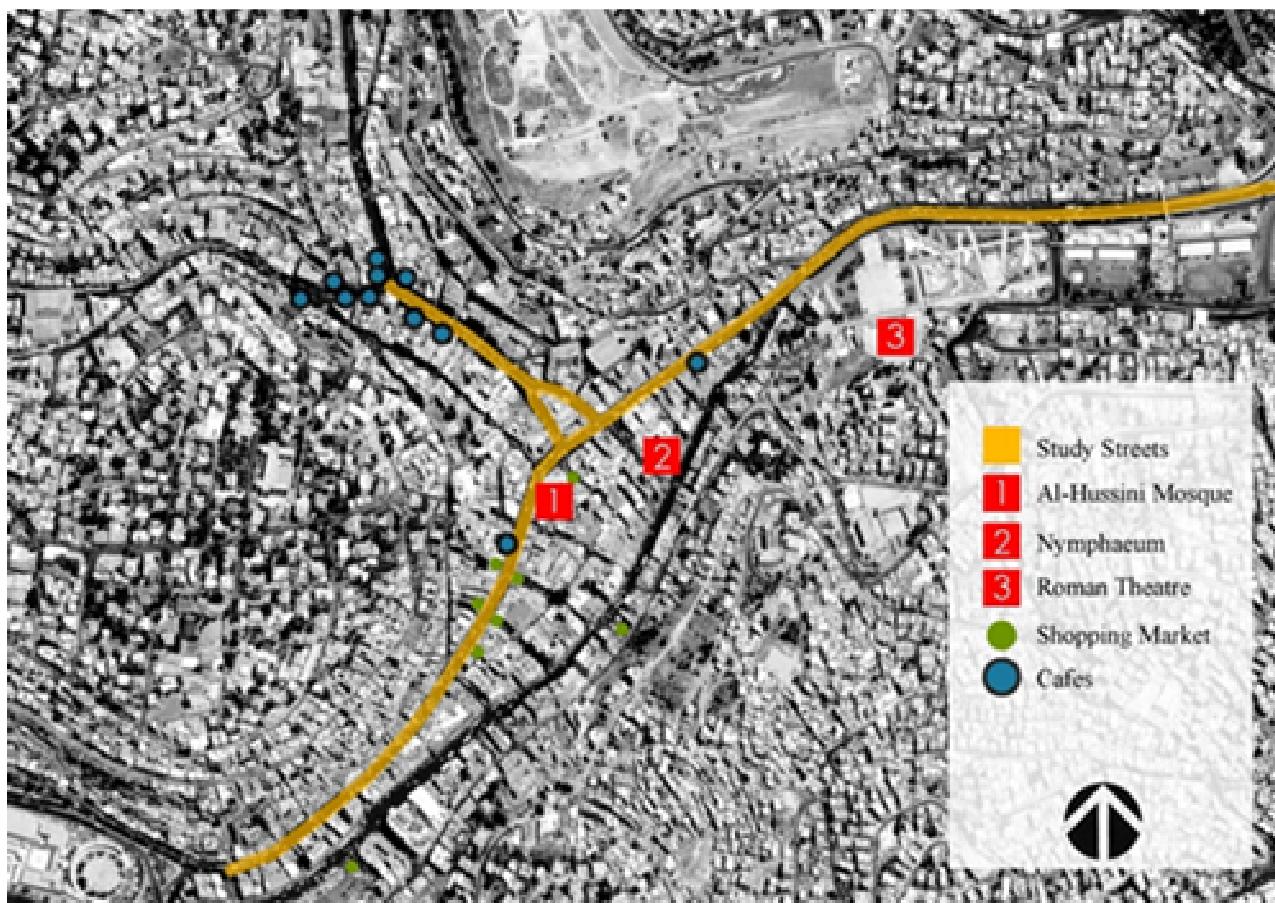


Fig. 1. Map showing the study area and some historic and cultural sites downtown Amman (source: Base map Google Earth, illustrated by authors).

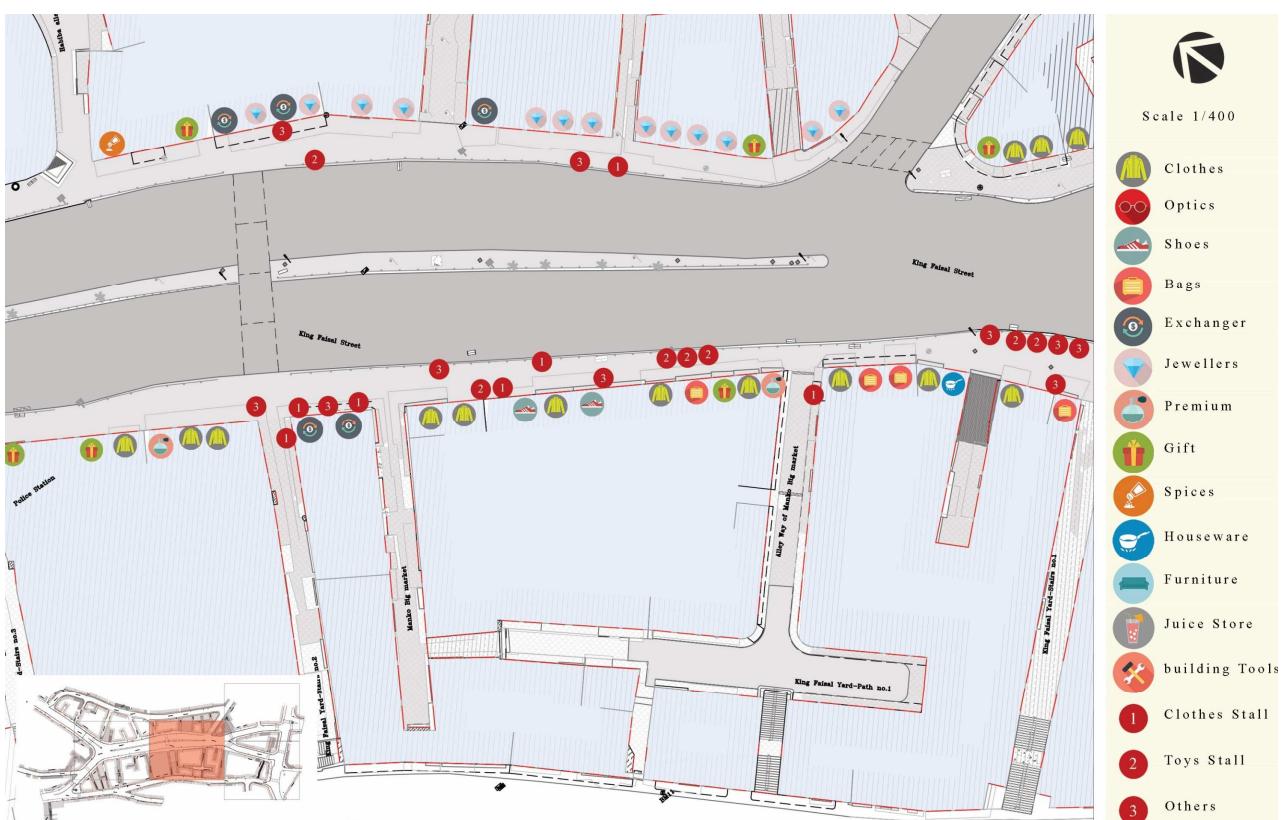


Fig. 2. Distribution of hawkers/traders on King Faisal Street (source: Base Map of Greater Amman Municipality, illustrated by authors).

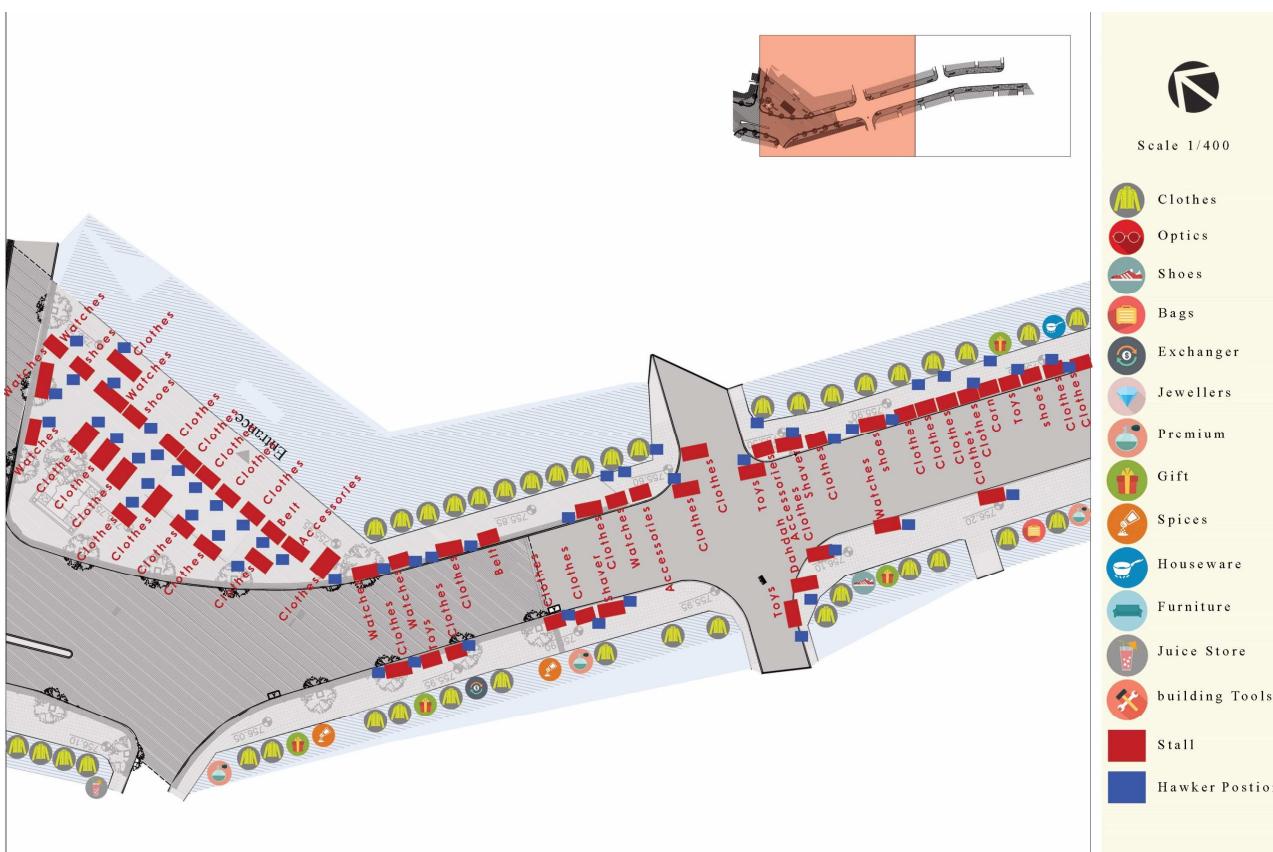


Fig. 3. Hawkers and stall patterns on King Talal Street (source: *Base Map of Greater Amman Municipality*, illustrated by authors).

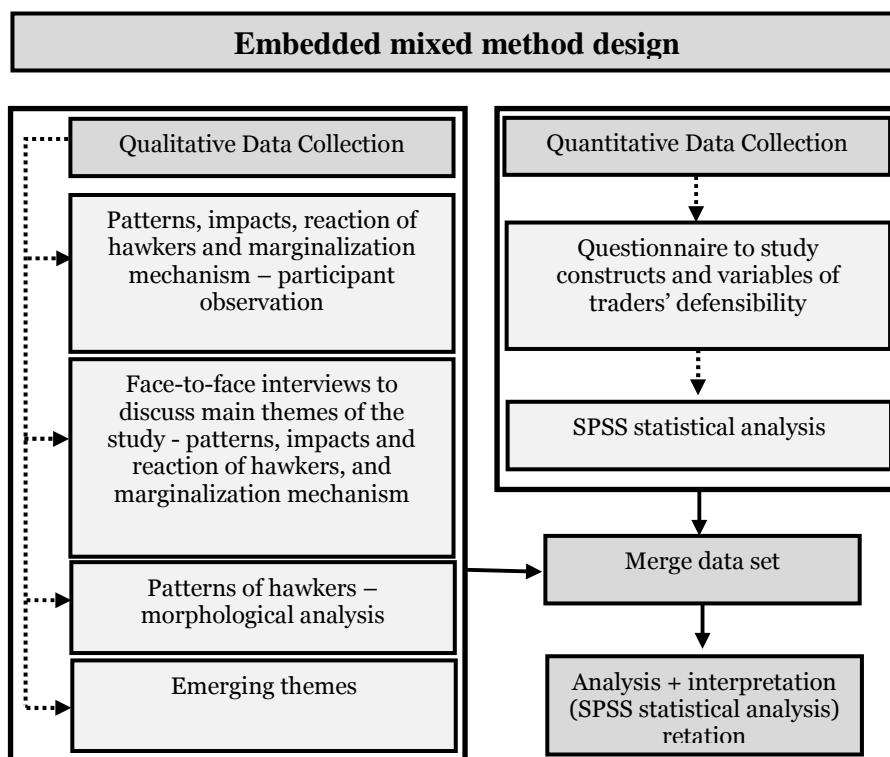


Fig. 4. Research strategy.

Generally, embedded qualitative data and supportive quantitative data were collected. Qualitative

data was collected through face-to-face interviews, observations and participant observation with hawkers

and the Greater Amman Municipality. Purposeful and snowball sampling techniques were used to select 30 participants; 10 officials from the Greater Amman Municipality and 20 hawkers form the streets to understand the hawking phenomenon, as well as to map both negative and positive impacts on downtown Amman. Quantitative data was collected using closed-ended structured questionnaires addressed to traders in the King Faisal plaza, King Talal St. and Al-Hashimi St. A total number of 344 of 688 traders were surveyed. A systematic technique was used to select the participants.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Analysis layers

As mentioned in the introduction, Amman Municipality considers hawkers as problematic, untidy and noisy and a major cause of financial burden to shop owners. However, hawking is the only source of income for this socioeconomic group. This complicated relationship has led to the creation of this phenomenon that affects the behaviour and attitudes of all parties. The following sections consist of the analysis of two major aspects: socio-behavioural pattern of hawking and the physical pattern of hawkers.

3.1.1. Socio-behavioural pattern of hawking

To understand the socio-behavioural patterns of hawking some 9 interviews with different official parties in The Greater Amman Municipality, the Environment Section of the City Centre, The Ministry of Justice and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry were carried out. The following sub-themes researchers were explored:

a). *Nationality of hawkers*: The interviewees stated that hawkers are 90% Jordanian and the other 10% are from neighbouring countries. The 10% are Egyptian migrants who have been part of hawking for years in Jordan. Also, Syrian and Iraqi refugees, who have left their countries because of war, have chosen hawking as a job.

b). *Social status of hawkers*: Officials believe that most hawkers are unskilled, with low-levels of education and come from poor communities. They may have criminal records or may have even been previously arrested. It is extremely difficult for them to find a regular job, so they choose hawking instead. Moreover, some Municipality employees and army soldiers run their own hawking businesses, because their salaries do not cover their daily needs.

c). *Existence*: A place like downtown Amman is one of the preferred destinations for hawkers due to the huge crowds that come from all over the world to visit this area for its well-known shops, markets and

historical sites. As shown on the map (Fig. 1) some of the great historical and cultural places are situated downtown Amman, namely Al-Husseini Mosque, the Nymphaeum and the Roman Theatre.

d). *Consumers*: Some interviewees mentioned that hawkers only attract a specific class of consumers, very low-income classes of certain nationalities like Bengalis, Sri Lankans and Egyptian workers. Other officials mentioned that hawkers actually attract all social classes and nationalities.

3.1.2. Physical pattern of hawking

Location aspects of the hawkers' activities establish one of the most important factors in their actions. From the perspective of policy-makers, it is crucial that they comprehend that most hawkers need to cluster in agglomerations, in areas of high-pedestrian and population density for rigorous economic causes; for example, zones close to public markets, at points of transportation transfer and nearby recreation and commercial areas. Their means of operation (in which the mark up on most goods is small) profits from product complementarity and pursues a great number of possible clients to increase the volume of sales. Unfortunately, this pattern of hawker cluster is the main cause of conflict with the administrative parties in the city. Through interviews with officials, researchers found that all officials agreed on the following:

a). *Movement blockage*: Hawkers block the sidewalks with their merchandise, bodies and other tools they use to display their products.

b). *Behaviour*: Their behaviour encourages the formal traders to display some of their merchandise outside their shops, thinking that this may revitalise their business transactions. This behaviour makes the sidewalks too narrow for their original purpose (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6) show examples of these behaviours.



Fig. 5 Physical patterns of hawkers and traders.
(source: Base Map of Greater Amman Municipality, illustrated by authors).

c). *Existence of hawkers*: they are highly concentrated all the way from the intersection of King

Faisal St. with Al-Abdali St. to Al-Husseini Mosque on the right side and on both sides of King Talal St. from Al-Husseini Mosque Plaza to Al-Sukar Market as shown in (Fig. 7).



Fig. 6. Physical pattern of hawkers.

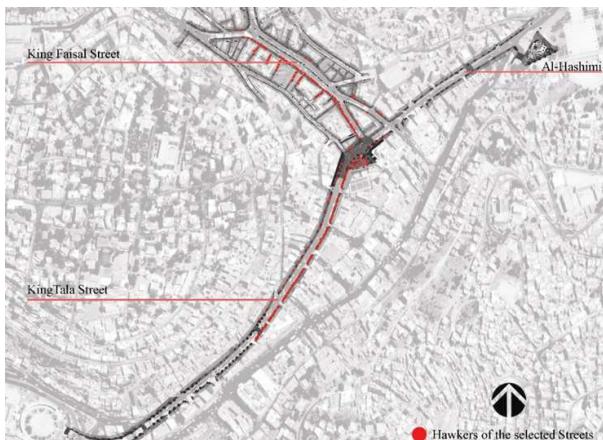


Fig. 7. Concentration areas of hawkers (source: Base Map Google Earth, illustrated by authors).

Table 1. ANOVA Test – Social defensibility of local shop owners.

Variables	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.	Mean	Standard deviation	Std. error
Social defensibility								
a. Informal influence	754.314	1	4.388	2.201	0.158	3.23	1.483	0.080
b. Formal influence	766.035	1	2.237	2.375	0.141	3.42	1.494	0.081
c. Direct access	56.206	1	0.949	5.874	0.016	4.91	0.405	0.022
d. Direct window	78.640	1	0.832	3.658	0.057	4.90	0.479	0.026
e. Observation of outdoor activities	541.756	1	1.584	3.050	0.093	4.30	1.257	0.068
f. Social organization	583.206	1	3.133	1.847	0.175	2.66	1.304	0.070

For social defensibility, the significance was higher for direct access [$F = (1,344) = 5.874$, $P = 0.016$] with ($M = 4.9$) and lower for social organisation [$F = (1,344) = 1.847$, $P = 0.175$] with ($M = 2.66$). This suggests that shop owners show social defensibility against hawkers. The ANOVA Test was carried out to test the physical defensibility of local shop owners

3.2. Hypotheses testing and analysis

As mentioned, an embedded mixed methods design was used to conduct this study as illustrated in (Fig. 4) and explained in the following sections. The first section presents both descriptive analysis and hypothesis testing of the quantitative data. Data was analysed and interpreted, then presented using specific software. The quantitative data collection and analysis presents a descriptive analysis of the data obtained from the field surveys to discuss the studied construct and variables. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17 was used to analyse the collected data. Hypothesis testing was carried out using the One-Way ANOVA Test to test social and physical defensibility. The results were tabulated and reported to allow discussion and to draw conclusions. The following section then presents the qualitative interviews analysis, including face-to-face interviews with both the officials of Amman Municipality and other governmental institutions, and the hawkers in the selected streets downtown Amman. The researchers used archival and aerial maps and photos from the local authority to clarify the themes of the study.

3.2.1. Quantitative analysis

The ANOVA Test was carried out to test the social defensibility of local shop owners against hawkers on the streets of downtown Amman and its components (informal influence, formal influence, direct access, direct windows, observation of outdoor activities and social organisation). Results are shown in Table 1, in which we can note significant effects appearing in a decreasing order of strength.

against hawkers on the streets of downtown Amman and its components (extensions to shops, use of the sidewalk, furnishing the sidewalk, signs on the sidewalk, landscaping [planting the sidewalk] and maintenance). Results are displayed in Table 2 illustrating the significant effects in a decreasing order of strength.

Table 2. ANOVA Test – Physical defensibility of local shop owners.

Variables	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.	Mean	Standard deviation	Std. error
Physical defensibility								
a. Extension	769.953	1	2.250	0.143	0.706	3.49	1.498	0.081
b. Use of sidewalk	793.625	1	53.952	24.946	0.000	3.13	1.521	0.082
c. Furnishing sidewalk	808.081	1	49.234	22.189	0.000	3.22	1.535	0.083
d. Signs on sidewalk	509.927	1	18.109	12.592	0.000	2.49	1.219	0.066
e. Planting sidewalk	118.648	1	1.924	5.638	0.018	1.97	0.588	0.032
f. Maintenance of sidewalk	72.640	1	5.594	28.535	0.000	4.90	0.460	0.025

For physical defensibility, the significance was higher for Maintenance [$F = (1,344) = 28.535$, $P = 0.000$] with ($M = 4.9$) and lower for Extension [$F = (1,344) = 0.143$, $P = 0.706$] with ($M = 0.081$). This suggests that shop owners show physical defensibility against hawkers. Therefore, all of the above findings support the stated hypothesis about the defensibility of local shop owners against hawkers on the streets of

downtown Amman. The local shop owners are affected by the hawkers' behaviour. Overall, their presence affects negatively the economic transaction. The Pearson Correlation Test was conducted to test the defensibility of shop owners against hawkers by the continuous confounding variables of the study as seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Correlation Test – Confounding variables.

1.	2. N	3. Mean	4. S.d	5. Pearson Correlation	6. Sig (2-tailed)
7. Age	8. 344	9. 3.58	10. 1.217	11. 0.12	12. 0.02
13. Income	14. 344	15. 1.10	16. 0.389	17. 0.122	18. 0.023
19. Educational level	20. 344	21. 3.04	22. 0.915	23. -0.20	24. 0.00
25. Ownership	26. 344	27. 1.07	28. 0.255	29. -0.02	30. 0.608
31. Length of attendance	32. 344	33. 2.93	34. 0.330	35. 0.61	36. 0.26
37. Length of presence	38. 344	39. 2.87	40. 0.373	41. 0.178	42. 0.001

Results of Pearson Correlation Test are presented as follows:

1). Significant characteristics:

a). Educational level: defensibility of shop owners against hawkers is correlated with educational level, $r = -0.20$.

b). Length of presence: defensibility of shop owners against hawkers is correlated with length of presence, $r = 0.178$.

c). Age: defensibility of shop owners against hawkers is correlated with age, $r = 0.12$.

d). Income: defensibility of shop owners against hawkers is correlated with income, $r = 0.122$.

2). Non-significant characteristics:

a). Length of attendance: defensibility of shop owners against hawkers is not correlated with the length of attendance, $r = 61$.

b). Ownership: defensibility of shop owners against hawkers is not correlated with ownership, $r = -0.02$.

Through hypothesis analysis, authors found that both social defensibility and physical defensibility components proved the stated hypothesis regarding the defensibility of local shop owners against hawkers on

the streets of downtown Amman. The local shop owners are affected by the hawkers' behaviour. Overall, the presence of hawkers negatively affects economic transactions. Moreover, educational level, length of presence, age and income are correlated with defensibility. However, the duration of operation and ownership did not correlate with defensibility.

3.2.2. The Qualitative analysis

This section discusses the positive and negative impacts of hawkers, both of which are discussed from two points of view. The first point is the economic impact and second point is the socio-spatial impact of hawkers on the streets of downtown Amman (Fig. 9). Further, we discuss the positive and negative impacts on the economy and socio-spatial context in Jordan caused by hawkers, as seen by officials.

The opinion of officials reflects an executive judgment on this trade by the people who are directly involved in resolving this matter and taking action towards it. Officials believe that hawking is an alternative option for people who cannot get a regular job due to criminal history or high rent of retail shops.

They also believe that this type of trade has brought a solution to unemployment and has had good economic

and socio-spatial impact.

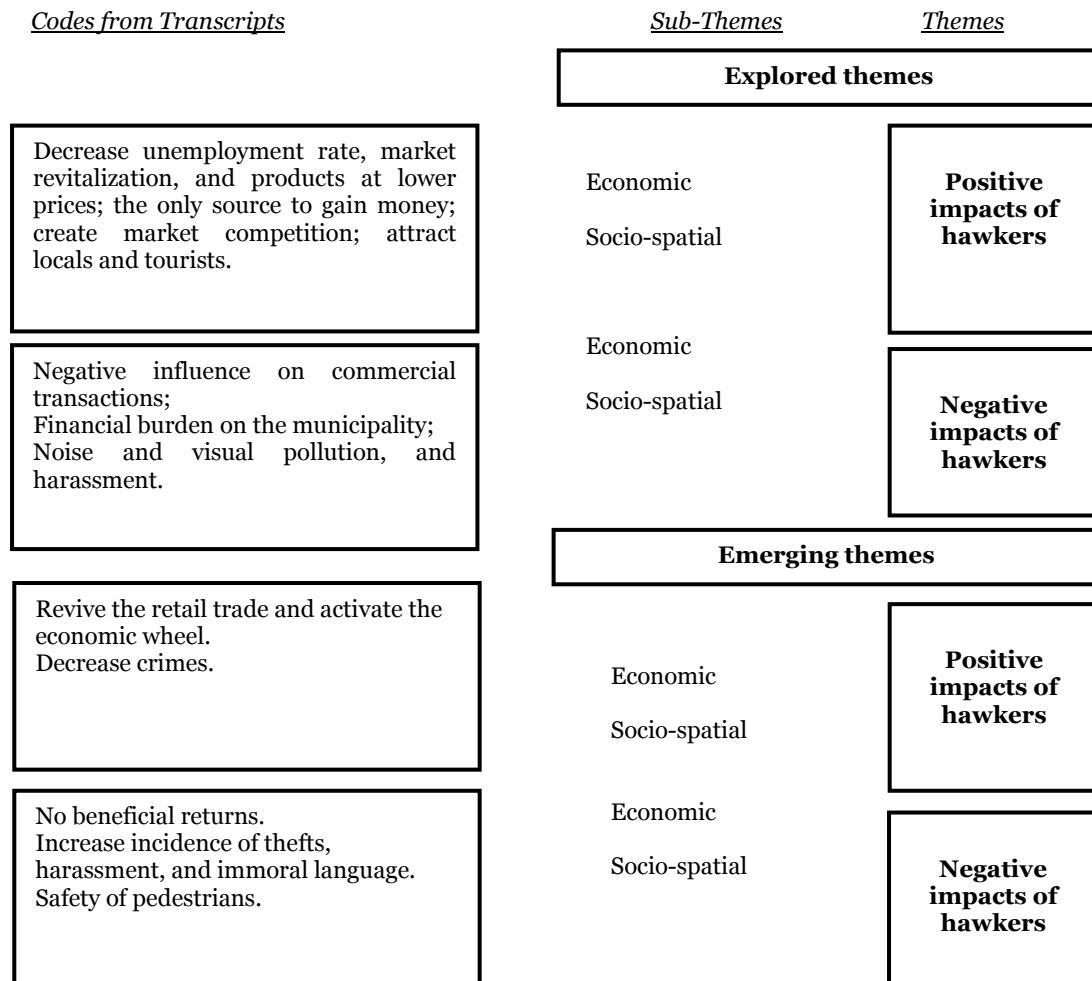


Fig. 8. Socio-spatial impacts revealed.

a). *Positive economic impact:* Through the interviews, officials stated that hawkers are people who have chosen to work and earn money to raise their families, rather than stay at home or depend on aid. Therefore, they have decreased the percentage of unemployment in Jordan. One has heard many stories of hawking as a starting point that led to success. Hawkers avoid the trouble of overhead cost like rent and licensing, resulting in selling their products at lower prices, which revives competition among themselves and other retail shops. Some officials believe that hawkers have helped the economy and have attracted tourists by their striking morals and the attractive behaviours shown by some, as hawkers depend on their voice to attract customers and promote their products. Moreover, the earned money from tourists or locals goes back and forth within the market when hawkers themselves use the money to buy day-to-day necessities for their families.

b). *Positive socio-spatial impact:* Some hawkers have chosen this type of informal trade over following dangerous paths that may lead to a life of

serious crime. At the same time, they pull their friends and families out of that life by introducing them to another way of earning money, which is hawking. Hence, crime rates will decrease. Hawkers attract many tourists and locals due to their low prices, which brings their customers from faraway places to buy fairly priced goods. Hawkers have increased the importance of many destinations by their informal trade.

Some officials associate hawking with much negative economic and socio-spatial impact. They have discussed how the criminal past history of some hawkers pollutes society with unnecessary and uncontrolled behaviour. Since their products are also uncontrolled, officials have revealed cases where hawkers are not only selling stolen products but also damaged and expired goods which can have an enormous impact on the lives and safety of consumers.

c). *Negative economic impact:* Some officials claimed that hawkers negatively affect shop owners and considered their competition unfair because shop owners have to pay for rent and other overhead costs. Therefore, according to their opinion, hawkers are

taking over the business of other shops rather than inventing their own trade. When shop owners are forced to let go of some of their employees due to their low income, the unemployment rate will increase again. In addition, the source of the hawkers' products is not always legal. In some cases, hawkers have been arrested while selling stolen products. To conclude, hawkers are not controlled by any rules and do not follow the regulations set by the Chamber of Commerce. This includes their products and behaviour.

d). Negative socio-spatial impact: Many hawkers have committed felonies in their past, which has made it difficult for them to get regular jobs. While it is a positive thing that they have made the decision of changing their past life by hawking, their demeanours still need improvement. Hawkers are very loud and can cause sound and visual pollution, whilst some of them do not take good care of the space they occupy. In some cases, officials have captured hawkers selling expired products. In addition, hawkers do not have storage spaces and refrigerators, even though they sell food and beverages. This implies selling expired products and spoiled meats, especially on special occasions like Eid and Ramadan. In 2014, officials confiscated expired canned food that dated back to 2010. On one occasion, officials had to leave the expired food area due to a severely bad smell. Moreover, officials stated that the harassment and foul language used by hawkers is definitely unacceptable and could affect the safety of pedestrians (Fig. 8).

3.3. Actions towards hawkers

This section discusses actions towards hawkers by two parties: governmental institutions and traders. The researchers discussed actions towards hawkers in terms of surveillance on public space, policing and the confiscation of stalls.

3.3.1. Officials' actions towards hawkers

Due to the negative impact hawkers have on society, The Greater Amman Municipality has applied several procedures and methods to control and eliminate this phenomenon. It has established a new administrative structure - The Elimination and Haphazard Sale Department - to monitor and control the streets of Amman and take necessary actions towards hawkers. These actions were mainly focused on the following:

a). Surveillance of the public space: The Department of Elimination and Haphazard Sale was established in 2012 and has since been hiring well-established employees to control the situation on the streets of Amman. It has informers on the streets that monitor and report everything they see to the Municipality, which in turn takes action towards any

unacceptable behaviour and devises control and eviction plans.

b). Policing: Evicting hawkers and confiscating goods is very difficult due to the criminal history of some hawkers, which usually causes the Municipality to require police assistance to accompany their staff on the streets. The Municipality and the police work side-by-side to take control of the streets and confiscate all products. The products are then delivered to a storage area within the Department.

c). Confiscate stalls: All stalls and carts are confiscated and removed from the streets by the Municipality staff along with police support. After that, all goods are delivered to the storage area that is located at Raghadan Station. It is difficult to document and record all confiscated products during the eviction process as it would consume more time and would allow other hawkers to flee the scene with their products. Once the products are delivered to the store, the staff then record all confiscated items and destroy all corrupt and expired products. Hawkers are able to retrieve their products, depending on the category, by submitting a required form that is called Refund Request and paying a penalty that ranges from 100 to 300 Jordanian Dinars (150-450\$). Some products cannot be claimed, such as cosmetics, carts, food and beverages. Some officials stated that the process of retrieving the goods by hawkers encourages bribery among some of the Municipality employees.

3.3.2. Traders' actions towards hawkers

As it was said by officials, traders have been complaining to the Municipality for years in order to take action towards hawkers. Traders are being challenged by the hawkers' ability to reduce their prices. In other words, traders feel that hawkers are stealing their customers when they are selling similar products at lower prices. However, it is not only about competition. Sometimes the behaviour of some hawkers may divert customers away to a different shop. Whatever the reason is, traders feel the need to participate in the efforts of the Municipality employees to overcome this phenomenon.

a). Surveillance on public space: As it was stated by officials, traders have their particular role in monitoring and observing the pathway located in front of their shops. Some of them use CCTV systems or use their mobile phones to capture what takes place in front of their shops. Others have chosen to observe visually and then report what they see to Municipality staff.

b). Policing: Through the years, officials have been receiving many complaints from shop owners regarding the phenomenon of hawking. Complaints can easily be sent either by phone, emails, or in person, as it was stated by officials. The majority of complaints came from hospitals, schools and governmental institutions.

3.4. Social defensibility of hawkers

This section discusses the social defensibility of hawkers by interviewing them on King Faisal St. and King Talal St. during their daily activities. The responses of interviewees were analysed and coded as following:

a). *Zone of influence*: Hawkers have unanimously stated that there is no zone of influence whatsoever. All hawkers and some shop owners are aware of each space and who occupies that space. Therefore, they share a mutual respect for each other's spaces and do not interfere with or cross over. Some hawkers do not sell similar products to the ones sold by neighbouring shops and they do not try to harm other shops by lowering their prices. Moreover, they tend to keep the place they occupy clean and well maintained for the purpose of being accepted by neighbouring shops owners.

b). *Surveillance*: As it was declared by hawkers on King Faisal St., hawkers mostly depend on themselves to keep an eye on the police or Municipality vehicles. This has caused psychological distress to hawkers because they are always worried about being arrested or having their goods confiscated. Hawkers on King Talal St. assign watchmen to warn them of suspicious movement. Moreover, hawkers and shop owners warn other hawkers when they hear of or see any campaign. Some hawkers have also stated that some Municipality employees inform them of any campaign in exchange for bribes.

c). *Social organisations*: Hawkers on King Faisal St. do not have any social organisation, but many stated that they are all aware of each other and they have respect for each other's space. It is a bit different on King Talal St., if someone does not show up on any given day, their space will remain empty and reserved by other hawkers and they will not allow anyone to take over that space. Many hawkers have taken the permission of neighbouring shop owners before using the space in front of them and have also maintained good relations with them to the extent of receiving warnings from them when there is a sudden campaign.

3.4.1. Physical defensibility of hawkers

Once the Municipality employees are on the streets, word of mouth begins to spread around warning hawkers to flee and hide their products. Hawkers gave details about places they use for hiding until the Municipality employees are off the streets. In addition, they spoke about the outline that, in their opinion, marks their territory.

a). *Transitional space*: Hawking requires finding a safe place where one can run away and hide until the Municipality finishes its campaign. As stated by the interviewed hawkers, on King Faisal St., hawkers

run into the spaces in between buildings to hide themselves and their merchandise in case of any Municipality campaign, whereas on King Talal St. they have better relations with neighbouring shops. Therefore, they immediately take their carts and hide inside the shops until it is safe to be on the streets again.

b). *Territorial markers*: Hawkers on King Talal St. do not have marked territory assigned for each trader, whereas on King Faisal St., hawkers believe that the wooden boards that display their products resemble physical markers of their territory (Fig. 8).

3.5. Methods of marginalization

This section presents the methods of marginalization practiced by Municipality employees and police against themselves and their products and the process of retrieving their products after confiscation.

a). *Surveillance*: Many hawkers stated that there are daily campaigns conducted by the Municipality on both King Faisal St. and King Talal St. Therefore, there is no need for surveillance. Some stated that they are being watched through Municipality monitors. Others said that some traders observe hawkers and then report them to Municipality employees.

b). *Policing*: Sometimes traders threaten hawkers with calling the police and filing a complaint against them so they would get evicted. On their regular campaigns, the police always accompany the Municipality employees and help them evicting and confiscating goods off the streets while protecting the Municipality employees at the same time. Some hawkers said that the police threaten them by seizing their ID cards and then referring them to the court.

c). *Confiscate stall*: Once the Municipality employees and the police evict hawkers and confiscate their goods, they take them and then store them. A couple of hawkers mentioned that some of their goods were stolen before they reached municipal storage. Hawkers can retrieve their merchandises and stalls once a fine is paid. Some hawkers have some connections with Municipality employees who inform them before any campaign takes place.

d). *Eviction*: While products are confiscated, Municipality employees and the police evict hawkers during daily campaigns and the whole process of confiscation campaigns is an eviction in itself, as stated by hawkers on both King Faisal St. and King Talal St.

e). *Low-level harassment*: The majority of interviewed hawkers said there was no low-level harassment. Others said that they sometimes give bribes in exchange for being left alone. In addition, some hawkers bribe Municipality employees, so that they will inform them once there is a new campaign.

The bribe could be some of their products. They also mentioned that once a hawker is captured he is then presented to court and convicted of solicitation.

3.6. Actions towards hawkers

There are different procedures that are taken by Municipality employees and the police against hawkers. If a campaign is launched by Municipality employees, they confiscate all goods and transfer them to the store located at the Raghadan Bus Station. Then, the hawker will have to pay a penalty of 100-300 Jordanian Dinars in order to retrieve his merchandise. When the police accompany a campaign, a hawker will have to go through the following:

- a). He will be held at the police station until his presentation to the court.
- b). The police will issue a conviction of solicitation.
- c). He will pay a penalty to the court for blocking the sidewalk.
- d). He will be held in custody until the payment of 150 Jordanian Dinars (200\$) is made for his release.

Many interviewed hawkers on King Faisal St. and King Talal St. have no idea whether or not there is a law that prevents hawking. Others believe there is no law against hawking because they are convicted of solicitation and not hawking. A minor percentage of hawkers believe there is a law against hawking. Generally speaking, hawkers do not have a zone of influence; they have mutual respect for each other's spaces. Some hawkers work on maintaining good relationships with neighbouring shops by keeping their space clean and not selling similar products at lower prices. Hawkers at King Talal St. are not socially organised. They depend on themselves to spot Municipality vehicles and then hide in in-between spaces. Some mark their territory by their wooden boards, whereas on King Talal St. they assign watchmen and they receive warnings from shop owners in case of campaigns. They also use neighbouring shops for hiding due to their good relationships with them.

Some hawkers receive warnings of campaigns from Municipality employees in exchange for bribes. Hawkers have noticed that they are being marginalized through daily campaigns conducted by the Municipality based on the complaints they receive from their informers and shop owners. Municipality employees then confiscate all goods and policemen capture and imprison all hawkers.

Hawkers can retrieve the remaining merchandise once they pay a penalty. They pay bribes sometimes in exchange for being set free and for information on campaigns. When the police capture hawkers, they imprison them at the same station where the campaign was launched. Hawkers are then

convicted of solicitation. Then, they stand in court and are fined 6 Jordanian Dinars (10\$) for blocking the sidewalk. After that, they are transferred to the Administrative Governor and will be imprisoned in a cell until the payment of 150 Jordanian Dinars (200\$) is made per person for their release. Due to the conviction of solicitation, many hawkers do not believe in the existence of any law prohibiting their existence and activity.

4. CONCLUSION

This research emphasizes a very sensitive matter in Amman, Jordan. This study reflects on the topic of hawkers, who are a sensitive social class that occupy the streets of downtown Amman to practice their informal trade.

The Municipality has introduced several mechanisms to prevent such a trend for its harmful impact on society and shop owners. Hawkers spend a lot of time and effort to monitor the streets for any Municipality campaign. The fear of being captured has made hawkers restless. This has also affected their psychological health and presence. As a result, researchers faced some difficulties in convincing hawkers to be interviewed. They were always cautious and suspicious of the researcher's intentions. Some of them even thought that the researchers were working for the Municipality and were collecting data to criminalize them.

In other cases, hawkers denied that they practice such a trade and they disowned it. Researchers found other difficulties during the quantitative process, where shop owners gave faulty answers. Especially in the section that asks for their monthly income, where they thought this might be reported to authorities that handle taxes. Some shop owners have also given incorrect answers on whether or not they use the sidewalk for displaying their products because this might result in confiscating their merchandise by the Municipality. Officials were also suspicious.

This study provides a reference for planners and decision-makers to deal with the issue of hawking in the urban public space in Jordan. It reflects the voices of such a sensitive class (hawkers) who wish to see an end to their marginalization on behalf of the officials. After understanding the phenomena of hawking, researchers offered some suggestions to stakeholders and planners. They are as follows:

- a). Hawkers should not be marginalized by the Greater Amman Municipality and other governmental institutions because this could lead to other problems.
- b). There should be more studies of hawkers in different areas across Jordan and across other cities from other countries to understand their nature and requirements.

c). The Chamber of Commerce should integrate hawkers into their system by paying taxes and other requirements.

d). The Municipality should develop policies to regulate hawkers in term of their duties and responsibilities in the urban public space.

e). Planners should treat hawkers as an equally important aspect that needs to be considered in planning the development of urban public spaces.

f). Planners should involve themselves in the process of redefining the street as a public space.

As supported by the literature, after the 2008 crisis, governments have begun to recognize the necessity to reconsider employment as a vital component of economic retrieval and long-term growth. In fact, official statistics show that informal employment is responsible for much more than one-half of total non-agricultural employment in most developing areas, which is equivalent to 82% in South Asia and 66% in sub-Saharan Africa (ILO and WIEGO, 2013) and one-half or more of informal workers in most regions are independently employed (Roever, 2016; The World Bank, 2013).

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