

Political Economy of Power: Analysis of State and Market Relations in the Context of Marginalization of Traditional Markets in Makassar City

Febrianto Syam¹, Ahmad Amiruddin², Novayanti Sophia Rukmana³

¹Departement of Political Science, UIN Alauddin Makassar

²Departement of Political Science, Universitas Sulawesi Barat

³Departement Public Administration, Universitas Negeri Makassar

*corresponding author E-mail: febrianto.syam@uin-alauddin.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the relational dimensions between the state, capital and people's economic space in the context of the struggle for the existence of traditional markets in Makassar City, with a case study of the Terong Market. Using a critical political economy perspective, this research reveals how unequal power relations between dominant economic actors and the state create structural marginalization of traditional markets. Through policy analysis of Perda No. 15 Tahun 2009 and its implementation, it was identified that local states tend to operate as facilitators of capital interests through policies that are permissive towards modern retail expansion. This research argues that the resilience of traditional markets cannot be separated from a broader political configuration of power, where changes in the political paradigm that place the people's economy as the subject of development are a prerequisite for the sustainability of traditional markets in the contemporary era.

Keywords: *Traditional Markets, State-Capital Relations, Economic Marginalization, Policy Analysis, Local Governance, Modern Retail Expansion.*

INTRODUCTION

Traditional markets represent an economic space that has historical, social and cultural significance in the structure of Indonesian society. More than just a place for economic transactions, traditional markets are arenas of complex social interaction, where the values of communality and social solidarity are reproduced through personal trading relationships (Busse, 2022; Geertz, 1963). In the context of contemporary Indonesia, the existence of traditional markets faces multidimensional challenges, not only from shifting consumer preferences and the trend of economic digitalization, but also—and perhaps more fundamentally—from the unequal power relations between dominant economic actors and state institutions (Suryadarma et al.,

2010).

Pasar Terong is one of the largest wholesale markets in South Sulawesi. For a long time, this market has not only been a place for trading in basic necessities, but also an important node in the distribution chain of agricultural commodities from hinterland areas such as Gowa, Maros, Takalar, and Bone. In the context of the local economy, Pasar Terong is the center of people's economic activities, absorbing thousands of informal workers, and supporting the sustainability of MSMEs in the food sector.

However, along with changes in the economic landscape and urbanization of Makassar City, the strategic position of Pasar Terong has begun to shift. The development of shopping centers, minimarkets, and modernization of urban spaces that prioritize aesthetics and commercialization have changed the way the government and society view traditional markets. Traditional markets are often associated with slums, disorder, and backwardness, while modern markets are promoted as symbols of progress and efficiency.

This phenomenon of contestation between traditional and modern markets gained momentum after the 1998 economic crisis, when the liberalization of the retail sector became one of the consequences of the Letter of Intent agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since then, the expansion of modern markets in various formats—from minimarkets to hypermarkets—has grown rapidly in various urban areas in Indonesia, including Makassar City (Reardon & Hopkins, 2006). This development does not take place in a political-economic vacuum, but is facilitated by government policies that tend to be accommodative of the interests of large investors.

The rapid economic modernization in various major cities in Indonesia has had a significant impact on the social and economic structure of society, including in the people's trade sector. In the midst of city development that prioritizes the metropolitan image and investment growth, the existence of traditional markets is often marginalized, even considered a symbol of

disorder and decline.

In the perspective of critical political economy, the phenomenon of marginalization of traditional markets cannot be separated from the dynamics of broader state-capital relations. Nico Poulantzas (1978) explains that capitalist states structurally have a tendency to accommodate the interests of the dominant class, not because of an elitist "conspiracy", but because of the state's fiscal and political dependence on capital accumulation. Poulantzas's analysis offers a relevant theoretical framework for understanding how policies that normatively aim to protect traditional markets often become instruments of legitimacy for the expansion of modern retail capital.

Makassar City, as the economic and political center of Eastern Indonesia, presents a paradigmatic case regarding the dynamics of this contestation. With consistent economic growth above the national average and accelerated urbanization, Makassar has become a magnet for modern retail investment since the early 2000s (BPS, 2020). This can be seen from the significant growth of modern retail outlets, from around 50 outlets in 2005 to more than 200 outlets in 2019, with the dominance of national chains such as Indomaret and Alfamart (Makassar City Trade Office, 2020).

Makassar City as one of the metropolitan cities in Eastern Indonesia has experienced drastic changes in its economic landscape. Modern shopping centers, malls, and large retailers have grown rapidly in the last two decades. This phenomenon has a direct impact on the existence of traditional markets, one of which is Pasar Terong, which for years has been the center of distribution of main commodities such as vegetables, fruits, and basic necessities for the Makassar area and its surroundings.

On the other hand, traditional markets such as Pasar Terong—which for decades have been the central distribution of agricultural products from various regions of South Sulawesi—are experiencing significant structural pressure. Despite having a vital function in the local food system and absorbing thousands of small traders, these markets are often perceived as "anomalies"

in the vision of urban modernization. Inadequate infrastructure, limited trading space, and the image of a "slum" are the dominant narratives that alienate traditional markets from urban development discourse (Malazaneti et al., 2023; Sarwoko, 2008).

Pasar Terong is a main market that has strategic value, both historically, socially, and economically. Thousands of traders depend on this market activity for their livelihoods, and millions of residents depend on the accessibility and affordable prices offered. However, in reality, this market faces serious challenges due to the shift in consumer preferences towards modern markets, weak government protection policies, and poor market governance and infrastructure. This creates a systematic marginalization process towards traditional markets and the players in them.

The marginalization of traditional markets does not only concern physical and economic aspects, but also touches on social and political aspects. In many cases, city governments actually side with large investors and shopping center developers rather than strengthening the people's economic base. In this context, traditional markets are not only a space for buying and selling, but also an arena for policy and interest battles.

Regional Regulation No. 15 of 2009 concerning Protection, Empowerment of Traditional Markets and Arrangement of Modern Markets in Makassar City is ideally intended to create a fair competitive ecosystem. This regulation includes provisions on zoning, operating hours, and mandatory partnerships between modern retailers and local traders. However, in its implementation, this regulation has not been able to stem the proliferation of modern retailers which are actually getting closer to traditional market locations. According to data from the Makassar Traditional Market Traders Association (APPTM), at least 60% of traditional markets in Makassar City now have minimarkets or supermarkets within a radius of less than 500 meters, far below the minimum zoning provision of 2.5 kilometers stipulated in the regulation (Sarwoko, 2008).

This discrepancy between regulation and implementation reflects what Antonio Gramsci (2020) called "hegemony", where domination does not always operate through direct coercion, but rather through the normalization of values and practices that benefit the dominant class. The inclusion of the values of "efficiency", "professionalism", and "modernity" in market development discourse helps legitimize the expansion of modern retail and indirectly delegitimizes traditional markets as "traditional" and therefore "inferior" entities (Harvey, 2018).

In the Makassar context, this hegemony is articulated in city government policies that prioritize investment-based economic growth and city branding as a "world city". This vision, even though it appears ideologically neutral, in practice conditions policies that favor economic formats that are considered "modern" and "progressive". Traditional markets, with their characteristics of informality and heterogeneity, are not easily aligned with this linear and homogeneous development narrative (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

This study shows that urban economic development policies tend to favor the interests of large capitalists and property investors. In the process of urban spatial planning, space for traditional markets is increasingly narrowing. The dominance of elite economic actors is seen in the ease of obtaining permits for the construction of shopping centers, compared to the long process of revitalizing traditional markets. The government tends to view modern markets as a symbol of "urban progress", while traditional markets are considered a burden or a face of disorder. As a result, the development approach becomes exclusive and biased towards social class.

The asymmetrical political capacity between retail corporations and traditional market traders also strengthens this structural inequality. While corporations have access to political resources—including the ability to lobby, litigate, and even intervene in legislative processes—traditional market traders are generally fragmented and lack effective political representation.

This absence of political voice further weakens the bargaining position of traditional markets in the public policy arena (Lindblom, 1977).

Another aspect that is no less important is how local policies in Makassar are also influenced by the dynamics of global capitalism. The entry of foreign investors into the retail sector post-1998 liberalization created new competitive pressures that not only changed the business competition landscape, but also shifted the perception of the "ideal" retail format. These global networks form what Wallerstein (2020) calls a "world-system", in which local economies are gradually integrated—and not infrequently subordinated—to the logic of global capital accumulation.

In a broader perspective, the marginalization of traditional markets in Makassar also reflects the capitalistic transformation of urban space, where the use value of a public space is subordinated to the exchange value that can be extracted from it (Henri & Donald, 1991). Traditional markets, which historically were communal spaces with high socio-cultural value, are now reduced to economic assets measured by their contribution to regional income and aggregate economic growth.

This research seeks to explore these dynamics by critically analyzing how the power relations between the local state, capital and traditional market traders in Makassar City have shaped policies and practices that tend to marginalize traditional markets. In carrying out this analysis, the research departs from the premise that the struggle for the sustainability of traditional markets cannot be separated from broader political-economic contestations, where the configuration of power and distribution of resources are the main determinants.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research adopts a qualitative approach with a critical paradigm to investigate the power relations that underlie the marginalization of traditional markets in Makassar City. The primary data collection method was carried out through in-depth interviews with 35 informants including Terong Market

traders, Trade Service officials, Makassar City DPRD members, academics, and representatives of modern retail managers. These semi-structured interviews were conducted during the period January to July 2023, with an average duration of 90 minutes per session. Participatory observations were also carried out at the Terong Market location and five minimarkets located within a 500 meter radius of the market to understand the spatial dynamics and socio-economic interactions that occurred (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Secondary data were obtained from policy documents (including Regional Regulation No. 15 of 2009 and its derivatives), BPS reports, local media archives, academic publications, and internal documents of market trader organizations. The analysis of these documents focused on the period 2009-2023 to identify shifts in narratives and policy implementation related to traditional markets. A critical discourse analysis approach was applied to reveal how dominant narratives about "modernization" and "efficiency" are used to legitimize policies that tend to favor modern retail expansion (Fairclough, 2013).

Data triangulation was carried out through systematic comparisons between data collection methods and between informants to increase the validity of the findings. Data analysis uses a critical political economy framework by identifying main themes such as: (1) policy alignment, (2) actor political capacity, (3) discursive hegemony, and (4) market trader resistance. This process was carried out iteratively by comparing empirical data with the theoretical framework of Poulantzas, Gramsci, and Harvey to produce a comprehensive interpretation of power relations in the context of traditional market marginalization (Ridder, 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Regulatory Transformation and Policy Alignment

Analysis of the evolution of market-related policies in Makassar City shows a paradigmatic shift from the protectionist approach of the 1980-1990s to a more market-friendly post-decentralization orientation. Regional

Regulation No. 15 of 2009, which explicitly aims to protect traditional markets, has paradoxically become the entry point for the legitimization of modern retail expansion through interpretative clauses and weak implementation. Zoning regulations that stipulate a minimum distance of 2.5 kilometers between modern and traditional markets, for example, in practice are often “circumvented” through manipulative licensing mechanisms or the use of legal loopholes such as ambiguous retail format classifications (Hidayat et al., 2022).

Research findings indicate that the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 15/2009 is not accompanied by an effective enforcement mechanism. Of the 23 cases of zoning violations reported by APPTM during 2015-2020, only two cases resulted in administrative sanctions, while the rest were “resolved” through non-formal negotiations which tended to be detrimental to traditional market traders. According to Informant P7, a senior trader at Terong Market:

“Every time there is a new minimarket near the market, we protest, but in the end they continue to operate. They say there is a special dispensation, but we never know exactly what the legal basis is” (Interview, 12 March 2023).

This discrepancy between regulation and implementation reflects what Jessop (2015) calls the “structural selectivity” of the state, where the bureaucratic apparatus is systematically more responsive to the interests of capital than to the demands of small communities. This can be seen from the speed of bureaucracy in processing modern retail business permits (an average of 45 working days) compared to the slow pace of revitalizing traditional market infrastructure which, even after budgeting, often experiences delays for years (Makassar City Trade Office, 2021).

Data from trader interviews show an average decline in turnover of 30–50% in the last five years. Limited access to capital and technology worsens the bargaining position of traditional market traders compared to business actors in modern retail.

Furthermore, fiscal policy analysis shows the existence of systemic bias

in budget allocations and economic incentives. While the city government allocates IDR 25-30 billion per year for the market revitalization program (2019-2023), this figure is only around 2.5% of the total APBD and is much lower than the value of indirect incentives enjoyed by modern retail investors through various licensing conveniences, tax breaks and infrastructure support. This inequality further confirms Poulantzas's (1978) thesis that capitalist countries tend to facilitate the reproduction of production relations that benefit the dominant class.

The marginalization of Pasar Terong cannot be separated from the power relations between the government, big businessmen, and the common people. The city government often formulates development policies without involving traditional market players. Even in some spatial planning policies, the existence of the market is considered an obstacle to aesthetics and investment.

The tendency of local governments to be pro-investor reflects the logic of neoliberal development, where efficiency and profit are the main orientations, while aspects of social justice are ignored. This leads to what David Harvey calls "accumulation through dispossession", namely the process of creating value for a handful of groups by sacrificing the rights and living space of other groups.

Discursive Hegemony and the Construction of Modernity

The marginalization of traditional markets does not only take place through formal policies, but also through discursive hegemonic mechanisms that position traditional markets as the antithesis of "modernity" and "progress". Discourse analysis of Makassar city planning documents such as the 2019-2024 RPJMD and the 2035 Makassar City Masterplan shows how traditional markets are often positioned as "urban problems" that need to be "ordered" or "modernized", not as cultural and economic assets that need to be preserved (Makassar City Government, 2019).

This discursive construction is articulated in technocratic language such as "efficiency", "structuring", and "standardization" which implicitly negates the values of communality and heterogeneity that characterize traditional markets. As stated by Informant A3, an urban studies academic:

"There is a kind of obsession with the image of the 'modern city' that drives visual sanitation policies, where traditional markets are considered incompatible with the urban aesthetic imagined by the city elite" (Interview, 5 April 2023).

The internalization of these values does not only occur at the political elite level, but also penetrates into public perception through media campaigns and modern retail marketing strategies that consistently contrast the "convenience of shopping" in modern markets with the "discomfort" of traditional markets. This is in line with Gramsci's (2020) concept of "common sense", where the values of the dominant class are naturalized so that they are accepted as something "normal" and "inevitable".

Interestingly, this study finds that traditional market traders themselves are not completely immune from this discursive hegemony. Interviews with 15 Terong Market traders revealed ambivalence: while they resisted structural marginalization, some also internalized perceptions of inferiority by adopting terminology such as "not yet modern" or "still traditional" to describe their trading practices. This phenomenon reflects what Bourdieu (1984) called "symbolic violence", where subordinate groups unconsciously adopt categorizations formed by the dominant class.

Many traders expressed their concerns about the threat of relocation or eviction. The lack of transparent information from the government exacerbates this uncertainty. In addition, not all traders have formal legality (business permits or business premises certificates), making their position very vulnerable. Many traders complained about uncertainty in the arrangement of stalls, illegal levies, and weak legal protection for small traders. In some cases, plans to relocate or renovate markets actually harm traders because of their lack of participation in the planning process.

When the issue of relocation or stall control arises, most traders feel

anxious and uncertain. This is exacerbated by the lack of communication and involvement from the government. Traders feel they have no bargaining position, even though they have contributed greatly to the local economy. Despite the digitalization of the economy, only a small number of traders are able to take advantage of it. Many of them do not have access to digital marketing training, financial literacy, or online distribution platforms. As a result, they are far behind modern retail business players who are already integrated with digital systems.

Political Capacity and Trader Resistance

Despite facing structural subordination, traditional market traders in Makassar are not completely passive. This research identifies various forms of resistance—from explicit such as demonstrations and formal advocacy to implicit such as resistance to standardization and formalization. In 2018, for example, when the City Government attempted to relocate Terong Market to a multi-storey building on a rental basis, around 70% of traders refused on the grounds that the new location was not strategic and the rental costs were unaffordable.

However, traders' political capacity to influence policy remains limited due to several structural factors. First, internal fragmentation among traders who are divided into various groups based on commodities, regional origin, and political affiliation, weakens the collective solidarity necessary for an effective resistance movement. Second, dependence on patterns of political patronage with local elites created ambivalent loyalties and inhibited the independent articulation of the interests of the merchant class (Scott, 1985).

Third, and perhaps most fundamental, is epistemic marginalization where the knowledge and perspectives of traditional market traders are rarely integrated in the policy formulation process. Formal discussions about market structuring are dominated by the technocratic perspectives of urban planners and economic consultants, while traders' voices—even when formally invited in public consultations—are often reduced to “input” with no substantive

influence on final decisions (Gordon & Foucault, 1980).

The emergence of shopping centers such as malls, supermarkets, and convenience stores in various strategic points in Makassar City has shifted the interest of urban communities from traditional markets to modern markets. Consumers are starting to prioritize the comfort, cleanliness, and prestige image offered by modern retail. The city government has not shown a real commitment to maintaining or developing Pasar Terong. Several revitalization programs are partial and do not touch on the socio-economic aspects of traders. The narrow, muddy, and unorganized market infrastructure actually accelerates the decline in visitor interest.

These findings confirm Harvey's (2012) observation that the capacity to produce urban space is not distributed evenly, but is concentrated among actors with dominant economic and political capital. In the Makassar context, traditional market traders not only face unequal economic competition, but also exclusion from political processes that determine the future of their economic space.

Global-Local Integration in the Marginalization of Traditional Markets

Research analysis also reveals how local dynamics cannot be separated from the structural influence of the global economy. The expansion of modern retail in Makassar is not solely driven by domestic capital interests, but is also a manifestation of spatial restructuring in the global capitalist system. Currently, at least three retail chains with foreign ownership (both full and partial) operate in Makassar, bringing business models and management practices that reflect global standards with minimal adaptation to the local context.

This global distribution network directly impacts local supply chains. Modern retail with integrated logistics capacity tends to reduce dependence on local suppliers and rely more on centralized national or imported products. As a result, the Eggplant Market, which has historically been the main distribution hub for local agricultural products, experienced disruption in its

traditional function as an intermediary between rural producers and urban consumers (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1993).

This process results in what Saskia Sassen (2014) calls "expulsions", where small economic actors are slowly eliminated from the formal economic system due to the restructuring of global capitalism. In Makassar, this phenomenon can be seen from the decline in the number of traders at the Eggplant Market by 18% during the 2015-2020 period, while transaction volume decreased by up to 25% for certain commodities (Setiawan et al., 2021).

From Marginalization to Coexistence: Policy Alternatives

Although this research identifies unequal power relations, the findings also show the potential for more progressive policy interventions. Several cities in Indonesia, such as Solo and Yogyakarta, have been relatively successful in developing a more balanced model of coexistence between traditional and modern markets through a combination of strict regulations and substantial public investment (Suryadarma et al., 2010)

In Makassar itself, there are sporadic initiatives that show the possibility of alternative approaches. The "Lorong Garden" program that integrates urban food production with small-scale traditional markets, although limited in scope, demonstrates the potential to reconnect local producers and consumers through a more equitable food system. Likewise, experiments with "day markets" in several sub-districts show that the traditional market format still has significant socio-economic relevance when given adequate institutional support (Makassar City Government, 2022).

However, a more fundamental transformation requires interventions that go beyond sectoral policies and tap into underlying power relations. As Swyngedouw (2004) emphasizes, policy interventions cannot be approached as technocratic solutions, but must be understood as part of a broader political process of redefining the relations between state, market and society. In the Makassar context, this means transforming the development paradigm which

has been dominated by "growth machine politics" (Logan, 1987) towards a vision that is more inclusive and oriented towards spatial justice.

This research identifies three critical intervention domains: first, institutional reforms that strengthen the state's regulatory capacity vis-à-vis capital, including stricter enforcement of zoning and expansion restrictions; second, the democratization of urban planning which provides substantive space for traders' participation in decisions that affect their livelihoods; and third, public reinvestment in traditional market infrastructure that is not solely oriented towards "aestheticization" but rather towards increasing economic and social functionality.

Limitations of the Analysis and Agenda for Further Research

It should be acknowledged that this study has several methodological limitations. The focus on the Eggplant Market as a single case, while allowing for in-depth analysis, limits the generalizability of the findings to a wider context. In addition, the complexity of changing market dynamics—including the influence of digitalization and e-commerce which is starting to penetrate traditional market segments—has not been fully explored in this research.

A further research agenda could be directed at several aspects: first, comparative studies between cities to identify variations in policy responses to similar phenomena; second, further investigation of the intersection between traditional market marginalization and gender dimensions, considering the significant role of women in the traditional market economy; and third, exploration of the potential and limits of digital technology as an instrument for revitalizing traditional markets in the context of a rapidly developing digital economy.

By understanding the complexity of these power relations, discussions about the future of traditional markets can shift from simply a question of "economic efficiency" towards a more fundamental reflection on the type of economy and urban space to be created—a question that is ultimately political and requires the democratic involvement of various stakeholders, especially

those who have been marginalized in decision-making processes.

CONCLUSION

This research has explored the relational dimensions between the state, capital and people's economic space in the context of marginalization of traditional markets in Makassar City. Through critical political economy analysis, it is revealed that the subordinate position of traditional markets is not simply the result of "free competition" or "consumer preferences", but rather the product of unequal power relations in which local state policies tend to favor the interests of capital accumulation. Regional Regulation No. 15 of 2009, which is normatively intended to protect traditional markets, in its implementation has actually become an instrument of legitimation for the expansion of modern retail through selective interpretation and weak enforcement.

The political economy perspective of power helps explain why the state—in this case the city government—tends to adopt policies that benefit capital even though they rhetorically claim to support the people's economy. The country's fiscal and political dependence on investment and economic growth creates structural selectivity that prioritizes the interests of dominant actors. In this context, the marginalization of traditional markets is not simply the result of failed policy implementation, but rather a manifestation of a more fundamental power configuration in contemporary social formations.

The research findings also underscore how the discursive hegemony of "modernity" and "efficiency" plays a role in delegitimizing traditional markets as a "backward" form of economy and therefore deserving of subordination. Despite facing significant structural pressures, traditional market traders are not entirely passive, but rather articulate various forms of resistance—from the explicit to the everyday. However, their political capacity remains limited due to internal fragmentation, reliance on patronage, and epistemic marginalization in policy-making processes.

The implication of this analysis is that interventions for the

sustainability of traditional markets need to go beyond technical-managerial solutions and address underlying power relations. The transformation of the urban development paradigm which has been dominated by the logic of capital accumulation towards a more democratic and just vision is a prerequisite for a more equal coexistence between various economic forms in urban space. In this context, the struggle for the sustainability of traditional markets is basically a political struggle to redefine the relationship between state, market and society in a more democratic and just configuration.

The marginalization of Terong Market in Makassar is a systemic symptom of exclusive and unjust urban development. Economic, political, and social factors are intertwined in driving this marginalization process. If there is no change in the development paradigm, then other traditional markets will suffer a similar fate: disappearing from the city space and from the history of its people.

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