



# Thriving Amidst Change: Indonesian MSMEs' Resilient Response to Urban Spatial Governance

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**Abstract.** Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) play a central role in urban livelihoods, yet their activities particularly informal food-and-beverage vending often intersect with contested public-space governance. This study examines how MSMEs in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, adapt to shifting urban spatial governance and enforcement practices. Using a qualitative descriptive–interpretive design, we conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with 20 food-and-beverage MSME owners operating under varying degrees of regulatory pressure across Makassar City, Gowa Regency, and Maros Regency. Data were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using Framework Analysis to generate applied, policy-relevant themes. Findings show that MSME resilience is enacted through: (1) informal negotiation and relationship-building with local authorities; (2) adaptive mobility and spatial repositioning to reduce exposure to enforcement; (3) diversification of sales channels and digital practices to stabilize income amid uncertainty; (4) collective and network-based coping through peer information sharing and mutual support; and (5) psychological and identity-oriented strategies that sustain persistence despite stigma, fear of displacement, and ambiguous relocation policies. These results highlight resilience as a multidimensional process shaped by governance ambiguity, uneven enforcement, and the everyday politics of visibility in public space. Policy implications include the need for clearer relocation mechanisms, transparent enforcement procedures, and participatory arrangements that protect livelihoods while maintaining urban order.

**Keywords:** MSMEs, urban spatial governance, informal economy, resilience strategies, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

## 1 Introduction

Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) are essential to Indonesia's economy, contributing 61% to GDP and employing over 97% of the workforce [1]. However, MSMEs in the informal sector face challenges due to urban planning and policy issues [2]. Spatial planning regulations in Indonesian cities have increasingly impacted MSMEs that operate in public spaces, such as sidewalks and prime urban areas. Local governments have introduced policies that limit street vending and informal trade, often leading to forced relocation, restricted operations, or outright bans on trading in certain areas [3].

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In South Sulawesi, these dynamics are clearly visible among MSMEs in Makassar, Gowa, and Maros [4,5]. Makassar has enforced bans on street vendors near government offices and main roads. Gowa has tightened roadside trading rules under new leadership in 2025. In Maros, vendors are worried about possible relocation from popular public spaces to more distant designated areas, but the timing and details remain unclear.

Although there is growing interest in MSME development, we still know relatively little about how these businesses adapt to spatial policy change without open confrontation. Previous studies rarely look closely at how owners decide when to move, how they keep customers during disruption, how they manage limited capital, and how they deal with officials without collective protest. The roles of social capital, family, and everyday community support are also not well explained, especially in cities where informal trade is visible but politically sensitive.

This paper responds to these gaps by examining how MSMEs in South Sulawesi adjust to urban spatial policies through non-confrontational strategies that still involve negotiation with different stakeholders. We look at how vendors interpret rules, manage relationships with officers and residents, and reorganise their business practices to protect income. In doing so, the paper speaks to informal stakeholder governance in Asian cities, where small businesses navigate strong state actors and dense local communities through non-market strategies rather than formal representation, and links MSME resilience debates to wider questions of how urban public space is governed and negotiated in emerging economies.

## **2 Methods**

### **2.1 Study design**

This research adopted a qualitative descriptive–interpretive design with a multi-site comparative structure. The aim was to produce a contextual account of how food and beverage MSMEs respond to spatial governance pressures, including restrictions on trading space, relocation signals, and uncertainty about location security [6].

### **2.2 Study setting**

The study took place in South Sulawesi Province in three areas with different spatial policy dynamics: Makassar City, Gowa Regency, and Maros Regency. Makassar, as the provincial capital, enforces spatial rules more strictly, including bans on street vending near government offices and main roads, and we focused on vendors around GOR Sudiang. Gowa is a peri-urban area where restrictions on roadside trading and relocation pressure increased under new leadership in 2025. Maros is a fast-growing area where informal trading around public green spaces is expanding while future restrictions and relocation plans are still unclear. Together, these sites allow comparison between stricter enforcement, recent tightening, and policy uncertainty.

### **2.3 Participants and recruitment**

Participants were owners of food and beverage MSMEs who had felt the impact of spatial policy, for example through trading restrictions, relocation pressure, or insecurity about their location. They had been in business for at least one year, were 18 years or older, and able to communicate in Indonesian or a local language. We did not include businesses in permanent shops with formal rental contracts or very new ventures without exposure to spatial policy. Owners were recruited through local vendor networks, field observation, and limited snowball referrals to get variation across the three sites. In total, 12 participants took part: four from Makassar, four from Gowa, and four from Maros. Recruitment stopped when patterns in the interviews became stable and no new important issues appeared.

### **2.4 Data collection**

Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews between September and November 2025. The interview guide, based on relevant literature, covered experiences of spatial policy and enforcement, decisions about staying or moving, ways to keep the business running under restriction, interactions with officials and other vendors, support from family and community, perceived risks, and expectations about future policy. Written informed consent was obtained before each interview. With participants' permission, most interviews were audio-recorded; for the one case without recording, detailed notes were taken instead. Short field notes after each interview captured key observations and early analytic ideas.

### **2.5 Data management**

Audio files were transcribed verbatim and de-identified. Each participant was assigned a site-based code, and all data were stored securely with limited access for the research team.

### **2.6 Data analysis**

We used Framework Analysis because it fits applied qualitative research and allows systematic comparison between sites. The first author read the transcripts and field notes several times to become familiar with each case and to note early ideas about restriction, adaptation, and use of space. Based on the study aims and interview topics, we developed an initial coding framework, which was then adjusted when new issues appeared in the data. Transcripts were coded with this framework, and short summaries were entered into a case-by-theme matrix with brief analytic notes and key quotations. The research team used this matrix to compare patterns within and across sites and, through this process, identified five themes that link spatial governance, vendors' actions, and perceived consequences.

## 2.7 Rigor and trustworthiness

We tried to keep the analysis as trustworthy as possible. Credibility was supported by repeated reading, iterative coding, and regular team discussions about emerging themes. Transferability was helped by giving enough detail about the sites, policy context, and participant profiles. We also documented changes in the interview guide and coding framework, and kept clear links between themes, quotations, and matrix entries to support dependability and confirmability.

## 3 Result

### 3.1 Participant profile

The study involved twelve owners of food and beverage MSMEs operating in contested or potentially restricted public spaces in Makassar, Gowa, and Maros. Most participants were women aged between 21 and 42 years, with business experience ranging from less than two years to more than a decade. Several had experienced direct enforcement actions, such as warnings, temporary closures, or pressure to relocate, while others operated under constant uncertainty due to inconsistent information about future regulations. Key demographic and business characteristics are summarised in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Participant characteristics (N = 12).

Variable	Category	n
Study site	Makassar (GOR Sudiang)	4
	Gowa (Jl. Tumanarang)	4
	Gowa (RTH Syekh Yusuf)	4
	Maros (Hutan Kota)	4
Sex	Female	11
	Male	1
Age group (years)	21–30	4
	31–40	6
	41–50	2
Education	Primary school	2
	Junior high school	1
	Senior high school	5
	College/University	4
Years operating	<2 years	2
	2–5 years	4
	6–10 years	3

	>10 years	3
Business type	Beverages and snacks	7
	Prepared meals	3
	Mixed food/beverages	2
Policy experience	Direct enforcement	8
	Uncertainty/rumours	4

Source: Primary Data (2025)

### 3.2 Thematic findings from Framework Analysis

Framework Analysis identified five connected themes that explain how vendors maintained income while facing spatial controls and uneven enforcement across sites.

#### **Theme 1. Livelihood-first decisions and conflict avoidance**

Participants framed decisions around daily income and family responsibility. They described endurance and restraint as practical choices, not passive attitudes.

One participant said they stayed quiet to protect their child: "As long as my child is well, I will endure everything ... I stay silent for my child."

Several participants avoided collective complaints because they feared targeted enforcement. One stated: "I don't join ... they will target me specifically."

#### **Theme 2. Interpreting rules under uncertainty and inconsistent enforcement**

Many participants knew that roadside and public-space vending faced restrictions, but they described unclear communication and uneven implementation.

Policy shifts felt sudden in Gowa, linked to leadership change: "When the new Bupati came, we were told we cannot sell on the roadsides anymore."

In Maros, vendors highlighted inconsistency: "Sometimes the officers come ... Sometimes they don't come for weeks."

#### **Theme 3. Keeping the business running through mobility, timing, and rapid re-entry**

Vendors protected continuity by moving, pausing briefly, and returning quickly.

##### **Mobility as risk control**

- Some moved temporarily when enforcement or events approached (5 participants).
- Some rotated locations on a weekly cycle (4 participants).
- Some experienced forced relocation to designated areas (3 participants).

Vendors adapted equipment to stay mobile. One said: "I designed my cart with good wheels ... when I need to move, it's not too difficult."

##### **Timing and fast recovery**

Some adjusted operating hours to avoid peak enforcement (6 participants).

When closures happened, vendors often stopped briefly, then restarted when pressure eased. One described stopping for two weeks and then resuming "slowly, one by one."

#### **Theme 4. Social and family ties as operational infrastructure**

Participants described relationships as tools that reduced risk and helped them keep working.

**Peer networks**

Vendors shared enforcement information by phone: “If someone sees the officers coming, they inform the others.”

They also shared resources, such as borrowing tables after cart damage. Some practiced “collective compliance,” for example moving back from the main road and focusing on cleanliness to reduce conflict.

**Managing interactions with authorities**

Participants described respectful compliance as a consistent tactic: “We close immediately. We don’t argue.” Some also built goodwill through cleanliness contributions, including fee exemptions linked to cleaning activities.

**Family and community support**

Family helped with labour, childcare, and short-term finances. Examples included help moving carts, preparing food, and support during forced pauses. Some local residents supported vendors informally by telling officers that vendors provided needed services.

**Theme 5. Business risk management and policy priorities**

Participants combined micro-level business tactics with clear expectations for policy support.

**Risk management inside the business**

Some vendors kept multiple location options to reduce dependence on one spot (5 participants).

They avoided fixed stalls and chose portable setups. Many relied on daily capital turnover (10 participants). They minimized inventory to reduce spoilage risk during sudden closures. They separated capital from profit to protect business continuity. They also protected customer loyalty by informing regular customers when they moved, and by keeping product quality consistent.

**Policy priorities voiced by participants**

All participants asked for secure, designated trading space that allowed legal and peaceful vending. They also stressed affordability, visible locations, and basic infrastructure such as water, bins, and electricity. In Maros, some discussed rumours about relocation space near a new stadium, but they expressed uncertainty about follow-through. Many reported they never received assistance programs and questioned distribution fairness. They also requested support for basic equipment such as carts or cooler boxes. They wanted recognition and consultation before rules changed: “We need to be heard and considered.” The main themes identified through the Framework Analysis are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Themes

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Subthemes</b>	<b>What the theme explains</b>	<b>Example interview indicator</b>
1. Livelihood-first and conflict avoidance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Endurance for family needs.</li> <li>• Avoiding protest</li> </ul>	Why vendors choose compliance and adjustment	“I stay silent for my child.”

2. Interpreting rules under uncertainty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy change signals.</li> <li>• Inconsistent enforcement</li> </ul>	How vendors read policy and anticipate officers' enforcement	“Sometimes the officers come ... Sometimes they don't.”
3. Continuity tactics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business risk management and policy priorities</li> </ul>	Temporary moves.Cyclical rotation.Fast return after closure.Timing shifts	Family labour and childcare.Daily capital rotation.Minimal inventory.Customer retention.
4. Social and family infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phone warnings.</li> <li>• Resource sharing.</li> <li>• Respectful support</li> </ul>	How vendors keep selling under spatial pressure.How relationships reduce operational disruption.How vendors protect income and what they ask from government	Move during events, return later.Peer alerts by phone, family support during closure.Demand for designated space and fair assistance.

Source: Primary Data (2025)

The cross-site pattern mix across Makassar, Gowa, and Maros is presented in Table 3.

**Table 3.** Cross-site pattern mix

Theme signal	Makassar (GOR Sudiang)	Gowa (Tumanarang, RTH Syekh Yusuf)	Maros (Hutan Kota)
<b>Policy dynamics</b>	Vendors adjusted hours around ceremonies and peak control periods; new prohibition signals.	Vendors linked restrictions to leadership change and new prohibition signals.	Vendors described uncertainty and gaps in enforcement presence.
<b>Mobility response</b>	Temporary moves and relocation that reduced pressure; re-entry when pressure eased.	Some reported short closures followed by re-entry when return was possible.	Moves during events, then return to maintain visibility and customer presence.
<b>Main uncertainty driver</b>	Timing of enforcement and events.	Sudden rule tightening and relocation outcomes.	Rumours and unclear implementation, including stadium relocation talk.

Source: Primary Data (2025)

## 4 Discussion

This multi-site qualitative study used Framework Analysis to explore how food and beverage MSME owners keep their businesses running under spatial regulation, relocation pressure, and policy uncertainty. As shown in Table 3, the policy dynamics, mobility responses, and uncertainty drivers differed across Makassar, Gowa, and Maros. Participants did not describe their actions as protest, but as efforts to protect daily income and family. One vendor said, “I stay silent for my child,” and this sentence shows clearly how they think about risk and responsibility.

From these findings, the paper makes three main contributions. First, it shows that non-confrontational responses based on movement and timing can be seen as a form of informal stakeholder governance in urban public space, not just passivity. Second, it adds to the literature on non-market strategies in emerging economies by showing how small businesses deal with strong state actors and local communities through low-visibility, relational tactics instead of formal representation. Third, it provides evidence from Indonesian cities where a strong state and a large informal sector exist side by side, and where urban spatial regulation shifts many costs and risks of public order onto micro-entrepreneurs.

### 4.1 Call it accommodation, not passivity

It is easy to label non-confrontation as “passive,” but the evidence points elsewhere. Participants made careful choices about when to comply, when to pause, and when to return. They avoided group protest because they feared being singled out; one participant worried authorities would “target” them if they joined complaints. This is agency under constraint. Participants did not see themselves as powerless, but as exposed. Daily income dependence increased the cost of open conflict: they could not stop selling because children “need to eat every day” and school fees must be paid. In this light, “quiet” action becomes a practical way to survive, not a cultural default. This aligns with prior work on informal livelihoods where vendors choose low-visibility compliance and everyday adaptation to reduce enforcement risk while protecting income [6,7].

### 4.2 Rules operated as signals, not as stable instructions

Participants did not experience policy as a fixed set of rules, but as shifting signals that needed constant interpretation. In Gowa, roadside restrictions were linked directly to the arrival of a new Bupati. In Maros, uncertainty came from irregular officer visits: “Sometimes the officers come... sometimes they don’t come for weeks,” one vendor said. Over time, vendors built what we can call practical rule knowledge. They watched time windows, event schedules, and officer routines, and adjusted when and where they sold. Uncertainty created both anxiety and room to move: when enforcement was intermittent, vendors could return; when it intensified, they shifted hours or locations.

This pattern is similar to studies showing that street-level regulation often works through ambiguity and selective enforcement, so vendors learn rules from cues and officer presence rather than from formal texts [8,9].

### **4.3 Space became mobile through time, movement, and rapid re-entry**

A central finding is that vendors treated trading space as negotiable through mobility and timing. Participants described temporary relocation, rotation between sites, and carefully chosen operating hours. Some invested in mobility by design; one vendor built a wheeled cart so they could move quickly without help. Temporal tactics mattered as much as spatial ones. In Makassar, one participant sold until around 10 a.m., closed during official ceremonies, then returned when foot traffic resumed. In Maros, a vendor stopped for two weeks, then slowly came back when officers did not reappear. These strategies had costs. Mobility produced fatigue, made it harder to keep regular customers, and created practical problems such as maintaining hygiene under changing conditions. Mobility functioned as risk management, but it also shifted the burden onto vendors' bodies, time, and daily routines [10,11].

### **4.4 Relationships operated as infrastructure for continuity**

Participants relied on relationships as practical tools to keep trading. Peer networks worked like early-warning systems: vendors called each other when officers appeared so others could prepare or move. These networks were not formal organisations, but flexible coordination that reduced visibility and political risk. Relations with officers also mattered. Many described immediate compliance as a conscious tactic to avoid escalation: "We close immediately. We don't argue," one vendor said, adding that arguing "will only make things worse." Some tried to show cooperativeness by helping keep the area clean, which in turn influenced how officers treated them. Family support formed another layer of infrastructure, providing labour, childcare, and small financial help during forced pauses.

### **4.5 Financial discipline and portable customer ties reduced shock exposure**

Participants also used simple financial practices that fit an uncertain environment. Several described daily capital turnover and separating business money from household spending to protect continuity, and keeping inventory low to reduce losses if they had to stop suddenly. When space became unstable, customers turned into the most portable asset. Vendors told regular customers where they moved, kept product quality consistent, and built personal rapport. This shifted competition from pure location advantage toward relational advantage, and helps explain why relocation that reduces visibility can quickly cut income. One Gowa participant reported fewer customers after being moved away from the main road because "people cannot see us easily." These patterns echo earlier work showing how relational ties and micro-financial practices help buffer shocks from unstable trading space [12].

#### **4.6 Policy implications**

Participants did not reject regulation in principle. They mainly asked for predictability and workable space. All of them wanted designated trading areas where they could sell legally and peacefully, with affordable costs and basic infrastructure, and locations that match customer flow. When designated spaces cut foot traffic, vendors see them as economic downgrade rather than support.

A second implication concerns legitimacy. Several participants experienced repeated data collection without any follow-up help. One vendor said officers took photos and documents, but “nothing ever comes.” This pattern can slowly erode trust and reduce willingness to join future programs. A third implication concerns how enforcement is designed. Vendors already use their own “graduated responses”: they pause, move, and then return. Policy can follow the same logic, using clear warnings, consistent communication, and staged enforcement linked to realistic transition support. The aim is not zero vending, but managed coexistence that protects public order while reducing unnecessary disruption to livelihoods.

#### **4.7 Non-confrontational resilience as stakeholder governance**

Across the five themes, MSME resilience in these sites appears as a form of informal stakeholder governance. Vendors, frontline officers, and local residents shape the practical rules of using public space through daily interaction rather than formal consultation. Vendors accept some restrictions, but also quietly influence how they are applied by adjusting trading time, helping keep the area clean, and signalling cooperativeness.

Non-confrontational strategies are therefore not outside governance, but one way governance actually happens. Decisions about when to move, pause, or return, and how to keep customer ties, redistribute who carries the costs of urban order. Street-level arrangements around trading times, micro-locations, and informal tolerance zones are negotiated among stakeholders who rarely sit at the same table, but still respond to each other's actions. In this way, the study connects MSME resilience to wider debates on stakeholder governance and non-market strategy in emerging economies, where strong formal authorities and large informal economies exist side by side.

### **5 Conclusion, limitations, and future research Conclusion**

This study shows that food and beverage MSMEs in Makassar, Gowa, and Maros sustain their livelihoods under spatial regulation through adaptive, low-conflict practices that also function as informal governance of trading space. Vendors see policy less as a fixed rulebook and more as moving signals, and they respond by adjusting trading hours, shifting micro-locations, pausing during enforcement peaks, and returning when pressure eases. Social ties act as infrastructure: peer networks give early warnings and basic support, while families provide labour, childcare, and small financial buffers. Many MSMEs also use simple financial discipline such as daily cash rotation, small inventories, and separating business and household money. These practices help them survive, but they also move much of the burden of urban order onto vendors' time,

bodies, and income stability. From a stakeholder governance perspective, the findings suggest that city governments can redesign spatial policy as negotiated arrangements that recognise vendors as legitimate stakeholders, with predictable communication, workable designated spaces that match customer flows, and basic infrastructure so that public order and livelihood security support rather than weaken each other.

### 5.1 Limitations and future research

This study is based only on MSME owners' accounts and was carried out over a short period, so it cannot capture longer-term changes when enforcement becomes much stricter or more relaxed. Future research should include the views of enforcement officers and policymakers to see how rules are communicated, interpreted, and negotiated on the ground. Longitudinal or mixed-methods designs could measure more precisely how relocation, mobility between locations, and partial customer loss affect income volatility and business survival. Comparative studies across provinces and sectors would also help to test whether the non-confrontational resilience patterns seen in Makassar, Gowa, and Maros appear in other urban governance settings in Indonesia.

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