



Street Vendors (PKL) as the Survival Strategy of Poor Community

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Abstract

Street vendors are some of informal sector business actors who are directly related to city government policy. Illegal street vendors as one type of street vendors often get ill-treatment from the city government. It is because in running the business, street vendors occupy public space, such as sidewalks and shoulders, so they are disciplined. Through this phenomena, this study aimed to analyze (1) survival strategy done by street vendors and (2) reasons by street vendors in using public space as a place to trade. Those objectives were further described by employing qualitative descriptive method with data collection technique through interviews and observations. Once the data have been collected, they were analyzed qualitatively interactively. From the research results, it can be concluded. First, being a street vendor for low-level society is the only option and is the most viable way to sustain their lives. Some street vendors do survival strategy in order to meet the needs of everyday life. Second, street vendors use public spaces such as roadsides and sidewalks because (1) there are limitations which make them impossible to occupy locations with obligations to pay, (2) roads and sidewalks are strategic places to peddle merchandise; and (3) lack of attention from government to the needs and welfare of street vendors.

Key words : *Poor, Street Vendors, Survival Strategy*

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INTRODUCTION

Urbanization brings major problems in Asian countries such as China, India and Indonesia. Further, in common big cities in Asia, it is estimated that every day there are 120,000 residents increase the population density (Roberts and Kanaley 2006). In addition to increasing city density, urbanization also provides several benefits such as providing opportunities for millions of people and reducing poverty (Roberts and Kanaley 2006). Other things that change as the impact of urbanization are lifestyles, occupations, social structures, and relationships within the household, organization, and government (Roberts and Kanaley 2006).

Urbanization in big cities is a heaven for investors to invest their shares in economic activities. They can participate by giving investment in the construction of housing or real estate, become the main shareholders of the mall business, become promoters of the construction of entertainment venues, or develop a hospitality business. The investment in formal sector activities is mostly accepted and facilitated by the district or city head.

The reason stated by the head of the region is the district or city he regulates needs fresh funds to spur any development in the area. If the government only relies on government funds, in the form of general allocation funds (DAU) or special allocation funds (DAK), the funds will not be sufficient to finance development and provide maximum services to the community. In addition to being a magnet for the investors, urbanization also causes the city to grow as well as attracts rural migrants to find work (Amin 2005).

Any physical developments required by the formal sector are not infrequently shifting and displacing the lives of small communities. The displaced populations or migrants who do not have a place to work in the formal sector are forced to work in the informal sector in order to make them be able to live and meet the needs of their families. Among those who occupy the informal sector are street vendors (PKL). The growth of the informal sector in the city is a sign of failure as well as the answer to the failure of the process of penetration of the growth strategy (Maharika 2009). The informal sector in this case acts as an absorber of unskilled human resources who have not been absorbed in the urban formal sector. Therefore, it does not require high technology since the informal sector is a vehicle for apprenticeship and education for rural migrants. In line with this, apparently, informal sector phenomenon occurs in the third world countries. For example, in cities in India, poor urban generally work in the informal sector. (Bhomik in Amin 2005).

Community groups working in the informal sector, especially as street vendors are generally poorly educated, have less skills, and use forbidden public places in selling their merchandise. The forbidden public areas include sidewalks, shoulders, roadside near rivers, government offices, and more. Purnomo (2017) in his research found that street vendors in Purwokerto use public space such as sidewalks and places around the market. The street vendors in Semarang also occupy crowded public spaces such as office areas, hospitals, traditional markets, supermarkets and entertainment venues. Moreover, unregistered street vendors (peddlers), in selling their merchandise, occupy sidewalks, shoulders and roadside near the river, and in front of government offices. By trading in these places, street vendors can survive because

there are many citizen pass such places, see them selling their merchandise, and then come to buy or use their services. However, their activity often disrupts pedestrians, drivers or riders. That is why the municipal government does the arrangement and order in the hope that the traffic route is orderly and the area becomes cleaner, beautiful and safe. The mayor of Bogota, Colombia, for example, is authorized to regulate public space in accordance with his authority, including regulating street vendors occupying the public sphere. If he does not run the public space policy properly, he can be fired (Donovan 2002). The mayor who wishes that the city headed into a world-class city expects the absence of poor urban dwellers or the absence of other urban social problems (Jhabvala 2010).

The big question that arises is whether being a street vendor is a compulsion or a life choice in the midst of an increasingly tougher work competence. From the big question, this study will answer two problems, that are what strategies used by street vendors to survive and why street vendors desperate use public space to peddle merchandise or run their business.

City is an area that has developed in such a way that it becomes a destination for anyone who wants to change fate. Not a village, but a city raided by job seekers. The reason is that cities provide the resources and facilities needed by job seekers.

Although the city provides various facilities that allow the community to improve their standard of living, those who have the education, skills, capabilities and enough capital will be able to improve their lives, and some even master the economy of

the city. Meanwhile, those who are less educated, unskilled, lacking in capital, and limited access to economic resources, cause themselves some people like them fall in poverty. As a result, they can only access self-employment in the informal sector that does not require specific education and skills (Sari 2016). The results of these informal sector economic activities can only be used to meet the needs of daily living or to survive. This is in line with the dependency theory approach that the informal sector's economic goal is solely for survival, not to maximize profits (Olabisi Sherifat 2011).

Cities apparently face a dilemma. On the one hand, cities should be open to job seekers, especially those without the skills required by the formal sector; on the other hand, the cities must fix themselves with adequate facilities in order to become a comfortable place for the citizens of the city and be a magnet for investors when viewed from the economic side. These dilemmas cause cities to manage the needs of the urban population, especially the needs of poor communities who lack the skills to work in the formal sector. In his study of street hawkers, Sj-Sumarto (2009) argues that the city has failed in managing street vendors. This is due to the ambivalent attitude of the city government. On the one hand, the existence of street vendors is considered a savior, because the city is more alive with the presence of street vendors who provide jobs and goods and services needed by lower middle class society. On the other hand, street vendors are regarded as the culprit of disorder, chaos, and city defilement.

The study of Alisjahbana (2005) on the informal sector also shows an impression that is not much different from Sj-Sumarto's view that cities in Indonesia face problems in the preparation of spatial and regional planning

plans related to the emergence of the informal sector that is difficult to control. However, it is recognized that the informal sector has a role like foam that is absorbing the excess or bouncing of labor from the formal sector. The poor, who lack skills or skill, ultimately choose to work in the informal sector that does not require a certain education and expertise (Manning and Roesad 2006; Ari 2008).

One of the informal sectors that exists in the urban economy is the more popular informal trading sector called as street vendors. The activities of these street vendors are mostly accessed by the poor and the traded goods are also in great demand by the lower middle class society, because the price is cheap and not taxed (Destombes 2010).

Factors that encourage the poor to work as street vendors are (1) limited urban economic resources accessible to the poor, such as property, capital, and information; (2) the difficulty of entering the formal sector that requires certain conditions that the poor cannot meet; (3) the opportunity to enter the informal sector, particularly as street vendors is widely open due to the unlimited demand and supply of labor (Handoko 2011).

Everyone has a way to survive whatever economic social status he has, especially those who are in a marginal and poor position. Conceptually, the definition of a survival strategy is a series of action chosen in standard by economically poor individual and households (Snel and Staring in 2005). Through this strategy, a person makes an effort to supplement income through the use of other sources or reduce spending by reducing the quantity and quality of goods or services. The way individual arranges the strategies is influenced by the position of the

individual or group within the structure of social, credible belief systems and social networks, including the expertise in the mobility of existing resources, skill level, asset ownership, occupation type, gender status and personal motivation.

According Gunawan and Sugianto (2000) survival strategies for the poor can be interpreted as the ability to deal with problems, both in the efforts that they do to survive from economic and non-economic crunches.

Suharto (2003) argues that survival strategies are the ability of a person to apply a set of ways to overcome the problems that complement his life. Also, he provides ways to tackle economic pressures for the poor, including: (1) active strategies, that are strategies that optimize all potentials of the family, (2) passive strategies which are realized by reducing family expenditure, and (3) networking strategies, building relationship formally or informally in an institutional environment.

White as quoted Ibrahim and Pure Baheram (2009) mentions three types of survival strategies, namely survival strategy as a strategy to meet the needs of life to a minimum level in order to survive, consolidation strategy is a strategy to meet the needs of life, which is reflected from the fulfillment of basic needs and social, accumulation strategy, namely the strategy of fulfilling the necessities of life to achieve basic needs, social, and capital fertilization.

This study uses the concept of survival strategy proposed by White and Suharto, because this strategy is supposed to be the choice of poor families to survive. The literature on how urban poor communities are able to survive through informal sector economic activity is quite a lot. The following is a literature that demonstrates the importance of research on the

survival strategies of economic actors of the informal sector and of the poor.

Karlita (2011) in her research on the Women Survival Strategy in the Coastal Region concludes that the strategies implemented by the women in the hamlet of Muara are an economic strategy and social strategy. The economic survival strategy is divided into six categories: saving and loan, following holiday packages, investing, doing various jobs, sharing food, and sharing electricity; while in social survival strategies, women follow arisan (women lottery group) and borrow something from neighbors.

Chasanah (2013) in the research on the Survival Strategy Done by Food Business in Ngentak Sapen Village, RW (Hamlet) 01 Caturtunggal Depok Sleman DIY, concludes that the strategies of survival of food business are done by (1) maintaining trust with raw material suppliers, customers and with other work relations; (2) maintaining social networks with buyers and fellow traders; and (3) conducting food business efficiency by maintaining pricing strategy, performing cost and time efficiency, performing financial management and setting aside the result of effort.

Khaerunnisa (2015) in her research on Strategies of Increasing Socio Economic Life of Roasted Fish Traders in Suradadi Village, Suradadi Subdistrict, Tegal Regency concludes that fish trader strategies in improving economic social life are realized by (1) taking turns selling in one stall, (2) giving special price to customers, giving gifts or bonuses to customers, and (3) saving some portion of their income.

Suyono (2015) in research on Strategies to Survive Traditional Herbal Traders In RT

(Neighborhood) 25 RW (Hamlet) V Kutakulon, Bondowoso Subdistrict, Bondowoso District, concludes that the herbal traders have three strategies, namely (1) active strategy by making herbal medicine in the morning, maintaining the quality of herbal medicine, looking for remote selling locations, taking herbal orders, moving places while selling, reducing the cost of production by taking or requesting herbal medicine production, buying materials in large quantities, (2) passive strategy of traditional herbalist traders is done by applying a frugal lifestyle, buying vegetables directly to farmers in the village, rarely buy clothes, buy used clothes, reside in overseas areas by simple home care, rent a room, when sick just buy a pot in the corner, drink herbs and massage; and (3) the traditional network strategy of traditional traders is done by borrowing money to neighbors or fellow traditional traders, sell valuables to neighbors or traditional herbal traders, and borrow something on stalls.

Ritami (2016) in the research on Social Capital Role in Strengthening the Strategy to Survive Stone Miners (Sepancang Lawang Kulon Village, East Baturaja Subdistrict, South Sumatera), concludes that in order to survive, there are two strategies employed by scavengers, namely seeking loans and looking for other jobs.

Akbar (2016) in his research on the Scavenger Survival Strategies in Sidomulyo Village, Samarinda Ilir Subdistrict concludes that the strategies used by scavengers to survive are to earn money from morning to evening; set aside or save money earned; do not buy excessive food and do not eat at food stalls, do alternative job by selling fried foods, work as a clothes washer, and be a construction worker and ask for help from social network in form of borrowing

money from the owner of stalls for urgent need by pay cut every day from every item sold.

Jannah (2015) in research on Palm Oil Labor Survival Strategies in Pasir Sialang Village, Bangkinang Kampar Subdistrict concludes that the survival strategies undertaken by palm oil laborers are (1) strengthening social relations with the community, (2) borrowing money from neighbors, family, and employers, (3) utilizing the yields of forest gardens and products, (4) diversifying the work of the palm oil family.

Manihuruk (2013) in research on Survival Strategies Done by Informal Sectors Actors: The Role of Social Capital of Street Vendors Migrant around Bogor Botanical Garden concludes that social capital plays a significant role in street vendors' survival strategies. The social capital is related to the sustainability of the street vendors' business. For more, whenever there are difficulties, the street vendors asks for help to the nearest owned network.

Widodo (2011) in research on Sustainable Livelihood Strategies for Poor Households in Coastal Areas concludes that the Kwanyar Barat fishermen use two strategies in sustaining their lives, namely economic strategy and social strategy. The economic strategies undertaken are, among others, multiple living standards, optimization of household labor and migration. Also, women are involved in efforts to increase family income, but only to help sell the catch. In addition to economic strategies, there is also a social strategy that is done, namely the utilization of local welfare institutions and social networking. Meanwhile, in social strategy, women are only

involved in establishing social networking, by owing their neighbors or relatives and simply to exchange job information.

Ibrahim and Baheram (2009) in a study on the Scavenger Family's Defensive Strategies in Salo Village, Kampar District, concludes that in order to survive, the scavengers take a strategy of borrowing money from neighbors and relatives, saving money, saving expenses, and join women lottery group.

From the results of the above research, it appears that people from the lower middle class have a good economic strategy in maintaining their survival, it is easily done by entering the informal economy sector and it does not require higher education and certain skills. The choice is able to lift his life from the poverty ravine. In order to maintain jobs, the poor make various strategies such as saving money, saving money, borrowing money, and joining lottery group activities.

This study has similarities with previous research, especially in the absence of poor economic conditions and the occupied occupations pertained to the informal economy sector. What distinguishes this research from previous research is the focus of public space research as the arena of trading or running a business. The empirical support of previous research is significantly used as a scientific capital in conducting research on the street vendors survival strategies in the Banjir Kanal Barat river bank area.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research belonged to a qualitative research. In accordance with the views of Moleong (1993) and Bogdan and Taylor (1992) in Amin (2005), this study produced descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from the street vendors studied and their behavior that

were observed directly. Further, the qualitative descriptive research was chosen with the aim of conducting in-depth study of street vendors (Bungin 2015). This type of research was chosen because the writer looked forward to providing understanding, explanation, and theory about the social behavior of street vendors, also giving understanding regarding the complexity of behavior, needs, systems, and culture that develops among street vendors. In accordance with Neuman's (2013) explanation, the data in this qualitative study were taken by special observation (inductively) in the public space occupied by street vendors, then developed into a broader concept, so that data and theory can interact.

This study took place in Semarang city, specifically in Sampangan, Basudewo road, and street Kokroso no where street vendors trade or run their businesses. Additionally, the data collected from the subjects of the study were shaped into the unit of analysis. The unit analysis of this study were street vendors who trade in Sampangan, Basudewo, and Kokroso no. They were investigated from the perspective of the reasons of choosing to become street vendors and the courage to occupy public space to trade or run their business.

Since qualitative research requires focus. The focus of this study was related to the questions that guide study or research. In this connection, the research was focused on:

The strategies used by street vendors to survive, the reasons the street vendors use public space to trade or run a business.

The street vendors (PKL) as informants in this study were selected by purposive method (Maxwell 1996; Creswell 2007).

Purposive, in the sense that informants were chosen based on the characteristics and limits in accordance with the parameters that have been determined in the study, namely: (1) work as traders along the river banks Banjir kanal Barat, namely in Sampangan, Basudewo road, and Kokroso no road, (2) work as a trader for at least 1 year, (3) have married (having wife or husband and children) or bear family, (4) use own stalls. Based on these considerations, the chosen informants were taken from 5 people working in Sampangan, 2 people who traded on the road Basudewo, and 7 people working on the road Kokroso no. Thus, all informants under study were as many as 14 people. However, only 3 vendors who represented the location of Sampangan, Basudewo and Kokroso no were tracked.

The data of this study were collected through interviews and observations. The interviews conducted were unstructured or not standardized, which was a free interview in which the writers did not use interview guidelines that have been prepared in a systematic and complete, but in the form of the outline of research questions related to research problems that want solved (Sugiyono 2009). In conducting interviews, tools used by the writers to help collecting data and research information were a notebook, digital tape recorder, and pen-camera. Furthermore, the interviews were conducted with informants, which were the selected street vendors to reveal the motive data of poor communities to illegal street vendors and why they were desperate to trade or run business in the public sphere. Meanwhile, the observation conducted in this study was moderate participatory observation (Sugiyono 2009). In participatory observation of moderate model, the writers maintained balance as outsiders as

well as insiders. As an insider, the writers, while doing the observation, were also involved in buying and selling activities with merchants and even invented to share his joy as a trader. This was aimed at knowing the reasons why the street vendors kept staying on site.

The collected data were tested for validity using triangulation (Patton 1989; Miles and Huberman 1992; Brannen 1997). This triangulation was used not only at the time of data collection, but also when examining the results of qualitative analysis. The use of triangulation is useful for solving potential problems of construct validity (Yin 1997). Triangulation types used in this research were data triangulation and method triangulation. Triangulation of data was done by collecting data about the strategy pursued by street vendors in 3 locations in maintaining the job. In 2010 and 2011 there were still many poor people who worked as street vendors in Sampangan, Basudewo, and Kokrosono. Alternatively, since there was a checking in the year of 2017 apparently, there remained 2 locations which were still used as a place to trade, while there was 1 location that was no longer occupied by the seller, namely in Basudewo. Accordingly, the interesting findings were that in Sampangan and Kokrosono, there found many street vendors newcomers. Second, the triangulation of methods was done by comparing the method of interview with the method of observation, especially to know the motives or the reason they trade or sell services in the public space.

In accordance with the approach used, the collected data were processed and analyzed using interactive qualitative analysis techniques, where the analysis process followed the cycle, ranging from reduction

activities after data collection, then the presentation of data in the form of narration, tables, and photos, and withdrawal conclusion and verification to confirm the correctness of the data in accordance with the research problem. To facilitate data analysis, the writer reflected on research data, asked analytical questions about research problems, and to prevent data loss the writer wrote brief notes throughout the study (Creswell 2010).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A survival strategy is a characteristic of marginalized groups or communities. Those whose lives depend solely on the job will defend themselves dutifully at work, including if they must oppose or rebel against the state.

There are many cases of marginalized or displaced persons defend their homes, or workplaces and means of production for income. For example, farmers defend their fields or rice fields, retirees (veterans of war) maintain their old residential or dormitory homes, residents defend the residential homes they have occupied for years even though it has finally been proved that the land used up so far does not belong to them, the fishermen desperate to go out to sea in unfriendly seasons despite being banned by the local government, people near the forest desperately take tubers or fruits because that's how they can eat, and street vendors still insist on trading in places has long been used to earn a fortune even if it is prohibited and even evicted by the local government. The street vendors who trade on the side of the road, especially along the riverbank of Banjir Kanal Barat could be classified as stubborn street vendors. There were as many as 15 people with the distribution as follows.

The fourteen vendors investigated in this study belonged to unregistered or illegal street

vendors. They continued to sell on the roadside even though the income was not significant to meet the needs of decent living, except the income of Mr. Mulyono and Mustaqim. This shows that there was something that made them survive and dare to risk no matter how hard it was. Living full of risk they live, including must be ready to be

expelled. However, since they must fulfill the need of their family, they kept staying on location.

Since those street vendors had inadequate education, insufficient capital, no skills, and credit access, the only way to struggle in life for the poor was inspired by the term of "*bonek*".

Table 1. The Identity of the Street Vendors and the Type of Business as well as Their Income

No.	Names	Age (years old)	Business Fields	Location	Income (Rupiah) per day
1	Minasat	49	Vent covers craftsman	Sampangan	100,000.00
2	Hermin	42	Seafood seller	Sampangan	50,000.00
3	Satrio	29	Satay seller	Sampangan	100,000.00
4	Muriman	56	<i>Gado-gado</i> seller	Sampangan	100,000.00
5	Adi Priyono	50	Ice cane seller	Sampangan	50,000.00
6	Armis	45	Gasoline seller	Basudewo	75,000.00
7	Sabar	57	Ice tapai seller	Basudewo	50,000.00
8	Junaedi	52	Secondhand cellular phone seller	Kokroso	50,000.00
9	Yakub	70	Refuse-matter seller	Kokroso	50,000.00
10	Pendi	44	Refuse-matter seller	Kokroso	50,000.00
11	Maryono	55	Refuse-matter seller	Kokroso	50,000.00
12	Mulyono	47	Agricultural Equipment and Carpentry seller	Kokroso	250,000.00
13	Salim	65	Refuse-matter seller	Kokroso	50,000.00
14	Mustaqim	63	Agricultural Equipment and Carpentry seller	Kokroso	300,000.00

Source: Primary Data

Which means (*bondo nekat*) or brave to fight for their lives as well as for the family they love. Alternatively, the depressed and

suppressed situation around them made these underprivileged groups struggle out of the shackles of poverty just to "live". Due to various

limitations, a group of people from low level economic condition perceived that being a street vendor is an appropriate choice.

Just relying on life from trading, according to some street vendors was not enough. The gambling future made them think to design other work or do part-time work. Sometimes the wife's help to get involved was also needed. Satrio Wibowo, for example, one of the street vendors who earns a living in Sampangan, assisted his wife in meeting the needs of the family by working in the factory. Here is the narrative of Satrio Wibowo.

"Working as a merchant is not the only our income source ... I even have ever sold lizard and snake satay ... now I am selling goat satay ... which I thought not enough for our living cost... fortunately my wife understands such situation and is willing to work in the factory ... just to supplement family income. My mother also works as a merchant ... she works to the north of my house, but I do not want to depend on my parents ... I feel pity to her and I want to be independent ... if I can, I would like to help my parents" (interview with Satrio, Sunday, 17 October 2010).

When evicted, there were some street vendors who slammed the bow to be able to maintain the survival of their family. Armis (45 years old), a long-time trader occupying the location of Basudewo, is one example of creative workers once he has got evicted. Before working as a retail gasoline trader as well as opening a business of bicycle and motorcycle tires, Mr. Armis worked as a driver. After a massive eviction in Basudewo in December 2010, Pak Armis finally moved to the center of street vendors in Kokrosono by working as a furniture craftsman.

"I am a nomads worker ... I have ever experienced almost all jobs ... the important thing is not idle. I have ever been a driver, selling clothes around, selling gasoline, open a business workshop ... actually selling gasoline together with becoming tire repairs gave me a good income. I could earn Rp75,000.00 per day ... it could support the family living. However ... since the location of the business evicted and leveled with heavy equipment, I have got no idea on what work should be done... I thank to Mr. Achmad, the chairman of Basudewo street vendors who were willing to succumb to move to Kokrosono by occupying stalls in building H. I finally chose to be a furniture craftsman ... apparently, it turns pretty good results and it is easy to look for furniture making materials" (interview with Armis, Sunday, April 17, 2011).

Armis is kinds of a hard worker. He belonged to people who were not easily discouraged. It was proven by the various jobs he has ever done before. After being evicted from his place of selling, he chose to work as a furniture craftsman until now. When asked the reasons to be a furniture craftsman with no skill on such field, he gave the following answer.

"Before I was evicted, my daily trading was close to a furniture craftsman who also run a business in Basudewo, so I know how they make chairs, tables and cupboards ... I also accidentally observed the way they work ... and then I am interested on the job by the time I got evicted ... Alhamdulillah ... I could do it ... God is just fair when his fellow needs him ... I was given his bless for this" (interview with Armis, Sunday, 17 April 2011).

The uncertain market situation made the street vendors chose a strategy with variations of the type of work that made them possible to survive. It was also experienced by Armis. The new job as a furniture craftsman apparently has

not been promising to meet the needs of family life because the lack of buyer. Moreover, the reputation of Armis as an furniture craftsman has not been yet well-known. That is why, Armis still maintained his old job, which is opening a motorcycle repair shop with his brother at the old location in Basudewo. "Lately I got only few clients, so in order to keep my kitchen "ngebul"(the term used to express when the necessities of life are fulfilled) I opened my old business, the business of a motorcycle repair shop with my brother", said Armis.

In the case of the street vendors in Semarang, it was found that everyone could actually find ways to deal with the challenge of survival. This is related to the survival strategy.

Any survival strategies adopted by individuals or community groups depend on their social status and economic condition. Also, kinds of strategies being pursued were related to the quality of human and environmental resources. In relation to this, the street vendors in Sampangan, Basudewo, and Kokrosono adopted the first type of survival strategy as proposed by White, namely work to meet daily needs as street vendors in order to survive. There were only a few street vendors who took the second strategy which is consolidation and third, namely capital accumulation. The second strategy was implemented by Mulyono, while Mustaqim was the example of successful street vendors representing the third strategy.

For more, Mustaqim, who worked as a trader of farming, carpentry and household appliances in Kokrosono, was able not only to meet family needs, but also social needs, such as interacting with neighbors in

neighborhood associations (RTs) and setting aside some of his income for social and religious funds . Even from the work he occupies, Mustaqim could perform the hajj pilgrimage with his wife and could save and bought goods which represented the symbol of the upper middle class status such as motorcycles, three-wheel motorcycles, homes, and jewelry.

Another example is Muriman, a gado-gado seller in Sampangan (who has now moved to sell at his home near Sampangan market) and Sador who sold pecel at Simpang Lima roundabout. Other than that, it is obvious that there are still many successful street vendors in business. Unlike Mustaqim, Muriman, Mulyono, and Sador, most of the street vendors investigated in this study employed the first strategy, namely the survival that is all taken to maintain their lives survival. People survival strategies are various. For example, Satrio, a street vendors who has ever sold in Sampangan, assisted by his wife in meeting the needs of the family. Before his place of trading was evicted, he worked as a seller of lizard and snake satay, and after the eviction, he turned into the seller of goat satay. The eviction also affected toward Armis, who used to work as a retailer of gasoline and tires, and is now working as a furniture craftsman near his home.

These show that (1) street vendors have tremendous resilience when facing challenges and problems of life and they are able to get out of trouble, (2) their new jobs are not totally different from the previous ones, which are around economic business informal sector, (3) the street vendors have economic intelligence, that is able to exploit existing potential and read situation to earn income to support family. This is in accordance with Kluckhohn's cultural value orientation system which is developed by

Koentjaraningrat, namely life is understood by street vendors as a bad thing, but can still be improved if they want to stay alive. This is the same as what was experienced by street vendors who were affected by development projects. They were not easily discouraged and immediately turned to other work that allows them to support their families. Although many view that being illegal street vendors are considered as disobedience citizens, it is recognized that street vendors have endurance and entrepreneurial ethos that are not less high than formal sector entrepreneurs. The vendors studied were generally low-educated, have relatively small capital, and rely their economic management on families, but they are able to raise their lives to a better level of economic prosperity. Besides, the marketing system used was the

jemput bola (talent scouting), which was realized by keeping closer to the consumer. Such facts are supported by Zakik 's research (2006) which shows that street vendors have a high entrepreneurial ethos, independent, and not dependent on the help of others.

Above all, it is obvious that life is not easy. Life is easy-hard, so is looking for income. Although it is hard, as long as people are willing to do "tangan gelem kemlawe" (want to work), they will be able to earn revenue. It depends on the value orientation of a person or society about something. The orientation of values is understood as a general and systematic conception of nature, of human relationships to human beings and of the desirable and undesirable, as they can be related to human-environmental and human relationships (Marzali 2005: 122).

Table 2. Cultural Values Orientation Framework

Life Issues		Cultural Values Orientation	
The nature of life	Life is bad	Life is good	Life is bad, but it has to be improved
The nature of work	Work for life	Work for position	Work to increase the quality of the work
The nature of human in time space	Past	Present	Future
The nature of human relationships with nature	Subject to nature	Seeking harmony with nature	Mastering nature
The nature of human relationships with humans	Look at superior figures	Concerned the sense of dependence on others	Concerned feeling of not relying something on others

Source: Marzali (2005: 125)

The concept of value orientation was developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, which was then abbreviated as K & S. This concept of value orientation by Koentjaraningrat was introduced in the social repertoire of anthropology in Indonesia in terms of cultural value orientation.

In this cultural value orientation, life issues and how to view life are understood in accordance with the orientation of the chosen cultural values.

The frame of cultural value orientation can be seen in the following table.

For certain people, life is good and work is understood as a way of finding a position. Politicians or businessmen who are dissatisfied with their status and position seek to work to accumulate wealth and strive to enter politics, work in politics or at least support a certain political stream, in the hope that in the future it can gain a position as a people's representative in Senayan, become a member of parliament in the region or may become Governor, Mayor or Head of district.

For people from lower middle classes, including street vendors, life is understood as something bad and their work is understood as a way to live. Not working means they are not alive. Work is the essence of human life and as long as man lives, he must work (Anoraga 2001: 24). The street vendors "survive" because they work.

In terms of time, they do not see the past, neither does the future of his life be what it was unthinkable before. The thinking is the present. Working now can meet the necessities of life. Working later, they will not eat. "Who cares about us", so often spoken by street vendors who work on the streets. "If not

us, who will feed", that is the expression of the street vendors.

Living for work or work to live like a street vendor is the most dominant motivation that drives the poor to work as street vendors. The informant studied stated that being a street vendor is the only job. That is the same as what was stated by Salim, refuse-matter seller in Kokrosono, as in the following. "there is no other jobs, sir. The one I can do is become a seller ... the easy work to do. Besides, I am already old and have no capital. In the past, I was still able to be a pedicab driver because I was young and got much power. However, now the condition is on the opposite side. (interview with Salim, Sunday, October 10, 2010). From the results of interviews and observations, the study shows that there are 7 motives which prove that becoming street vendors is the right economic choice. The motives are (1) small or limited capital, (2) want independent business, (3) no more suitable work, (4) family tradition, (5) avoid to be unemployed, (6) work easier, (7) old age (for older traders).

The subjects of this study occupied public spaces, especially on sidewalks used by pedestrians, shoulders and roadside near Banjir Kanal Barat. Moreover, the street vendors in Sampangan, Basudewo, and Kokrosono who have been evicted in 2010 (Handoyo 2012) eventually returned to the streets. Seven years after the evictions, the two areas which are still packed with street vendors are Sampangan and Kokrosono. In Sampangan, although the road has been trimmed and the riverbank of Banjir kanal Barat is fenced and the former Sampangan market has been transformed into Taman Sampangan, with the intention that the Sampangan area is cleanly cleaned from street vendors, but the reality is that many street

vendors try to fate in the region, especially at night. Of the many traders during the evictions of 2010 who still survive are nasi gandul vendors, while other street vendors are newcomers, such as fried rice sellers, milk traders, grilled sausage sellers, sempolan sellers, roasted corn sellers, meatballs sellers, and other food sellers selling food which are favored by young people. Those sellers gather near the Taman Sampangan.

Unlike the Sampangan area, in Basudewo, there are not many former of street vendors who occupy their previous place of selling. There are only two former street vendors in the evictions who are still running businesses in the place, namely ice tapai sellers and gasoline sellers. Similarly, there are no new street vendors in Basudewo. This is understandable since the roads in the Basudewo region are too narrow for informal sector economic activity, especially now that the road has turned into a one-lane street, unlike in 2010. This condition makes people hard to pass along and cause the street along Basudewo lacks of wild street vendors. Also, the roadside of Basudewo, the same as in previous years is used by furniture entrepreneurs to dry the finished tables and chairs.

Kokrosono is a trading and service area that has similarities with the Sampangan area. In addition to the two-lane road, this area is also crowded by drivers and riders. Moreover, in Kokrosono, especially across the railway, there is a relocation place for street vendors in the form of high rise buildings to accommodate street vendors who have been evicted from the place. Nevertheless, the Kokrosono road lane starts from the Banjiral Bridge bridge to the north towards Kokrosono, there are still found wild street

vendors. They occupy the sidewalk to the shoulders of the road to the east near the settlement. Similar to the past, goods are sold, not much different from the goods sold during the eviction of 2010, the tools of agriculture and carpentry, used clothing, motorcycle parts (secondhand), used phones, and other goods. Among them, there are also street vendors selling 3 kilos-sized gas cylinder. Some of them are newcomers who generally trade in parts and used goods. The city government has provided a safer place, such as the street vendors building in Kokrosono, but there are still many illegal street vendors who insist on staying in a location or public space that should not be used for trading and services. From interviews conducted with street vendors, they are informed that they know and realize that roads and sidewalks are public spaces that should not be used for trading activities. However, because of their limitations (lack of sufficient capital, uneducated, unskilled, and skills), the street vendors are forced to sell or run a business in order to earn income.

In addition, roads or sidewalks are crowded places and people visit, so by placing merchandise on the side of the road, their goods will be known directly by drivers and riders that have interest to buy something that is in the area.

The third reason why public space is used is due to the lack of government's attention to illegal street vendors. Many of the street vendors are immigrants and generally they are not covered by social security programs, including not getting a poor card. The absence of the state in their lives makes the street vendors dare to break the rules by trading in public spaces, such as on the sidewalks and sidewalks.

CONCLUSION

Street vendors generally belong to the middle to lower class. For people from middle to

lower class like street vendors (PKL), understanding life as something bad and work is understood as a way to live. Not working means the street vendors will not survive. Work is the essence of human life and as long as man lives, he must work.

The street vendors are aware that with all the constraints imposed and inability to access jobs that require high requirements.

Therefore, the street vendors must choose the way by trading or selling services on the streets or public places. Some of them work to sell food (rice) and drinks, sell household appliances, farms and carpentry tools, open a repair shop, trade in gasoline, and become furniture craftsmen. Those are done solely to meet the needs of the family. At last, the street vendors "survive" because they keep working.

Becoming street vendors for low-level community groups is the only option. It is the most viable way to sustain life. On the one hand, the street vendors chose the first survival strategy, namely to meet the needs of everyday life just to survive.

The street vendors use public spaces such as roadside and sidewalks, because (1) there are limitations which make it impossible to occupy locations that must be in obligation to pay, (2) roads and sidewalks are strategic places to sell merchandise; and (3) lack of attention from the government towards needs and welfare of street vendors.

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