

Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors: Study Cases in Triangle Gold of DKI Jakarta

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Abstract

Street vendor (*Pedagang Kaki Lima* - PKL) is the most incarnation of the informal economy with the biggest role even at the state level. Unfortunately, PKL is blamed as the source of problems and is surrounded by the threat of eviction, which still happened in DKI Jakarta, as the symbol and magnet of development in Indonesia. This study aims to reveal the vulnerability of the PKL in the Golden Triangle of Jakarta and the defensive strategies they carry out. The qualitative method with a case study strengthened by life history for revealing the vulnerability and survival strategy of the PKL household is applied in this study. The result shows the unforeseeable fact that PKL in Triangle Gold of DKI Jakarta potentially can reach an income as same as the regional minimum wage in DKI Jakarta. At the same time, the eviction and number of customers are the PKL's vulnerability factors. Social capital is essential to start a new job or business as PKL, while strengthened by push and pulling factors to migrate from rural to city. Bridging and bonding with stakeholders through adaptation to the changing rule are the PKL's main strategies to survive; besides, preserving the identity and norms of PKL boosts the PKL community's adhesion to encounter hard times. Beyond that, resignation value to God and effort for growing are determinant aspects that differ between PKL who have more or less revenue.

Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) adalah penjelmaan yang paling banyak dari ekonomi informal dengan peran terbesar bahkan pada tingkat negara. Sayangnya, PKL dituding sebagai sumber permasalahan dan dikelilingi ancaman penggusuran yang masih terjadi di DKI Jakarta, kota yang menjadi simbol dan magnet pembangunan di Indonesia. Penelitian ini ingin mengungkapkan kerentanan para PKL di Segitiga Emas Jakarta dan juga strategi bertahan yang mereka lakukan. Metode kualitatif dengan studi kasus yang diperkuat dengan life history digunakan untuk mengungkapkan kerentanan dan strategi bertahan para rumah tangga PKL. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan fakta yang tidak diduga bahwa PKL di Segitiga Emas Jakarta berpotensi untuk mendapatkan pendapatan setara upah minimum regional di DKI Jakarta, sementara penggusuran dan jumlah pembeli adalah faktor kerentanan PKL. Modal sosial adalah modal yang paling penting untuk memulai pekerjaan baru atau bisnis baru sebagai PKL, yang dikuatkan oleh faktor pendorong dan penarik untuk bermigrasi dari perdesaan ke perkotaan. *Bridging and bonding* dengan para pihak melalui adaptasi dari perubahan aturan adalah strategi utama PKL untuk dapat bertahan, di samping menjaga identitas dan norma PKL yang menguatkan kerekatan komunitas PKL ketika menghadapi waktu sulit. Lebih dari itu, nilai kepasrahan kepada Tuhan dan usaha untuk berkembang merupakan aspek penentu yang membedakan antara PKL yang memiliki keuntungan lebih atau kurang.

Keywords: street vendor; PKL; vulnerability; social capital; DKI Jakarta

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Introduction

DKI Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia which has the role of a symbol and magnet of development. One of DKI Jakarta's issues is the growth of the informal economy, especially in street vendors (PKL) form. Approximately around sixty thousand PKL, which tends to increase significantly between 2014 to 2016 (Ali 2016). A recent study that contrasts the number of PKL has been stated by Hasanuddin (2019), who said the number of PKL in DKI Jakarta reach around 600 thousand which 500 thousand of them are illegal PKL.

Unfortunately, the government of DKI Jakarta still has an eviction approach for PKL which tend to be blamed as the source of problem such as the source of a traffic jam or degrade the artistry level of the city (BPN 2020; Kusakabe 2006; Rini 2013), although eviction to PKL has proved as ineffective action (BPPN 2009; Fathy and Rachmawan 2020; Hasanuddin 2019; Widjajanti 2015). Around 232 cases of eviction had happened to economic units such as PKL from 2016-2018, which affected 7.975 victims (Albajili, Fitri, and Syamsul 2018; Albajili, Latifa, and Alfitri 2018; Januardy, Achmadi, and Fortuna 2017). The government carried out this eviction unilaterally (83%), which had no solution for 77% of cases. The eviction action by the government must have a significant impact on the PKL's life, not only about the tangible forms such as capital for starting their business, but also the loss of intangible as loss such time (Roever and Skinner 2016) or maybe their social life.

Many studies have described and explained informal economy. Further on, street vendors

form as one form which mostly conspicuous as an informal economy were in this paper named as "PKL". Kesteltoot and Meert (1999) describe the economy as informal did not homogenous, and it was developed from domestic work to become lifestyle then commercialized in the 1960s, this phenomenon happened in an urban area in Brussels. In their conclusion, the informal economy is a poor survival strategy and minority groups in the urban areas. Kesteltoot and Meert (1999) used Gershuny concept in 1979 then divided economy informal into two major professions, some domestic workers who not paid and the worker who is paid by formal economy unit but not includes in a formal economy realm such as protected by worker rule or state rule such as illegal worker. As an illegal worker, the activities did not record.

Same as Kesteltoot and Meert (1999), Maes (2003) defined informal economies are small businesses which not recorded or not protected by law. Maes (2003) stated many people in developing countries work in this area and tend to be grouped as poor people. Little different from Kesteltoot and Meert (1999), Maes (2003) has explained the exclusion of informal economy pressed by rule. In his paper, Maes (2003) suggests that the government regulate the informal economy and give PKL an assistance program, especially for capital.

If Kesteltoot and Meert (1999) and Maes (2003) see the informal economy as unrecorded economic activity, in turn, Henry and Sills (2006) defined informal economy as a hidden economy activity which can contribute until 20% of GDP in the USA in the 1970s-1980s. Moreover, the informal economy can contribute to 40% of

economic activity (Bennett 2009) or contribute to 95% of the country's GDP (Kusakabe 2006). Henry and Sills (2006) have seen the informal economy's exchange activity as part to develop the future because the informal economy has a significant role in sustaining the social and economic situation. The informal economy also can absorb labor that is not absorbed by the formal sector (Chidoko 2013; Sekhani, Mohan, and Medipally 2019), even it provides 70% of food in 11 cities in Sub Sahara, Africa (Roever and Skinner 2016). Besides, the informal economy can provide commodities which not available in the formal sector (Chidoko 2013) at a cheap price (Danielsson 2016).

In many developing countries, informal economy workers represent at least 2/3 of total profession non-agriculture (Noeraini 2015). Then in the Indonesian context, Noeraini (2015) stated 72,4% of people work in the informal economy where one form of the informal economy is a micro, small, or middle business, which contains around 50 million units and contributes to 57,45% GDP in 2012. Little different from Kesteltoot and Meert (1999), which divided the informal economy into two major professions, Noeraini (2013) described more complex composition of the informal economy worker which added sex and rate of income aspects. From the bottom to the upper categories are homemaker, seasonal worker, self-employed, informal worker, and informal entrepreneur.

At this time, one of five-person works in the informal economy in developed countries, and the proportion will increase in developing countries (Widjajanti 2015). PKL is the most

important profession in every part of the world and was estimated to contain around 1 billion people (Benítez, Grice, and Harvey 2018; Sekhani et al. 2019). Coupling with the María Benítez et al. (2018) that stated about PKL as an important profession in the informal economy, previous studies seem PKL is the most conspicuous form of the informal economy (Handoyo and Setiawan 2018; Hermawatii and Runiawati 2017; Roever and Skinner 2016; Sulisty Rini 2013).

Several studies explained PKL in Indonesia. Many people in Indonesia depend on their livelihood on micro-business as PKL in the urban area (Hariyatno et al. 2020). PKL tends to get closer with their consumers by selling their products, many of them selling foods (Budi 2006; Ramadhan 2015). Susilo (2011) can state that the exchange of PKL is faster than the formal economy, where PKL (31%) can sell 3/4 of their goods.

The role of PKL as the informal economy which can absorb excess labor from a rural area on the urbanization process is explained by BPN (2020), Rini (2013), Nilakusmawati, Susilawati, and Wall (2019), and Hariyatno et al. (2020). PKL is needed by people (Widjajanti 2015) even for the government (Tahir and Riskasari 2015) and they can pay the rent cost to the survival of their business (Benítez et al. 2018). Although many studies have shown that PKL tends to be evicted because they are seen as harmful for the beauty of the cities (Hasanuddin 2019; Hayat 2012; Hermawatii and Runiawati 2017; Widjajanti 2015; Widyaningrum 2009). Another treatment from the government is relocating them, which is ineffective and make new building as relocation point of PKL is abandoned (Ramadhan 2015).

Legal aspect and PKL is explained by several studies, and its have suggested making simple rule (Maes 2003) for PKL where PKL is recognized and invited in the planning process of cities (Fathy and Rachmawan 2020; Kusakabe 2006; Roever and Skinner 2016). The government needs to make an inclusive process for PKL (Fathy and Rachmawan 2020; Sekhani et al. 2019), especially for facilities and places (Budi 2006). Because to solve the PKL if the government sees them as the problem, the government can not use a top-down approach (Fathy and Rachmawan 2020; Hermawati and Runiawati 2017).

Several studies have tried to examine the origin of the PKL which emerge because of the urbanization process (Budi 2006; Handoyo and Setiawan 2018; Sariffuddin, Wahyono, and Brotosunaryo 2017). Widyaningrum (2009) stated a PKL tend originated from outside of cities who came to find the job (Hermawati and Runiawati 2017) based on kinship or friendship (Irianto 2014). Then, family or kinship has a significant role to start a PKL business (Irianto 2014). Coupling with Irianto (2014), social capital is meant for PKL to survive in cities (Hayat 2012; Hermawati et al. 2019; Manihuruk 2013; Sariffuddin et al. 2017) not only with the kinship but also create a relationship with the unscrupulous officer (Hasanuddin 2019; Irianto 2014).

Other studies emphasize other aspects, such as Handoyo and Setiawan (2018) which emphasize PKL value. The result seems that work is an essential aspect of human life for PKL. Besides, Handoyo and Setiawan (2018) have a different result from Kesteltoot and Meert

(1999) and Maes (2003), that state not only poor people who work in the informal economy as PKL but also middle-income people transform themselves into PKL. Coupling with Handoyo and Setiawan (2018), Hariyatno et al. (2020) state people become PKL not only for a survival strategy but also to reach the opportunity.

Different from previous studies about PKL that just state social capital as means to survive in cities, we add social capital to the modified vulnerability index by Ju Lan et al. (2018). The essential aspect of social capital is cohesivity (Fathy 2019) which social networks as the most valuable and the basic asset for people to share something (Field 2010). Then, Fukuyama (2002) explain that social network contains values or norms which effect on trustworthiness. Trustworthiness can be explained by attitude, feeling, and expectation from one person to each other in their social network (Fukuyama 2002, 2005). Furthermore, with value on social networks can create an identity, reciprocal relation, and repetition interaction (Fukuyama 2005). On the other side, we can see the form of the social networks in three forms, there is bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (Usman 2018). From this explanation, this is the modified vulnerability index for PKL with added social capital.

Based on Sekhani et al. (2019) that suggest to analyze and examine about the daily life condition of PKL. The qualitative research method is used in this article at food street vendor household level analysis to examine how PKL can overcome their vulnerability as a survival strategy especially in DKI Jakarta which tends to evict PKL in recent time. We emphasize the

process of how can PKL can emerge with life history and survive using social capital (Field 2010; Fukuyama 2002, 2005; Usman 2018). Then the process will be described into two models first about the process of how PKL can emerge and the second is how PKL can survive with their social capital. We use three-stage to gather the data, first, we observe center points where the PKL offer their goods in "Segitiga Emas Jakarta", then we ask simple questions to 55 food street vendor about their revenue, source of capital to start their business, how they get "permission", etc. Then, the three-stage is we have a purposive deep interview with 6 food street vendor that contain one who has the highest revenue and the one who has less revenue in each corridor.

Facts, Vulnerability, and Survival Strategy of Food Street Vendors

A Glance Facts of Food Street Vendor

Based on observation data which had noted 320 PKL in three corridors, there are 75,3% of street vendors who selling foods (heavy or light meal). Soto (26,95%) is the most commodity of a heavy meal, then fried food (16%) is the most commodity of a light meal. Most of them (75,63%) use semi-permanent stall which 21 (6,5%) of them have 61 employees in total.

These facts show us, with a few number locations in DKI Jakarta with limited space that can absorb a minimum of 381 workforces. This fact is coupling with previous studies (Benitez, 2018; Chidoko, 2013; Kasukabe, 2006; Rini, 2012; Roever et al, 2016) that said PKL as an informal economy has a role to absorb the

excess of workforce who can not be absorbed by the formal sector.

Another interesting fact about PKL that we find out from 55 PKL who is interviewed is they tend to have daily income each day between Rp. 598.700,- to Rp. 1.428.500,-/day (40%), and less than Rp. 598.600,-/day (38,8%). Only 21,8% PKL who have income more than Rp. 1.428.600,-/day. Even though this is a purposive interview that can not be generalized, at least we found out that we can not underestimate informal economy activity especially "PKL".

Vulnerability and Life History of Food Street Vendor

Let get continue our discussion about the vulnerability of food street vendors. Same as previous studies (Fathy and Rachmawan 2020; Hasanuddin 2019; Kusakabe 2006; Roever and Skinner 2016; Widyaningrum 2009) eviction (43,75%) is the main problem for 55 PKL. In our findings, there are other problems beyond eviction, there are decreasing income (22,92%), poor sanitation facilities (18,75%), and poor space facilities (14,58%), etc. The other problem emerges because of the local context in DKI Jakarta, which is different from the finding from Ermandara (2016).

Even previous studies said about "eviction" as the main problem (Fathy and Rachmawan 2020; Hasanuddin 2019; Kusakabe 2006; Roever and Skinner 2016; Widyaningrum 2009), but previous studies did not explain how PKL can emerge and survive in the city.

First, social capital has an essential role in the emerging of PKL in the city. From social net-

works such as sibling, family, partner, until an acquaintance from sibling which can make many people get information or offer a job in the city with Indonesia imbalance context of development between city and rural. People in rural areas have an obsession to work in DKI Jakarta based on the expectation to improve living conditions and to get a better job with limitation of education level as pull factors. While in the push factor are limitation of jobs in a rural area with less opportunity to get a better life which makes strong their obsession to go to the city especially DKI Jakarta.

Almost all informants who interviewed reflect the same idea to go to DKI Jakarta, they want to "work". Such as Siti (one of the informant) who said: "... *there is no future to live in rural areas, work as a farmer and live in rural will not have any development or any progress...*". Another informant is Sipon said, "... *in my hometown I own little field in Kebumen, but from that it not enough to fulfill daily need so I need to wander off...*". Sipon went to DKI Jakarta because of a job offer from his friend, he started to work as a plate washer and he did not know any skills.

All of the informants started work in DKI Jakarta as informal workers such as a plate washer, work in a restaurant, food seller (*lauk-pauk, ketoprak*), or cloth seller. Just one informant said she just wants to continue her parent business as PKL which sells *gado-gado*. She said "... *this business is the heritage of my parents so we continue this. My parents have started selling gado-gado since 10 years ago...*"

Then, when they have started their business if they work as an informal worker? The answer to this question is as time goes by, they have

tried to save their income. From this saving money as economic capital to start their business as PKL. Such as Siti and her husband who could buy a cart to approach potential customers from saving money. Other, informant said they started their business as PKL which borrowed money from their relatives or family, for instance, such as Suwandi who said: "... *from Cirebon, I borrowed some money from my relative ... (to start his business)*".

These facts reflect that even they have to work as an informal worker in their first step in the city, they still struggle to make a better life by saving their money or they use their social network to collect or gain some economic capital that used to starting their business. This fact can be strengthened from data that we had gathered from simple questions to 55 PKL.

From figure 1. we can see the tendency of initial capital to start a PKL business is saving money (69,09%). Further, several forms of debt are sourced by using social capital such as debt from the parent, debt from a relative, and debt from the boss. These debts are used by social relations if we cumulated the percentage reach to 18,18% which means as the runner up position after saving money to start PKL business. In special cases such Sipon, he can get debt from the bank reach to 40 million rupiah because he had several assets as economic capital from his revenue.

Another pressure that pushes them to become PKL is economic pressure to fulfill their need. For instance, as Titi as a single mother PKL, she had a divorce from her ex-husband and left her with three children. With her saving money and knowledge/skill as cultural capital, she tried to dare herself to sell soto as PKL.



Figure 1
Source of Capital of PKL to Start Businesses

Different from Sipon, he said, "... *the salary in that time (as an informal worker) is low when I was a bachelor, because of the family need the salary was not enough so I choose to open my business (as PKL) ...*" Because increasing in expenses, Sipon dares to become PKL.

Another aspect that determines how someone chose type or kind of food to start the business as PKL is a skill which is learned when they worked as an informal worker. This skill is very useful for the informal worker as **basic** cultural capital to start their business. For instance, as Siti as the daughter of *Gado-gado* PKL, she had learned and know how to make *gado-gado*. While Sipon who had worked as a plate washer then take the opportunity as a cook include had learned how to make Chinese food. As time goes, he can cook Chinese food as a skill as cultural capital that he gets from work as an informal worker. Sipon had tried to sell clothes and *bakmi ayam*, but he had gone bankrupt. Then he had to back chose the Chinese food because of his skill then tried to sell it in the street as PKL. So,

we can see the life history of PKL as how they can emerge in the city especially in triangle gold of DKI Jakarta in Figure 2.

The Essence of Social and Cultural Capital to Survive in the Middle of DKI Jakarta

Then, how can they choose the location to start a business and survive? First, we need to explain how PKL can pick or get some location to start their business with several examples in the list below:

1. Siti and her husband get some information and location from her husband friend.
2. Isah and her husband get some information and had offered a location from her husband's friend.
3. Amel and her husband have started their business location as the heritage from her parents.
4. Sipon had tried to find location by himself and had asked with "administrator", and he is approved.

From this point, people have two channels to find out the strategic location. First, they can use their social network to get some information, the second they can find themselves and need to ask the “administrator” of that place. The second option is the bridging of the social network by the PKL before they can join or open their business in the location.

These facts coupling with our simple questions data that show 52,73% PKL themselves who determine their location, then 12,72% location PKL determined by their social network (following other PKL/relative, parents). After that, relate with local context in DKI Jakarta that implemented re-arrangement PKL location, so 14,55% of PKL is determined by the government. The data said that 14,55% of PKL have that place was based on negotiation with the government and become “UKM” (little-medium business).

Beyond the 14,55% contribution of the DKI Jakarta government to determine location, at the same time, it reflects the survival strategy of PKL. PKL tends to seem an illegal economic activity so the government always have tried to evict them.

But, in this context, PKL has succeeded to negotiate its position in the government view. They had tried to negotiate as a bridging relation to the government, then the government accommodates and recognizes PKL as a legal economic activity under UKM.

This legal status for PKL under the UKM agreement is accompanied by responsibilities and rights for each side. PKL has the right to be recognized and does their business with regular payment in Rp.100.000,-/month to the government as a responsibility through Bank DKI. While the government has received some monthly retribution, such as rent payment,

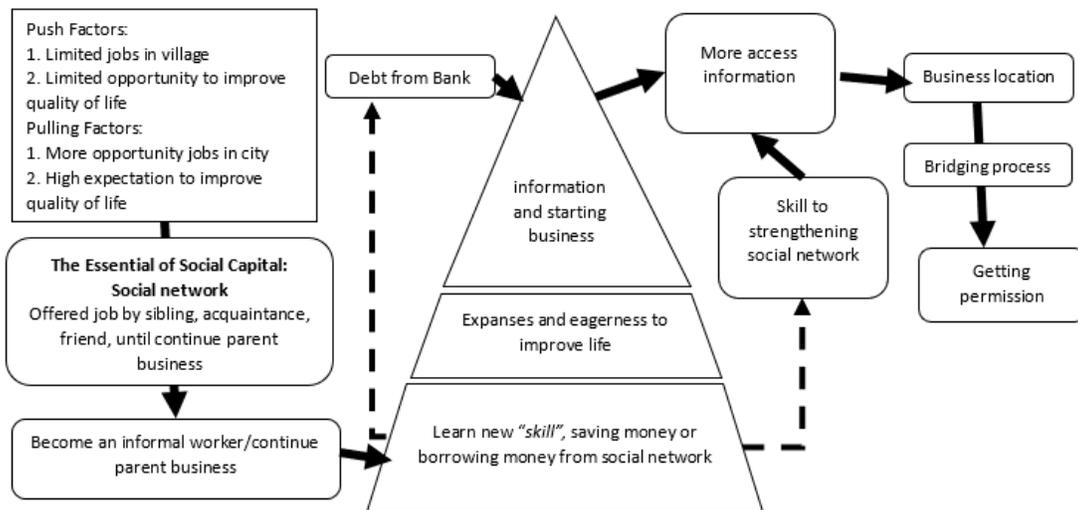


Figure 2
Life History of PKL to Emerge in City

or electricity payment from PKL, the responsibility for the government is to facilitate space, tent, chair, and table to PKL business. One of our informant Amel said, "*... the table, chairs, is facilitated by UKM...*"

This extends cooperation between PKL and the government to become the most important thing for PKL's existence in the city. Because same as the previous study, the recognition is the basic aspect for PKL to survive and do their business that can be obtained by negotiation as linking social relation. This mutual relation finally has occurred and can be seen in figure 3 as an example.

In turn, bridging a relation for PKL's existence to stakeholders by PKL not only done to the government. Several parties outside of the government have a significant role as the "licensor" who can permit PKL to do their business. These party is consist of RT/RW

(27,27%), area manager/chief merchant (9,09%), community organization (7,27%), and local resident (5,45%).

Little different from PKL who cooperate with the government, the monthly payment which is given to other parties outside the government is more expensive. Because this issue is sensitive for the PKL who is asked the simple question, there just 67,27% of PKL had answered. This issue very sensitive for the location which has not cooperated with the government especially for K.H. Mas Mansyur Corridor.

With this limitation, we can see the fact about more expensive monthly retribution for the party outside of the government. In K.H. Mas Mansyur just 30% of PKL wants to answer this issue, and 50% of the answer said they give retribution to community organization between Rp. 100.000,- until Rp. 200.000,-/month.



Figure 3
Form of Tent which is cooperated between The Government and PKL

In Kuningan, the monthly retribution little more expensive than other corridors. It happens because they not only pay the monthly retribution for the government but also they pay the monthly retribution for the landowners (33%). Even though in this corridor many PKL has cooperated with the government (44,44%).

Different from Kuningan and K.H. Mas Mansyur Corridor, almost all PKL in Sudirman Corridor have cooperated with the government. Same with other corridors, PKL just must pay Rp.100.000,-/month for retribution. While there is still a PKL who has not cooperated with the government, this PKL has permission by "anak pangkalan" and must pay Rp.1.000.000,-/month to them.

From the instances above, we can see PKL have extended their social network with bridging not only the government but also the others "licensor" to running their business. Even they must give more expensive retribution, but they have tried to exist and to gather some income.

The second problem based on simple questions is "decreasing income". So, PKL uses bridging a social network to their customers. Further, the data said that even the formal worker need PKL to fulfill their food. Suwendi said, "...formal workers propose for the existence of PKL...yes, we need each other..."

Furthermore from our informants (PKL) said the same thing about how to strengthening their relationship with customers. They know they need the formal worker and vice versa, so PKL wants the formal workers to become their loyal customers. They have tried to friendly, honest

about the price, polite, and they have tried to satisfy the customer with the best seasoning in their food. These are the values as cultural capital that all informants agree to service their customers.

So, where the social capital that makes PKL can survive outside of the "linking" or "bridging" to the external stakeholder? The answer is bonding and strengthening relations between PKL themself. They know their position and condition in the city especially those who come from outside of DKI Jakarta. They feel their similarity identity and share the similarity values such as semangat melanjutkan hidup, tahu diri, kekeluargaan, saling bantu, tidak iri-irisan.

These value can be reflected by several statements in this below:

1. *"... the important thing is to continue live..."* (Sipon)
2. *"... in here we are PKL who stay in a long time, so we interact each other like a sibling..."* (Siti)
3. *"... if the customer comes to other PKL, they can sit in our chairs, because we understanding each other and we are same as PKL"* (Suwendi)
4. *"... we help each other, if another PKL has some stock deficiency such as rice, spoon, or other things, we can share or they can borrow ours ..."* (Amel)
5. *"... if the customers have finished their food, we must immediately clean up the table..."* (Amel)

One other value that all informants agree on the cleanliness.

These positive values in PKL contribute not only to bonding their relation but also create a cooperation climate for PKL themself with the

principle of reciprocity. Further, it will tend to cumulation which creates "trustworthiness" and "loyalty" in the PKL (Fukuyama, 2005). Suwendi said "... *alhamdulillah ... sense of family still high, such when a lot of customers come and fuel gas was empty. Another PKL has a few customers helped with bought new fuel gas...*"

After we explain about survival strategy by PKL as a community, beyond analysis is needed to explore how individual PKL can survive at household level analysis. Although we did not found about PKL can share their economic capital such as money to lend to other PKL. At least we found out from the two informants that they had to be lent some money from their neighbor or their friend when they face the loss condition. Little different with two cases that tend to take the debt, one informant tends to sell their jewelry.

Same as the tendency to start their business, PKL has tried to use social capital that can be converted to gain some economic capital. So, social capital is very important for the informal economy sector for PKL not only for starting their business, but also to survive their business.

Another aspect that also very important by PKL to survive when facing a bad situation based on household value is resignation to God. This value creates other values such as the spirit to continue life, enjoy life, positive thinking, saving income, and gratitude. This argument is reflected by several pieces of interviews, in this below:

1. "... *not only do I feel more the decreasing customers, for me, but the resignation to Almighty through pray and the Koran also makes me feel safe*"

"... *the peak when I had divorced and started to sell, then I prayed (to God), usually after the disaster happens we will be given the fortune ...*" (Siti)

2. "... *we need to be patient because decreasing or increasing customers will happen. When we have crowded costumer, do not feel soo happy, when we just have a few customers do not complain, enjoy, and alhamdulillah ...*"
 "... *the important is continue to live insya Allah if we have tried, the God will give fortune as long as we the have energy...*"
 "... *if we count as human will always not enough. Enough feeling will be obtained by ourselves to gratitude by that we get. In the past, I had just gotten Rp. 10.00,-/day, and now I can earn Rp. 100.000 or Rp. 150.000,-...*" (Sipon)
3. "... *I am the wonder woman in Jakarta who raise three children alone, the fortune will not anywhere*" (Titi)
4. "... *try to continue life, and hope can add PKL branches by saving income...*" (Amel)

From these facts, we can see that social capital such a norm that makes cooperation climate and loyalty is a survival strategy by PKL as a community. Furthermore, the good norms in the community are supported by values of "resignation to the God" at the household level. On another side, the role of the social network still has an important role for PKL households as a buffer survival strategy especially for access to economic capital such as money when they must face the bad condition. In the end, this survival strategy of PKL can be described in one picture that we tried to draw in figure 4 on the next page.

Conclusion

Different from the writer's assumption that food street vendor will have vulnerability especially in their income, the facts food that PKL has potency which can earn income as economic capital with just only a few of them that has less revenue than minimum wage regional of DKI Jakarta (Rp. 4.267.349, -/month). Precisely, they can earn between nine million to twelve million rupiah per month (16,36%) with monthly household expenses between Rp. 1.700.000, - to Rp. 5.000.000, -/month. So, there are many potencies of food street vendor who can save their money as the explanation of why they can start their business with their own money/saving money (69,09%).

Bridging until linking with ruler especially to the government as legal authority or other "licensor" through discussion and negotiation is the main and basic solution for a survival strategy of food street vendor. This effort is needed to be done to take "legal status" or at least a "permission" for food street vendor existence.

In turn, for facing the life problem, PKL strengthening their social network as a bonding process with shared values that supported by resignation to God's value as food street vendor house-hold value. Gratitude, spirit to continue life, do not envy with others fortune, until help each other make food street vendor have a cooperation climate that creates a sense of family and trust.

The last survival strategy for food street vendor is to use their saving money when they have to face loss, or they use their social relation

to borrow some money from their family, neighbor, or sibling.

From the facts that we have found, we recommend that the government need to accommodate/giving space especially for existing food street vendor near office space. The government can create regulations which make obligate or cooperate with the private sector in this recommendation based on data.

Furthermore, the government and private sectors can cooperate to grant PKL from illegal retribution that is requested by other "licensors". With this giving space and protect the food street vendor, the government complements them with appropriate amenities, particularly for freshwater. This recommendation is trying to "legalize" food street vendor by giving them space and amenities, the further government can create regulation that can take some retribution for them to increase local income regional. Maybe, the government can take a 10% tax from food street vendor income who is "legalized".

So, further study can explore how can the government and private sector collaborate to give space for food street vendor with "legalized". Then, the other aspect that can be explored is the system to get some retribution, how the mechanism which can make it accountable between local government and food street vendor.

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