

THE POLICY INSTRUMENTS OF STREET VENDOR RELOCATION IN SURABAYA BULAK FISH CENTER

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the policy instruments used by the Surabaya City Government to move street vendors to Bulak Fish Center. The background is because not all street vendors are ready to occupy the Bulak Fish Center. This study uses Howlett and Ramesh's theory to categorize policy instruments into three groups: Voluntary, Combined, and Compulsory Instruments. The research method used is descriptive qualitative with in-depth interviews. The research results reveal that the Surabaya City Government uses only five types of policy instruments. First, families and communities provide information to the community about the relocation of street vendors to Bulak Fish Center. Second, policies provide space to interact with street vendors, community leaders, and religious groups. Third, the policy of providing information and advice to all Surabaya local governments to keep Bulak Fish Center alive for a month. Fourth, the policy prohibiting selling in the old location. Fifth, the policy is to provide cleaning staff and transport vehicles directly to roadside vendors. However, 50 percent of the street vendors are still willing to occupy the Bulak Fish Center. Thus, the policy tools used by the Surabaya City Government have not been optimal, so that it has become a factor in the failure of roadside trade relocation operations.

Keyword: *policy instruments, relocation, street vendors*

A. INTRODUCTION

Street vendors are traders who sell goods in the city. They use carts to distribute goods on the roadside. According to Bhowmik (2012), street vendors peddle goods by occupying sidewalks or public areas and even moving around using wheelbarrows. In comparison, Bromley (2000) argues that street vendors always locate themselves in the most densely populated areas such as shopping centers, streets, and even on main roads where they can be easily seen and accessed by motorcyclists. Meanwhile, other street vendors moved to sell their products.

According to the Peraturan Presiden Nomor 125 Tahun 2012, PKK is a business actor engaged in trading business using movable and immovable business facilities. It utilizes municipal infrastructure, social facilities, public facilities, land, buildings owned by the government, and private property that is temporary/non-permanent.

Street vendors are a form of informal sector career opportunities and refer to retailers who act as distributors of economic goods and services. Career

opportunities in this sector are generally inconsistent or uncertain, so they are often seen working relatively long hours at certain times. Nevertheless, at certain times, they work for a short time. Street vendors, which are part of the urban informal sector, are workplaces that are open to everyone.

Mitullah (2003) stated that usually, the street vendors are dominated by women and are assisted by their children. The average age of traders ranges from 20-50 years. Besides, street vendors usually work around 8-12 hours a day. Meanwhile, according to Enni (2017), in Indonesia, street vendors are small businesses in a family enterprise where a mother and child help out. Street vendors generally have a small capital, and the circulation of money is not that much. The hallmark of street vendors is bargaining between sellers and buyers. They only have cart or table to put products.

The emergence of street vendors is not merely perceived as a problem in urban society, their existence exudes an independence, flexibility, and business efficiency. The hallmark of street vendors in selling is always looking for strategic areas. Strategic area refers to areas widely traversed by city residents, although these areas are often prohibited from trading, such as sidewalks, roads, areas around markets, and official district areas.

The existence of street vendors who dominate every corner of the city to meet the middle to lower class society's needs makes street vendors an alternative to overcome the city's difficulties. Ironically, its existence deserves full support from the government because street vendors meet the wider community's needs, especially the middle and lower classes. Unfortunately, street vendors are excluded from crucial economic support sectors by the government in the name of orderliness, city aesthetics, and pedestrian comfort.

Department of Cooperatives and SMEs of Surabaya stated that the number of street vendors in 2013 was 11,508, while in 2014, 10,952 traders. Street vendors fell to 6,324, with 395 in 2016 dropping again to around 6,129 traders at 366 points. In North Surabaya in 2015, the number of street vendors was 815. Meanwhile, the score of 84 points in 2016 fell to 702 traders with 55 points.

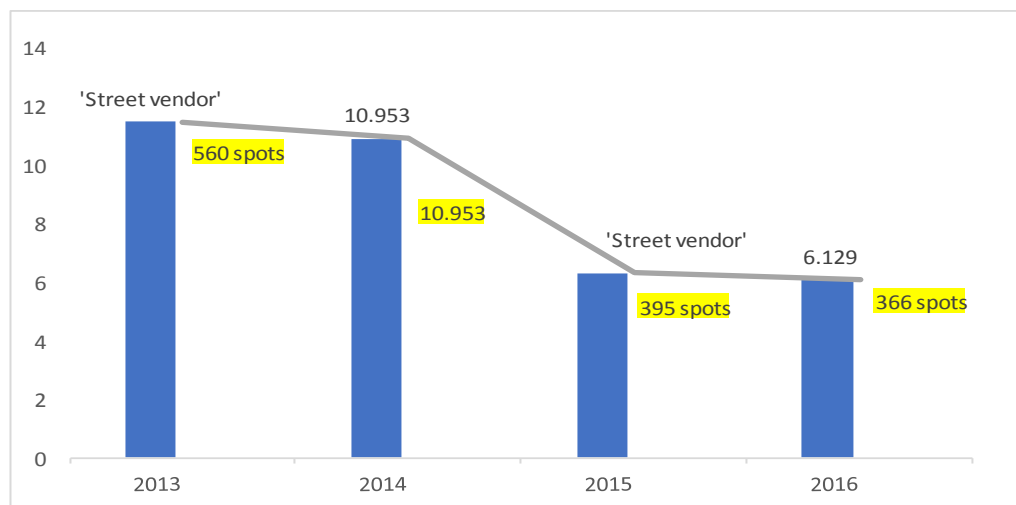


Figure 1. Number of Street Vendors (PKL) in Surabaya
(Source: Surabaya 2017)

From Figure 1, street vendors in Surabaya are proliferating. Some argue that the presence of street vendors solves the problem of obtaining products at lower prices. However, the rapid development of roadside traders has resulted in traffic jams and unusual urban planning. This means that the street vendor is expected to continue selling and running its business to earn income. However, it is hoped that it will not interfere with the optimization of existing spatial functions. On the one hand, the existence of street vendors is considered to cause problems in the city. However, on the other hand, it provides economic benefits for some people.

Several facts prove that street vendors have succeeded in making this work their primary income and becoming jobs for their relatives and local communities. Apart from being famous and in demand, they also opened branches everywhere. They are for example, the Bebek Palupi, the Rawon Nguling, the Sego Sambel in Dharmahusada Street and so on.

A street vendor is an informal sector economic activity that is promising and in demand by the urban immigrant community. However, most of them firmly believe that starting as a street vendor requires a lot of capital and a high mental strength level. Besides being prepared to bet not selling for months, they also have to face various official pressures, such as bureaucracy, thugs, or regular cleaning from related parties.

The phenomenon of controlling street vendors in big cities continues to occur every day—most of the time, we watch or hear news about street vendor control incidents. As a career in the informal sector, street vendors often take this severe risk. The term control always contains a statement to keep street vendors from where they are always selling. The main reasons are for the people's public order and the inconvenience of road activities due to trade. This is common because many street vendors trade on the side of the road or the sidewalk, disturbing these places.

The same applies to the problem of street vendors in Bulak District. Bulak area is a coastal area. The types of street vendors selling on the road near the Kenjeran Amusement Park and Batu-Batu Beach in Bulak District are processed, marine fish traders. They primarily offer smoked fish, fresh fish, dried fish, dozens of dongkupang, fish feed, handicraft fish, processed crackers, and coffee shop stalls. The number of street vendors at this point is around 85 traders (Setijaningrum and Nurany 2018). Traders often smoke fish in the morning and trade food in the afternoon. Fresh fish traders sell in the morning only when the fish is still fresh. For handicrafts, shells and crackers are sold by going around the park. At night, the coffee shop sells until the early hours of the morning.

Street vendors' gradual presence has made the surrounding community less friendly due to the smell of fish traders' smoke in the morning and dim stalls at night, which provide opportunities for immoral and criminal activity. Plus, the street vendors crowded the streets, the city planning became less beautiful to look at. This situation leaves traders with a big dilemma. On the positive side, they trade for survival; on the one hand, their existence unsettles the local community.

To overcome this problem, the Surabaya City Government has made arrangements by relocating street vendors to facilities that have been designated at Bulak Fish Center as a unique center for the sale of processed fish built by the

Surabaya City Government. The relocation of roadside traders at Bulak Fish Center was carried out from mid-December 2011 to January 2012. The legal basis used is the Peraturan Pemerintah Kota Surabaya Nomor 17 Tahun 2003 concerning Structuring and Empowering Street Vendors. The party authorized to enforce, relocate and relocate roadside traders is the regional head, as stipulated in the Peraturan Pemerintah Kota Surabaya Nomor 2 Tahun 2014.

According to research by Warsono, Priyanto, and Riyanto (2016) entitled Humanistic Relocation Model of Street Vendors (A Case Study on the Relocation of Street Vendors from Monument '45 of Banjarsari to Klithikan Market Notoharjo, Surakarta), eight main proportions need to be considered to relocate the vendors. The first three factors cover facilities (e.g., tents, carts, and shelters), analysis of operational needs preparation, socialization, street vendors participation, and the need for strategic planning, operational, and emergency planning. Fourth, relocation should consider an organized manner. Fifth, relocation is carried out according to the planned schedule. Sixth, identifying emerging problems, such as deserted markets, terror, runaway traders, complaints about market development, evaluation, and monitoring must be the next priority. Seventh, follow up on the sixth point by providing free fees, shelters, kiosks. Eighth, foresee the increase in merchant income within two years. With these eight proportions, the government can establish humane relocation.

Unfortunately, the steps of the Surabaya City Government did not go well. It can be seen that during two years, Bulak Fish Center remains quiet for both buyers and sellers because it is located far from residential areas. Besides, sales in the new location caused turnover to decline. Initially, the turnover of smoked fish traders was around Rp. 1,000,000 per day to around Rp. 500,000, - while food traders, fresh fish traders, crackers, and dried fish traders were almost unsold.

Meanwhile, shellfish merchants are more likely to serve by order. Also, the existence of an economic strategy by approaching customers is still attached to traders' minds. The merchants finally returned to selling near the Kenjeran Amusement Park (THP) to approach their customers (Setijanigrum and Nurany 2018).

In 2014, the Surabaya Government conducted outreach to traders that they were not allowed to sell in the old place and had to return to the Bulak Fish Center. However, these traders ignored the socialization and continued to sell as usual in the same area. Therefore, the Surabaya Government met with traders to provide information so that the relocation effort was successful. According to research by Setijanigrum and Nurany (2018), on January 2, 2014, the government has negotiated an agreement that the traders will take over the Bulak Fish Center on January 6, 2014. However, until the time limit has been determined, the traders still have not occupied their booth. On June 5, 2015, the government conducted another socialization so that traders would return to Bulak Fish Center. On May 11, 2016, the sub-district officers conducted socialization again with the final result in the form of input from fish traders that smoked fish feed sales centers need to provide entertainment and other activities to attract people's attention.

Great efforts have been made to solve roadside traders' problems in Bulak District, such as negotiations and involving roadside traders in relocating operations to Bulak Fish Center. In early 2017, according to data from the agriculture and food security service (2017), there were 20 booths selling crackers and dried fish, 40 smoked fish stands, 16 fresh fish stands, on the second floor, there were 20 handicraft stands, and 15 food and beverage stands. So in total, there are 111 booths filled out of the 212 booths provided.

According to Setijaningrum and Nurany's (2018) research entitled *Pseudo Participation?: Conflict Resolution for the Relocation of Bloater Sellers in Surabaya*, the factor in the failure to relocate street vendors at the Bulak Fish Center was due to tokenistic community participation. Community participation in relocation is still a formality. The street vendors are not entirely willing to occupy the Bulak Fish Center. Therefore, this study intends to see from the perspective of which policy instruments are used to relocate street vendors to the Bulak Fish Center, causing failure to relocate street vendors.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Policy instruments

A policy instrument is a term used to describe some of the government's methods to achieve the desired outcome. Policy instruments are a portfolio of possible means of attaining specific goals through political action. Options in policy instruments must be weighed against the risk of losing support from the policy network members.

Howlett and Ramesh (1993) explained that policy instruments are also called policy tools used by the government in making applicable policies. These are the simple methods or tools that the government has in implementing its policies, and from there, it must choose the right objectives for its policies. Therefore, the government decides whether to implement policies or not. Nevertheless, it also decides whether or not those goals are appropriate as policy goals.

There are three scales of policy instruments: voluntary instruments, *hybrid instruments*, and mandatory instruments (Howlett and Ramesh 1993).

1) Voluntary instrument

Howlett and Ramesh (1993) state that the voluntary instrument is the policy's small policy process. The government, in this case, is on the side of non-decisions on public matters that are enforced. The government's perspective believes that such policies can and are best carried out by the market or by families or organizations. The organization referred to here is a non-governmental organization that operates because its members are not competent or are forced to perform tasks by the government. If they perform something that serves public policy purposes, it is for reasons of self-interest, ethical, or emotional decisions. More instruments serve the community to solve some common problems. This is because of cost efficiency, consistency with cultural norms of individual freedom, and support from family and community ties.

The main advantage of promoting policies through families and communities is that they are free unless the government chooses to provide grants

or grants for this effort. However, the drawback is to overcome complex economic problems. Efficiency scale can ensure that scale is provided by the government centrally, not a requirement for family or community decentralization. In theory, voluntary organizations are the most effective way to provide the most influential economic and social services. They also offer flexibility and response speed, and these opportunities are difficult experiments to do in government organizations.

2) *Mixed instruments*

According to Howlett and Ramesh (1993), Mixed instruments combine the qualities of voluntary and mandatory instruments. This tool allows the government to participate at multiple levels in shaping the decision-making patterns of non-state actors while handing over their latest information to private actors. Government involvement ranges from disseminating information on sanctions and taxation to unwanted activities. This tool provides several measures regarding the benefits of voluntary and mandatory instruments.

3) Mandatory instrument

Mandatory instruments are also known as directive instruments or direct individuals and companies' actions based on policies. In exercising sovereignty, the government can direct its citizens to carry out certain activities, form government-controlled companies to carry out all the tasks of its choice, or directly supply related goods and services through the bureaucracy. This is an attractive tool because it allows the government to vote within a broader constitutional sphere and leaves little policy to target individuals, groups, or organizations.

2. Street Vendor

Street vendors (PKL) term has been heralded from the British colonial era. The term is taken from the width of the sidewalk, which is calculated with a gap (feet) of less than 31 cm, while the width of the sidewalk at that time was only five feet or less, about 1.5 meters, as the street vendors (PKL) call it. (Widyaningrum 2009).

According to Enni (2017), street sellers are also described as retailers who sell directly to end consumers to keep their business networks focused on acquiring their merchandise. As a trader who sells products directly to consumers, the street vendor business network focuses on acquiring products. Products that street vendors receive directly from manufacturers, suppliers, retailers, and other street vendors. The relationship between street vendors and transporters is free, and some are limited to an employment relationship.

Street vendors are a type of trade in the informal sector - small entrepreneurs who sell food, goods, and services related to economic, financial, and market transactions, often referred to as the urban informal sector.

Many things often inspire the alternative to becoming street vendors. First, compulsion because there is no other job. Some migrant communities and indigenous peoples choose to become street vendors because they do not have formal jobs to enter. Alternatively, at least the chances of getting a formal job are too small, besides, for legal reasons such as diplomas, skills, and others. Migrants usually have no relationship with formal companies or institutions.

On the other hand, they must be able to accommodate their needs. Inevitably, they wind-up selecting informal jobs to survive in big cities. The second reason is often the effect of layoffs, namely the financial crisis that has resulted in bankruptcy for many companies, making layoffs the most viable solution for companies. Third, another reason is to desire the *halal*-ness of fortune (Asiyah 2012).

C. METHOD

The research method is the leading way researchers use to achieve goals and determine answers to the problems. The research method used is qualitative, with a qualitative descriptive approach. In-depth interviews and field observations carried out data collection techniques. The informants were 20 from street vendors, two people from the Department of Agriculture and Food Security, and two people from the District. Data analysis using interactive analysis based on Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) describes the qualitative data analysis framework consisting of collection data, condensation data (classification and systemization data), presentation data, and concluding.

D. EXPLANATION

Street vendors are every person who carries out business, trading, or service activities, namely directly meeting the needs of consumer goods or food which tend to move around with little, less, or limited capital in running a business using simple tools. Moreover, it is located in a public place (especially on a sidewalk or part of the road) without formal law. However, the understanding of street vendors continues to develop so that the meaning is blurred. They no longer trade on the sidewalk, yet on every pedestrian path, parking lot, open space, park, terminal building, and even crossings and trips to people's homes.

It is generally used in public and private or private spaces due to informal street vendor activity areas. Public space is a type of government-owned area designated for the benefit of the wider community. Examples of public spaces include city parks, sidewalks, open spaces, fields, and others, including amenities or facilities in public areas, such as bus stops, pedestrian bridges, etcetera. Meanwhile, private space is a type of space owned by a person or group, for example, the private land of the shop owner or office. The reason is that the use of these spaces eventually creates a conflict of interest because the land must be used by various parties with different interests, not only for space actors.

This is a common phenomenon when we look at sidewalks and roadsides, especially in the city's many busy areas full of street vendors who use them as a place for their business activities. Street vendors choosing a place for their business activities will always try to approach the market or buyers. They will try to make the product or service they sell visible to buyers. Therefore, they will choose a strategic and profitable location in the city center or locations where community activities are located to find street vendors' appearance in the commercial, educational, office, and other social events.

The positive results include 1) the emergence of street vendors, meaning the recruitment of unemployed people in the surrounding community, even the

recruitment of new jobs such as servants, 2) fulfillment of daily needs, and 3) there is a model of a beneficial relationship between roadside sellers and the community, where the community sells to provide vendor materials on request. At the same time, negative contributions are attributed to more negative impacts, for example, 1) traffic jams arise because roadside traders, 2) occupy many roads and sidewalks; hence the impression of slum and dirt cannot be avoided because many street vendors do often not have their trash cans, 3) potential conflicts over commercial land and parking lots, and 4) potential for littering, committing criminal acts, and becoming a container for future community diseases (Asiyah 2012).

The street vendor phenomenon is a massive urban phenomenon. Several attempts have been made, although not getting maximum results unless suppressive action is taken. The existence of street vendors supports these two impact models. Like a double-edged knife that is just as sharp, the government needs to understand the phenomenon of street vendors as a whole, not just a matter of handling it. The government also needs to pay attention to records about the phenomenon of people traveling and becoming street vendors. Maybe being a street vendor is unexpected, unique, and maybe never talked about desire.

Psychologically-sociologically, being a street vendor is an existential option for the urban poor. It is almost certain that most street vendors have started working in the informal sector out of poverty or at least do not work in the formal sector. Although many roadside traders continue the business's success in subsequent developments, their family or relatives pioneered. Most of the street vendors of this type sell food and drinks. However, there is a great need to open branches in multiple locations.

Besides, street vendors often use strategic locations that can be occupied to sell. Every empty place that becomes the flow of pedestrian traffic and motorized vehicle drivers will become the prominent place for street vendors. The commodities are also varied, depending on the nature of the place and people's activities in the vicinity.

Bulak Fish Center is a center for processing and marketing fishery products. The relocation of roadside traders aims to provide healthy and modern business premises for small and medium enterprises in the fisheries and marine sector. This building is managed by the Surabaya City Department of Agriculture and Food Security. Bulak Fish Center was built in Kedung Cowek Village, Bulak District. The construction of the Bulak Fish Center Building uses the Surabaya City budget of IDR 20,960,320,666. Inside there are 96 booths selling crackers and dried fish, 40 smoked fish booths, 16 fresh fish booths on the second floor, 20 craft stands, and 40 food and beverage stands, for a total of 212 booths. The ground floor is inhabited by traders of crackers, dried fish, smoked fish, and fresh fish. While on the second floor, visitors can enjoy coastal specialties such as kupang rice cake, clam satay, coconut ice, smoked fish processed dishes, and others.

The legal basis for relocation is following the Peraturan Pemerintah Kota Surabaya Nomor 17 Tahun 2003 concerning the arrangement and empowerment of street vendors. It consists of relocation or controlling, selling roadside goods by

providing a safer, orderly place, and other strategies obtained and approved by the Surabaya city government.

However, the facts in the field show that the street vendors' movement is not going well. It can be seen that during two years, Bulak Fish Center remains quiet for both buyers and sellers. Two years after relocation, quite a several traders occupied the booths provided by the government. However, many of them also choose to return to the tourist area near the Amusement Park (THP) or Batu-Batu Beach.

Table 1. The number of traders who occupy the Bulak Fish Center booth in 2016-2017

Year	Trader	Number of booths
2016	Crackers and dried fish traders	10 booths
	Shell craftsman	20 booths
	Food and Drink Traders	15 booths
	Wholesaler of smoked fish	10 booths
	Total	55 booths
2017	Crackers and dried fish traders	20 booths
	Wholesaler of smoked fish	40 booths
	Fresh fish traders	16 booths
	Shell craftsman	20 booths
	Food and Drink Traders	15 booths
	Total	111

Source: Security (2017)

Nearly 50 percent of street vendors have agreed to occupy the Bulak Fish Center. However, ten smoked fish traders did not want to move to the Bulak Fish Center and even returned to the same place. Likewise, 20 crackers are sometimes sold at the center. However, always back to where it was. Meanwhile, 20 handicraft traders prefer to sell at home according to orders and only sell at Bulak Fish Center when certain events occur.

According to interviews with street vendors that:

"Because the stoves at that time were not yet qualified, there were 30 smoked fish traders; only ten were provided, then where would the other 20 do the fish-smoking? Finally, while waiting to be ready, we returned to selling on the outskirts. Because there are still few buyers at the center, then because the distance between my house and the center is far, (so) going back and forth is difficult. Finally, the traders asked for transportation to transport fish and pick-up people." (interview with Mrs. Aisyah on May 16, 2017)

"In the beginning, the sub-district head told him through community leaders, the RW head at that time, that traders were ordered to occupy the center, not to sell on the roadside anymore. But the center is empty of buyers, so the merchandise is not sold out, this is different if on the outskirts, (we are able) to pick up the ball more" (interview with Mr. Maftuhin on May 16, 2017)

"Actually, I already know that there is a new center, but the center is too far from the merchant's house. Moreover, the center is empty of buyers. Income has decreased." (interview with Mr. Warsono on May 31, 2017)

"Without deliberation, there was suddenly a circular telling us to clean the rocky beaches, and we were told to move centers. Even though the center is quiet." (interview Mrs. Ida on May 19, 2017)

"I only admit that I was told to put this center for free. But unfortunately, the center is empty of buyers." (interview with Mrs. Halimah on May 21, 2017)

"In my village, most of the shell crafts traders. I know the chairman of his association, and he is also the chairman of the LKMK. Before becoming an RW, I knew that he gave each trader information related to relocation by visiting homes. So it is more coordinated and less chaotic. The craftsmen's needs were conveyed at the meeting, for example, asking for rolling doors, additional stairs, and lighting in their booths' aisles." (interview with Mr. Iksan on June 1, 2017)

"As far as I know, smoked fish traders who are still stubborn have entered the center. Frequent enforcement. From that meeting, many smokers were facilitated, there were transportation and cooking utensils until they were brought home. Food and drink traders get a refrigerator. We cracker traders asked to be given a rolling door that has not been approved. The problem is that it is difficult for us to save the crackers. It is time for us to bring them back to the center." (interview with Mrs. Wiwik on May 17, 2017)

"During the eviction, when we came to the sub-district, our association since we were on the Batu-Batu beach, there was already a leader. However, before that, we discussed how it would be good to move or not. How many people moved, which is not how." (interview with Mrs. Rifai on May 19, 2017)

"I moved to this center because I believed that it was better here than there. I also thought about how the center was crowded, and other merchant friends who were still on the side of the road were willing to come here. After all, this center was made for us. Sometimes I write letters to the subdistrict head about how right this center is. I also took part in the bazaar held by the campus by carrying the name of the Bulak Fish Center so that it would be better known". (interview with Mr. Yuyus on May 18, 2017)

"The cracker traders only ask for equipment, such as the scales. Sometimes we also take part in government-held bazaars; whether it

is at here or outside Bulak Fish Center, the purpose is besides promoting fish crackers, also promoting Bulak Fish Center". (interview with Mrs. Lutfiah on May 17, 2017)

"At that time, we were only selling instant noodles and drinking easy drinks. With Mrs. Risma, we are invited to the restaurant to learn to cook, learn to serve, learn various things. It is still quiet here, so what we sell is often thrown away because it is rotten. Finally, we said to Mrs. Risma and then given the refrigerator ". (interview with Mrs. Munipah on May 19, 2017)

"During these meetings, the discussion was with the smokers being forced to enter the center. We also learned to build a chimney that rises to the top from the center, no longer using the traditional method where the smoke goes everywhere. We are also facilitated a lot. Then discussing a building permit, if you are willing to sell, there must be a building permit. However, there was a meeting where there was a cooperative agency that explained savings and loan cooperatives as supporting our capital. (interview with Mr. Mujiana, May 16, 2017)

"I sometimes come to meetings if the meetings are about events like that. The thing is I prefer to join the bazaar because there are more buyers than just relying on center sales." (interview with Mrs. Aprilia on May 17, 2017)

"At that time, I got a tool from ITS college students, that tool to minimize shellfish waste. It was once popular and featured here. But now it is no longer possible to produce it." (interview with Mr. Muhamad Muclis on May 21, 2017)

"At that time, there was a meeting, the first time we asked if we wanted to move as long as the center was ready. Due to the inadequate stove facilities, the burners are combined, making it difficult for the fumigation process. Furthermore (we) also complained about the unsold smoked fish, we asked the government to pay for compensation, at least 4 million for a month to adapt here. Then we ask the government people, say, instruct all SKPDs to visit and buy fish here, and that takes a month alternately. We were finally given a cooler for storing fish. The smoked fish goes into the freezer and is cooked; the meat is slightly blistered. I also gave an idea that we were given a menu of processed fish for food and beverage traders to attract visitors. We also ask for transportation because we are concerned about our mobilization. If we use public transportation, the cost will be high. I feel the government is pushing us too much into the center. Our people are coastal, their character is tough, but as long as the government treats us gently, we are willing to move. They disobeyed because they were offended by the government. Some of our friends have been jailed because of violence during the curbing order." (interview with Mr. Budiman on May 31, 2017)

Meanwhile, according to the Department of Agriculture and food security:

"So the center was built initially from the mayor's wish before Pak Bambang. Because the Bulak area is a slum, a center was made to coordinate neatly. Then the mayor is now being continued with the idea. The Cipta Karya Office reviews this center's development, and indeed, it is discussed in advance with the community. They were unwilling to go to SIB because it was far; they wanted them to be close to home. Even though in his home area he cannot (sell), causing congestion. Finally, the solution was that the head of the Department gave round-trip transportation for the traders. The municipal government is trying to find breakthroughs such as making access to the SIB wide, creating new parks and bridges to attract tourists, and building terminals for public transportation. Then also held events at Bulak Fish Center. The Regional Government Work Unit's events would usually be held at Bulak Fish Center (interview with Mr. Aris on May 24, 2017).

"We are working with universities to find solutions to their problems. One of the problems that arise is the shellfish waste; they are confused about where to dispose of it because it cannot be disposed of carelessly. In the past, there was a collaboration with the Ministry of Maritime Affairs, and they gave a shell crusher tool. However, after the shells are crushed, where do they go? This is a problem too. Even the machine operation costs money. Then there was a research center in collaboration with ITS that turned the waste of shells into concrete as a medium for planting shellfish. So concrete is made in the sea, and the concrete is used for coral growth." (interview with Mr. Rizal on May 25, 2017)

Interview with the Bulak sub-district that:

"At that time, the smokers wanted to occupy the center when the smoking was good, and all the stoves were available. The facilities are already equipped at the Bulak Fish Center. They are still unwilling to do so because they are reluctant to be located far from their homes and have to take public transportation, so they find it difficult to mobilize. Finally, we provide a shuttle motorbike transportation fleet. Various efforts were made in each meeting. Starting from delays, requests for their mobilization facilities and savings and loan cooperatives programmed for their welfare. (Interview with Mr. Suprayitno on May 23, 2017)

"I thought of (providing) good packaging because most of the visitors used buses and brought them as souvenirs. This smoked fish smells very easily, the clothes in the car already smell, and I made a packaging press. So the buyer who buys smoked fish then asks to be packed in a press and is charged ten thousand per pax. The tools have been prepared but have not been realized. (interview with Mr. Widodo on May 24, 2017)

According to Sabatier (1993), public policy is a decision based on the relationship of activities carried out by political actors to set goals and achieve

results based on individual circumstances. In contrast, Friedrich (1940) states that a policy is a direction of action proposed by an individual, group, or government in a particular environment, which becomes an obstacle or opportunity for the proposed policy to achieve its objectives. This is by the statement of Anderson (2003) that policy is an action that aims to involve actors or actors in overcoming specific problems. This policy idea makes sense because it focuses on what is being done, not what the government proposes or intends.

Dunn (2003) describes how the relationship between the policy system's elements includes the policy viewer, policy environment, and content policy. In other words, public policy has three critical components that are interrelated in the public policy process. The three elements are policy actors, policy environment, and policy content.

In arranging street vendors to the Bulak Fish Center, the Surabaya government has set a policy. Meanwhile, this case's policy environment is an orderly and attractive urban planning, especially in gathering points for street vendors. The problem of the relocation of street vendors is the Bulak sub-district with a coastal background. The arrangement and relocation by providing a new location specifically for selling processed fish. As for the text of the Local Government Regulation of Surabaya Number 17 of 2003 concerning the Preparation and Empowerment of Street Vendors, the Regional Government needs to organize and empower street vendors as Surabaya residents who do business in the informal sector.

Table 2. Components of the Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors Policy

No.	Public Policy Component Indicators	The policy component for structuring and empowering street vendors
1.	Policy Actors	Surabaya Government
2.	Policy environment	a. Improve the image of Surabaya as a clean, beautiful, orderly, and comfortable city. b. Bulak sub-district with a coastal background so that the arrangement and transfer by providing a new location specifically for selling processed fish.
3.	Content of Policy	Street vendors need to be empowered to support the community's economic growth and an option in providing merchandise required by the community at relatively affordable prices.

Sources: Processed primary data (2019)

The essence of the policy reflects the strategy, priorities, goals, objectives, and expected results. For policies to work effectively, they need policy tools. Therefore, a policy instrument is a set of steps or actions taken by the government to achieve a stipulated policy. According to McCormick and Vedung (2019), public policy instruments are techniques by which government agencies use their power to experiment or support and prevent social change. Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) states that all policy instruments are a form of social control in all public policy activities. In many places, policy instruments are effectively impartial and, in particular, have a significant influence on the implementation of public policies.

Howlett and Ramesh (1993) categorize policy instruments into three groups: mandatory, voluntary, and mixed instruments. The mandatory instrument is a coercion policy, and the voluntary instrument is a more voluntary and family-like instrument than the multiple instruments is a combination of the two. Mixed tools allow the government to have a certain level of involvement in shaping the decision-making patterns of non-government actors, in this case, the private sector. At the same time, the final decision rests with these actors. The three groups were then translated into ten policy instruments: 1) families and communities 2) voluntary organizations 3) private markets 4) information and advice 5) subsidies 6) property auctions 7) taxes and collection 8) Regulations 9) General Business 10) Direct Requirements.

Concerning the policy of structuring and empowering street vendors, the form of policy instruments used are compulsory instruments, voluntary instruments, and mixed instruments with types of instruments: 1) family and community, 2) voluntary organizations, 3) information and advice, 4) regulations, and 5) direct provision.

As in research by Khrisna (2016) entitled *Analysis of the Effectiveness of the Policy Instruments for the Arrangement of Supermarkets in the City of Surabaya (Study on the Peraturan Daerah Kota Surabaya Nomor 8 Tahun 2014)*, only five criteria are utilized to formulate policies for managing supermarkets in Surabaya. First, compliance with convenience store operators in Surabaya No. 8 of 2014 is still low. Second, unstructured governance practices make governance very weak. Third, enforcement of existing regulations cannot make supermarket operators comply with local regulations. Fourth, these policy tools have failed to make business people comply. Fifth, the clarity of the objectives should be achieved by the policy. So that the policy tools used so far are ineffective, unfortunately, the purpose of this research is a supermarket business. In contrast, this research object is a street vendor who uses a cart and distributes its products on the roadside and moves.

The Surabaya Government recommends and encourages structuring and capacity-building policies by conducting social meetings with local officials (RT/RW), community leaders, religious communities, and roadside traders. Bulak District is related to relocation to Bulak Fish Center. Socialization is also carried out through voluntary organizations such as religious communities and youth organizations collaborating with the Surabaya Government to oversee roadside traders' relocation process. The Surabaya Government also provides information

and advice to all local government agencies to take advantage of Bulak Fish Center, such as holding events or visiting these events for a month alternating months.

The Surabaya Government has attempted to establish several regulations related to the relocation of roadside traders and structural policies and capacity building for road traders. It was included in the Peraturan Pemerintah Kota Surabaya Nomor 2 Tahun 2014 concerning the Implementation of Public Order and Public Peace that states everyone is prohibited from selling or trading on roads and other places that are not following their designation. The Public Order Enforcers (Satpol PP) of Bulak sub-district also ruled that smoked fish traders who smoke at Bulak Fish Center are prohibited from selling them at Kejawan Lor (old location). The Surabaya Government also employs several coordinators and cleaning staff at Bulak Fish Center. Besides, as a result of the meeting with street vendors, the Surabaya Government also provides pick-up services for street vendors from their place of origin. The Surabaya Government also provides electricity and infrastructure open to street vendors at Bulak Fish Center.

Table 3. The policy instrument used in the relocation of street vendors to Bulak Fish Center

No.	Types of Policy Instruments	Group Policy Instruments	Policy instruments used
1.	Family and society	Voluntary instrument	Introducing and promoting to the community through socialization with local officials, community leaders, and street vendors
2.	Voluntary Organization		1. The Christian community in Sunday school 2. Youth organization 3. NU community
3.	Information and advice	Mixed Instrument	Encourage all Regional Government Work Units (SKPD) to hold events and visits at Bulak Fish Center for one month alternately.
4.	Government		1.Regional Regulation of the City of Surabaya Number 2 of 2014 concerning Implementation of Public Order and Public Peace 2.Public Order Enforcers prohibit traders, especially smoked fish traders who fish-smoke at Bulak Fish Center. They are prohibited from selling fish at Kejawan Lor (old location) too

5.	Direct Provision	Compulsary Instrument	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bulak Fish Center Office and coordinator 2. Cleaning clerk 3. Advice and Infrastructure <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Transport vehicles for street vendors b. Free booth and electricity c. The place for smoking and washing fish. d. Freezer e. The tools needed, such as a scale and a knife.
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Sources: Processed primary data (2019)

Thus, the street vendor relocation policy does not use the ten types of instruments. Therefore, structuring and empowering street vendors by the Surabaya government in relocating street vendors to Bulak Fish Center is not optimal even though the development of policy instruments is a way that the Surabaya government can do optimize the implementation of the relocation of street vendors.

E. CONCLUSION

Based on the above analysis, it can be concluded that the policy instrument used by the Surabaya city government has not shown the success of relocating street vendors to Bulak Fish Center. It can be shown that the five instruments that have been used have not been able to make all street vendors fully willing.

The five instruments include 1) family and community, 2) voluntary organizations, 3) information and advice, 4) regulations, and 5) direct providers. Apart from that, there is still 50 percent of street vendors who are not yet willing to occupy the Bulak Fish Center, including ten smoked fish traders, 20 cracker traders, and 20 shellfish traders. Thus, because they only used five policy instruments, traders were reluctant to move to the center. As a result, the relocation of street vendors to Bulak Fish Center was not successful.

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