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Social Life of Scavengers in The Sukawinatan Landfill in Palembang, Indonesia

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A B S T R A C T

Scavengers is one of the marginal communities in urban areas, including in Palembang City. The presence of scavengers in this city is illegal, because it is considered to interfere with the activities of the management, which is authorized to manage waste at the Sukawinatan Landfill, Palembang. This case study research is concerned to discern at the social life, threats and opportunities of the scavenger community in Sukawinatan Landfill. This study is conducted to determine strategic steps for improving the scavengers' life in the future. This study is carried out qualitatively. Therefore, in-depth interviews, observation and documentation are used as a way of collecting data. In-depth interviews were conducted to scavengers, informal leader and also the stakeholders. Data is analyzed through reduction, data presentation and making conclusion process. The results of the study indicate that the physical environment of the scavenger community is bad. Meanwhile, according to the in-depth interview and literatures review, some aspects of the social life of scavengers, actually worsen their quality of life, such as: drugs and low education. Nevertheless, there is hope that can be maximized to improve the quality of life of this community, such as: communality and kinship. The description of the scavenger social life can be used as a basis in formulating appropriate interventions for improving the quality of life in this scavenger community.

INTRODUCTION

The city as a center for community activities, in addition to creating many dreams and sweet promises, also keep some homework need to be completed. Some studies show the massive development of infrastructure and economic growth in this area, has side effects which is called 'social disruption' (division or social chaos), (Ferdoos & Ashiq, 2015; Hinsberger et al., 2016; Kartono, 2017). In the city, there has been a surge in uncontrolled population growth, an increase of broken home families, suicides, crimes, waste problem (Yulianita et.al, 2021), including the emergence of slums and scavenger communities in the suburbs around garbage dumps.

Scavengers are a unique and marginal community, whose appearance is very close to the landfill itself. In Surabaya, the existence of scavengers was once organized and fostered by the Surabaya city government through the Peraturan Walikota Surabaya Number 61 2014. However in Palembang city, the presence of these scavengers is illegal. Scavengers are sometimes considered to interfere with the performance of the relevant agencies: 1). disassemble or shuffle again the garbage that has been collected, and 2). Scavengers do not pay attention to safety, so that if an accident occurs (eg buried in a mountain of garbage) the relevant agencies ar often held accountable. Therefore, the government never give permission and even ban this community from doing activities around the Sukawinatan landfill, as the first and largest landfill in the city.

As a unique and marginal community, the social life of these scavengers is interesting to explore. Unique, because becoming scavengers is considered to be less humane. As scavengers, this community have to do many activities and live in a landfill area that is dirty, polluted and unhealthy. Meanwhile, so many development has been carried out by the goverment this community does not get much attention from many parties, to be able to enjoy the positive impact.

Therefore, exploring how the scavenger's social life is not only interesting, but also important for further studies, in order to determine the right intervention so that the quality of life of the scavenger community can be better. Thus, the research question in this study is what is the physical and social environment of scavengers in Sukawinatan landfill, Palembang?

The study conducted by the research team regarding the lives of scavengers was carried out in the past two years, (Sartika & Sununianti, 2016; Susanto, Sartika, & Sununianti, 2017). In 2016 the research focused on the social network of scavengers at the Sukawinatan landfill, Palembang. The concept was social networking and carried out qualitatively. The results of the study showed that between scavengers had kinship relationships and territorial proximity based on area of origin. This also caused the scavengers promoted each other and invited their close relatives to work as scavengers. The network was established, not only between scavengers, but also between scavengers and collectors (bos – in scavengers' term), then collectors to large traders. The social ties built between scavengers and collectors occur because of the existence of trust and patron-client relationships. Scavengers are free to choose and determine with whom they will sell the waste they collect (free to choose collectors), but the scavengers become difficult to move to other collectors. It is the bonds built by collectors who caused this happen, such as lending money from collectors to scavengers. Automatically the scavenger is difficult to move to another collector, because they have to pay off the loan provided by the collector. Thus, the social network formed only between scavengers and collectors only.

The socio-economic condition of scavengers is with the condition and social economic picture of scavengers in general, such as studies conducted by (Fadillah & Dastina, 2010). This study looks at the live of scavenger families from economic, education and health aspects. Economically, being a scavenger is

an easy job to do as long as you want to pursue it, with an income of up to two million or more per month. Based on education, it is seen that scavenger families have an average low education level, some even drop out of school many times. Likewise with health conditions. The result of the study shows that the health condition and physical environment of the scavenger family are very inappropriate and concerning.

Not much different from the study of the research team above, studies related to how income, the work situation and life of scavengers were also seen in the study of scavengers in Bantar Gebang, Jakarta (Sasaki, Araki, Tambunan, & Prasadja, 2014). The study was conducted quantitatively by collecting data through questionnaires. Some results of the study show that the average income of scavenger households for a month is equivalent to the Jakarta regional minimum wage in 2013. The research team revealed the condition and life of scavengers is very terrible, as well as their working conditions which are also very dangerous. Scavengers face and close to medical waste and other sharp waste, as well as contaminated groundwater conditions. The research team realized that it is not easy to find the right solution to improve the living standards of scavengers. One of the suggested aspects regarding the improvement of the generation of scavenger families is to strive to ban children under 15 years of age at the landfill site.

The description of life, physical and social environment of the scavengers is more or less same as the description of scavengers in the Ngablak Landfill, Sleman, DIY (Kamila, 2010). This study looks at how the social functioning of the scavenger families in the landfill area. However, looking at the social functioning of the scavenger family is needed before the researcher presents the life of the scavenger community who are considered to ignore the 'normal' living conditions as the community at large. This scavenger in the Ngablak Landfill has its own community. The desire to obtain a large amount of waste to collect to meet basic needs has caused the scavenger community not to carry out many social activities, including religious activities, so that social functioning in this case is not very visible.

There are several studies outside Indonesia, one of which is in the study (Rankokwane & Gwebu, 2006). This study was conducted at Gaborone Landfill, as the biggest Landfill in Bostwana. This study is focused on looking at the characteristics, opportunities and challenges faced by scavengers there. The study was carried out qualitatively, the review literature was carried out through content analysis in similar studies in other countries. Meanwhile, data collection is done by observing and conducting interviews with stakeholders, and those affected. The results of the study show that the emergence of these scavengers is an effect of their non-absorption into the formal employment sector in urban areas. The study also tells the characteristics of scavengers which include age, gender, marital status, highest education level. Many of the risks faced by these scavengers, including contamination of water, contracted various types of diseases. However, there are still opportunities that can be developed, including: forming and engaging in cooperatives, which are intended for the joint interests of scavengers.

Studies related to other scavengers were carried out in Lagos, Nigeria, (Afon, 2012). This research presents the social, economic, health and environmental implications of the garbage scavenger activity in Olusosun, one of the government-

appointed open landfills in Lagos, Nigeria. The study was conducted quantitatively, with a sample of 112 scavengers. From the results of the study, it is known that, 87% of scavengers are men, with ages ranging from 19 years, to 35 years, and the average income per day is 1 dollar. Scavengers are aware of the negative impact of their work as scavengers, but economic considerations are more prominent, thus ignoring the negative impacts that arise. This is also a threat to society. Meanwhile, opportunities that can be followed up are by making waste pickers integrated in a more regular waste treatment system.

Based on those previous studies, this study complements previous studies, which not only elaborates on the physical environmental conditions of scavengers' lives, but also on social aspects.

METHOD

Parallel with the introduction and focus of the study, this study is more suitable to be carried out qualitatively. This study will not make generalizations like in quantitative studies in general, (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), (Creswell, 2016). Instead of describing the background, the context and settings of scavenger's family life in Sukawinatan Landfill are linked to the focus of the research, in more depth, so this is a case study research.

The subjects in this study are scavengers, collectors, and community leaders who settled in locations around Sukawinatan Landfill. The subject or informant in this study is determined purposively, through the snowball principle. Data collection is done by in-depth interviews. The researcher met the formal leader in the landfill area, from there, the researcher then asked, to find out which other informants could be found and relevant to be interviewed.

Table 1. The Informants

Initial, sex and age	Description
Jf (male, 62)	been a scavenger since 1992
Ri (female, 20)	been a scavenger since 2 (two) years ago
Ha (male, 65)	live and become scavengers since 20 years ago. Bapak Ha also as community leader in TPA Sukawinatan
Pt (female, 20)	been a scavenger since, because her parents and several family members lived and scavenged at the TPA Sukawinatan since Pt was under 5 years old
Jf (male, 62)	together with husband become scavengers, since the TPA Sukawinatan was opened

In addition, data collection is also carried out through observation, by observing the neighborhoods of the scavengers and their daily activities. To support the completeness of the data, secondary data is collected from the Sukawinatan Landfill office. While the analysis is done through the stages of data reduction, data display and conclusion.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Physical Environment of Scavenger Communities

It is a common sight that the physical environment and the houses occupied by scavengers are very dirty, dirty, full of scattered garbage, clinging to neighbors, surrounded by flies and

so on. The distance of settlements to the location of piles or mountains of garbage is very close. Some scavenger houses are only tens of meters away with mountains of garbage at Sukawinatan Landfill.

Houses in this region do not have house numbers, some residents are also residents who sometimes do not have complete identity as citizens such as KTP (Identity Card) and KK (Family Card). Houses here are made of boards (not permanent), or in the form of makeshift huts, with makeshiftly arranged zinc roofs, some covered with thatched roofs, and plastic so they do not leak. House floors are covered with boards, there are also cement floors, but there are also houses that have dirt floor or only covered with a plastic mat or carpet. This house they built themselves, with makeshift materials and costs. Some materials are sometimes obtained from scavenging products, such as carpets, tarpaulins, plastic for roofs of houses and others. Land rent of Rp. 100,000, - per month, while their buildings are built by themselves, including by using scrap materials used as waste.

On average the house only has a makeshift bathroom and no toilet. Only a few houses have toilets. Scavengers who do not have toilets in their homes will defecate in a hidden place, and dispose of their garbage in plastic to be thrown into a pile of 'mountains of rubbish' (the garbage piled up continues to form, thus forming a mountain of garbage, which even exceeds the scavenger houses). This mountain of garbage is not far from scavenger houses, so it is quite dangerous if these mountains are landslides.

As for daily water needs and uses, here scavengers use well water. This water is flowed from residents' wells which are sucked up by pumps, and flowed to scavenger houses through a hose. This water is used for bathing and washing purposes. Well water is not owned by every household. According to them, the quality of well water is not good because it still causes unpleasant odors, even though it has been boiled. In fact, rice cooked with well water is easy to stale/rotten or does not last long. According to one resident, this water cannot be consumed for food and drink because it seems to be polluted by the absorption of waste water around the landfill. One of the informants said that he had cooked water using the well water, but the taste of the water was strange, like flavored water. Therefore, residents buy refill gallon water, at a price of Rp. 4,000 per gallon, to eat and drink. Within a day, an average of one family spends one gallon for consumption. In addition, during the rainy season, some residents also often consume rain water for their daily needs, even though it is more gallons than rain water for drinking.

The air quality around the landfill site is bad too, because it is odoriferous. Although the odoriferous in the area of the residents' house is not as intense as at the landfill site. However, being around the landfill site a long time for strangers is enough to interfere your breathing and make you dizzy.

Observation results also show that flies fly quite a lot and land on the houses (furniture) of residents. The informants become accustomed to these animals, some even do not consider this animals to be intruders, including disease spreaders. One of the informant, still trying to prevent the quantity of flies from entering his house by installing curtains at the entrance of the house. According to him, the curtain is enough to reduce the number of flies that enter their house. Because so many flies around this location, it is certainly not possible for them to buy

glue flies which will rise their expenses again. The flies huddle around the kitchen, food and cooking utensils, and bathrooms.

The scavenger's houses in this region is quite close to each other. There is no standard size of the house, including the division of space and area. One house looks different from the others. In addition, around the house, looks full of garbage. Various kinds of garbage, especially plastic bags, seem to dominate the scenery around the residents' houses. So it is very difficult to find one land that has no garbage in this area. It's rare to find people who plant plants around their homes. There are only a number of trees that protect from the sun.

There is no praying facility located in the landfill area. Scavengers work from morning to evening, about 8 hours (flexible and not binding, so it doesn't have to be 8 hours). Activities for eating and resting are carried out around the garbage site. So for those Muslims, relatively does not pray, it might be considered quite troublesome for them, because after a day of struggling with garbage, of course to worship, scavengers must take a bath, clean and perform ablution first.

Health facilities, such as Puskesmas or Posyandu, are also not available in this area, because the area is quite small, only covering the landfill area, but it is densely populated, inhabited by scavengers. The Puskesmas in this area is far away, there is a Sub-Puskesmas (Pustu) located near the RT (Area under the Sub Village) border. Posyandu activities in this region are still in the planning stage. This activity is planned to be effectively implemented starting in 2019.

Environment and Social Life

The research location is focused on Sukawinatan Landfill because it had been operated for a long time (since 1994). In addition, around this area has been inhabited by many residents, especially those who work as scavengers and collectors. Even so, there are also general citizens living in this area, but do not work as scavengers or collectors.

Socially, people living in the Sukawinatan landfill area can be grouped into three categories, namely scavengers, collectors, and the general public. Collectors usually live along the edge of the road leading to the landfill. The lives of these collectors are a little better, compared to people who are purely 'scavengers'. Some of these collectors were worked as pure scavengers, because they interested to see opportunities, had little capital, and age, they eventually turned to collectors. The houses of collectors are usually (permanent) concrete houses, with ownership status being their own home. Family members and some relatives of the collectors often work as scavengers.

The general public, which indeed does not collect or become collectors. This community, indeed lives in the landfill area, by buying land and building houses along the road to the landfill, or areas that are not so close to the landfill. The general public, this usually works as a civil servant or employee.

The last category is scavengers. The exact data of scavengers around the Sukawinatan Landfill is unknown. It is estimated around 300 people who "Nyeker" (Nyeker is a term for chickens, which scavenge the soil, through their legs, as it is commonly used by scavengers for their waste scavenger profession). However, there are half of the total waste collectors, who live in the area around the landfill. The rest resides outside the landfill area. The area around the Sukawinatan landfill included in the RT. 68, RW (Sub Village), 10, Sukajaya Village, Sukarami District, Palembang. One of the informants said, in this RT, about 60 percent of the population who live here, worked as

scavengers. The rest are scavengers who do not live in the RT 68 area, but are spread in several other RTs, which are still in the RW. 10 Area.

These permanent scavengers, usually from outside the area, or have a place of origin that is quite far from the landfill area. In addition, there are also scavengers (not settled in the area). These scavengers, visiting the landfill only for 'nyeker', then going back to their respective homes, which are outside the landfill area, but within a radius of 3 to 5 km, (still in one village/district).

The distance between scavengers' houses is close each others and nearly has no home page. This allows more intense interaction between scavengers. For example, when the research team was making observations, a number of mothers gathered and joked in front of a resident's home page. The social closeness between scavengers seems to be even more so if it is relaxed and not 'sticky'. Mothers will usually gather and chat to spend time.

As in previous research (Sartika & Sununianti, 2016, 2017), which shows that the presence of scavengers in Sukawinatan Landfill is inseparable from the role of the family, both main and extended family, who encourage and support each other family members to be scavenger So, it is not surprising that, in the area currently inhabited by scavengers, the residents still have ties of blood and kinship with one another. This means that this can be a reinforcing factor for the existence and permanence of scavengers in this area, as one of the following informants suggested: "here all family. This is my brother, over there brother of mother, uncle, parents. The point is all relatives here, all families".

Usually, in a scavenger family, not only one or two people are involved with garbage (becoming scavengers), but almost all family members are involved, including children. Some husbands from scavengers, are drivers or driver's assistant ('kernet') garbage transporters, who are status as Daily Employees (non civil servant employee). More becomes 'kernet', compared to the driver, with a weekly salary of around Rp.400,000.

As with residential areas in general, here also appears a number of small children who roam, gather, play among the neighborhoods of scavenger houses which are filled with garbage. Occasionally it appears that children who are participating in their parents 'nyeker' or just play around in the landfill. These little kids are dressed in shabby, some are naked, some do not wear pants, with black fingernails. One of the informants said that here, on average, there are many children, "there is no family planning here, so they have many children".

Besides having many children, family members of scavengers have low education, even drop out of school. This condition is exacerbated by the proliferation of promiscuity, the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (Shipilis/Raja Singa), liquor (alcoholic beverages), and drugs, especially shabu-shabu in this region.

The social activities normally carried out by mothers in this area are arisan activities, every two weeks, by depositing money in the amount of Rp. 15,000, - and get Rp. 1,000,000 in cash. This arisan activity is a facility for mothers to save, because most of them do not have savings to the bank. In addition, there are also Dasawisma activities (part of the Women Organization), and social activities in the form of attending celebrations / invitations from local residents, visiting neighbors affected by disasters, such as illness, and others.

The relation between scavenger residents and the local government also seemed less harmonious. Scavengers feel the difference in treatment for their groups, compared to the previous period of government. According to a number of informants, the current local village apparatus is difficult if asked to help with administrative matters, "the current RT if you want anything you have to give IDR 50,000. Mr. RT sometimes chooses people who are capable in economists)". Scavengers find it difficult to get a cover letter to the hospital. Meanwhile, they do not have a Family Card (KK), so they are not entitled to free treatment at the Puskesmas. They majority don't have BPJS (Insurance for Health). In addition, they also lack trust if they do treatment at the Puskesmas / Pustu.

However, according to the local government, they have been maximally helping local residents. Within one week, there were people who reported and asked for help from the local government, especially related to cases or problems in the family. Household problems that arise related to disputes between husband and wife, Domestic Violence (KDRT), have led to the desire to divorce. According to the local government, efforts made to overcome this are to provide advice, try to mediate and resolve the problem in a family manner.

If seen, the scavenger social relations, this can be categorized in vertical and horizontal social relations. Horizontal social relations are social relations between scavenger families and fellow scavengers who are known to be quite good. Scavengers on average have close ties to brotherhood or kinship with each other, although in terms of finding work they do not interfere with each other. Meanwhile, vertical social relations at both the local and city levels show that these scavenger groups are marginalized and excluded from access to facilities such as population, education, health, employment and housing.

Scavenger as Illegal Work for the Government

According to the Landfill manager, the presence of scavengers in the area around the Sukawintatan Landfill is illegal. Scavengers are prohibited from carrying out their activities around this area, because they are considered disturbing and also dangerous to the health and safety of the scavengers themselves.

Scavengers are seen as disturbing the work of the landfill because the mountain of garbage that has been piled up is not uncommon to be dismantled by these scavengers, causing the garbage to be scattered again. In addition, the presence of heavy equipment in operation, its performance has been disrupted because on their left and right there are scavengers who also operate in search of garbage. The favorite location of scavengers when they looking for the latest garbage is usually near heavy equipment, because the heavy equipment lowers garbage from the garbage truck. The act of scavenging near the heavy equipment is feared that scavengers will be transported by heavy equipment or buried in garbage because their presence is not visible to the driver who operates the heavy equipment.

The socialization of banning on scavengers has been carried out both orally and in writing. However, this was ignored by scavengers. On the other hand, waste collectors also acknowledge that their existence is also considered a disruption to the work system at Sukawinatan Landfill. So, they are ready to accept the risk of their work accident as scavengers without interference from Sukawinatan Landfill. The government (manager of landfill) can only provide appeals and restrictions

not to do 'nyeker' activities in this region. Repressive actions have never been carried out, due to humanitarian considerations and compassion. The management felt that the 'plugging' activities carried out by these scavengers were a means of livelihood to connect their lives.

Reasons to Become Scavengers

As we know, scavengers are jobs that are indeed familiar with garbage. At the beginning of being a scavenger and dealing with rubbish, it is not uncommon for these scavengers to feel disgust, dizziness, nausea, vomiting, and always cover their noses, because of the unpleasant smell of garbage. However, over time these scavengers become accustomed (immune), even sleeping and eating adjacent to garbage, is not something strange to them, in the language of the informant "He went on, no longer nauseous", (when he was really involved scavengers, no longer feeling nauseous, vomiting and so on). Some of the scavengers said that they did not feel pain or had an illness caused by garbage. Likewise with scavengers who are domiciled around the landfill area, they say living in the area is comfortable, there is no other choice, and more for strategic reasons because it is close to the location of waste as their source of income. One of the informants said, if the garbage (read: landfill) moved, they would move too, to the area close to the new landfill.

The informants said that they were scavengers because there were no other jobs that were suitable for them. In addition there are many other reasons, why these scavengers choose to work as scavengers.

"I became a scavenger because it was better like this. It works free. Can rest at will, and immediately get money that day. If being a housemaid is not free. The money can only be obtained after payday. After all, if I were a housemaid, my husband would be left at home all day. I only work from morning till noon, I can immediately get money for shopping. The intention to change jobs doesn't exist. What do we work for? We don't go to school. Do not understand office problems. So the work I can do is become a scavenger. We cannot read and write. We did not graduate from elementary school". (HM Informant).

Another informant, at first became a scavenger because of a friend's invitation, because according to him many scavengers here also came from Sekayu. Apart from because he was tired of living in Sekayu because of his small income, while his education was low and did not have a job. For this reason, he and his husband decided to migrate and work here, although he did not tell his family about his work.

Institutional and Conflict

Although there are many scavengers in the Sukawintan landfill, there is a relatively rare conflict between scavengers, related to their activities as scavengers. Although sometimes there are scavengers who get quite a lot of results, and some are few. According to them, the results of scavenging were their fortune, even they did not have a difference in the location boundaries of scavengers.

At present there are no organizations related to their work as scavengers. Such as the association, union or cooperative for scavengers. One of the informants said that in the past there had been a scavenger union organization in the region, but for some reason there was an understanding between members, so the organization broke up and did not continue.

Income

From an economic standpoint, it is known that income obtained from waste collection is considered to be able to meet the daily needs of scavengers, without having to be bound. From scavenging, these scavengers get daily money that they can directly use to buy basic necessities, especially food needs. The results obtained from waste collection per day are uncertain, ranging from Rp.20,000 to Rp.100,000 per day. If lucky, some scavengers have found valuables, among the piles of garbage they buy, such as money and gold.

Thus, the results of this scavenging activity can be obtained directly on the same day, compared to having to work with other people (becoming a Household Assistant or salesperson). If you work with other people, you can only get a salary, after working for at least one month. This is also one of the strong reasons for the research subjects to 'feel at home' as scavengers. Therefore, waste collectors feel very disadvantaged if they cannot work (go scavenging) because it has eliminated their opportunity to get daily money. A scavenger woman, usually married to a driver assistant or driver of a garbage carrier, with a weekly wage of Rp.400,000. In addition to getting weekly wages, the garbage collectors also benefit, by first collecting and getting garbage, which can be sold (plastic, cardboard, and other recyclable objects or garbage), from the garbage they transport to garbage trucks. them, before finally being dumped in the landfill. This plastic waste and the like, are then sold and can increase income for their wives and families, around Rp.10,000 to Rp.20,000 per day.

The expenditure, in the form of daily meals (not certain), ranges from Rp. 20,000 to Rp. 100,000. Spending days is usually to buy rice / rice, vegetables, side dishes, gallon water (Rp. 4,000 per gallon) and snacks for children. Other expenses are in the form of school fees for children, because the distance of the school is quite far, which is Rp 50,000 per week. Meanwhile, monthly fees, namely electricity costs of Rp 100,000, - the cost of using well water Rp 30,000, - and the cost of land rent per month, amounting to Rp. 100,000, -

Dietary Habit

The average scavenger family cooks for the daily needs of all family members. Shop for daily necessities in vegetable shops near their settlements. The staple food is rice then added with vegetables. The most commonly consumed side dish is fish. If there are no fish, usually consume salted fish and chili sauce. The meal menu for children is relatively simpler, such as rice and soy sauce only, or rice and crackers, occasionally rice and eggs for cow's eyes, or mixed with instant noodles. If you are going to scavenge, the scavengers will usually bring lunch for lunch. They eat food in the area around the landfill along with other fellow scavenger friends. If the stock is not used up or is still left over, then they bring the provisions back home. The remaining provisions will be eaten for dinner or dinner at home. Not infrequently, while scavenging, scavengers will find discarded foods, but the packaging is still closed. Usually scavengers will see expired (the deadline for consumption or not expired) from these foods. If they have not arrived at the expiry period, they will take it, take it home and consume it, as long as the packaging has not been opened and has not expired.

Usually these items come from minimarkets or supermarkets, whose expiration dates are still a week away or a maximum of two months longer. Besides cooking, additional food is usually obtained by snacks, especially for children. Children and parents will usually take snacks at stalls around

the settlement. Snacks that are commonly purchased are snacks, sachet powder drinks mixed with water and ice, for Rp. 1,000 to Rp. 5,000.

Education

Some children from scavenger families here did not continue their education. Coupled with the support and motivation of parents to children for school is also low. Seen scavenger children of elementary school age who only play around and joke fun while watching television, even though the day is still around 10:00 WIB.

From childhood, these children are accustomed to and often invited by their parents to collect, so with a very young age, these children also work and are good at collecting garbage. This was also perpetuated by their association with other scavenger children who also dropped out of school. Not infrequently, these children also participated as an employee in garbage trucks whose passing to Sukawinatan landfill, whether they were garbage trucks, or smaller ones like "kaisar". Becoming an employee in garbage truck car, making these children sometimes come home until night. This work is not safe for children, because they have to sit on a pile of rubbish in the tub of an open garbage transportation car. Once happened, a child fell from a garbage truck, while their parents did not know and did not supervise because they were scavenging.

So, from a young age, these children are already good at collecting, looking for and getting money from garbage around them, and even participating in becoming a garbage truck provider, so that going to school is not important, and eventually dropping out of school.

Lack of supervision from parents, also causes the child to be less motivated to go to school. Parents (scavengers) go scavenging from morning to evening, resulting in omission or loss of supervision on children. Some parents did not even go home, especially with the Sukawinatan landfill condition which was sometimes transferred to Karya Jaya Landfill. The parents did not go home because they stayed around Karya Jaya Landfill for some time, during the Sukawinatan Landfill is inactive. Some young children (babies) are invited by their parents to come to Karya Jaya Landfill, but for school-age children and are already independent, usually they will be left by their parents for some time. This condition, finally made the child not go to school for some time, until finally dropping out of school.

Health and Diseases that are often suffered by scavengers

The scavengers said that there were no problems in the health and lives of those living near the trash, and according to them they were healthy and did not suffer from diseases caused by garbage. Although, field data shows that there are several informants who experience respiratory problems (shortness of breath) and lungs, due to garbage pollution and also unhealthy lifestyles (smoking, etc.). Scavengers say that they are "used to" their lives now. However, in general there are several diseases that are often suffered by scavengers such as: fever, colds, coughs, colds, hives, allergies, low blood pressure, worms and diarrhea.

Allergies and hives are more common in children, but there are some parents who also suffer from the disease. Children who suffer from the disease usually get out of their eyes because of playing in black puddle water like sewage water. One of the children of the informant who was still young, had suffered severe itching (not cured and infection), the treatment was

immediately taken to the dermatologist and costed up to hundreds of thousands of rupiah.

Work accidents are most often experienced by scavengers around the landfill location. Rolling around the rubbish pile is a common thing. Working as a scavenger requires extra physical labor because scavengers are faced with heat from below (piles of garbage) and top (hot sun), sometimes also rain. For this reason, scavengers work around this by working at night. Women usually work more during the day, because they think working at night is not safe for them, and have to look after the children at home.

Meanwhile, government relations in general in the health sector with the local community have not been seen. A number of residents stated that they had never received assistance or health programs from the government. According to him, assistance has come from the private sector and a number of student groups have provided free and other worm treatment. For this reason, some people carry out medical treatment to one nurse whose practice location is quite close to Sukawinatan Landfill. Medical expenses for scavengers are around Rp 100,000/ visit plus medicine. According to one informant ibu Pt :

"usually like us it's not too expensive for treatment. sometimes we were given a fee to go home because he was sorry to see our child sick. He is a good person. Meanwhile, if the people who are rich in medical expenses are made expensive, IDR 250,000 / visit".



Picture 1. The mountain of garbage is behind the scavenger house



Picture 2. The house and situation of the house of a scavenger family

CONCLUSION

The existence of scavengers in the Sukawinatan landfill is illegal. The situation and physical condition of the place where

waste collectors work is very unsafe and does not satisfy the health standards. However, the situation and conditions of the scavenger social environment show that communality and kinship are quite felt here, because on average scavenger's work based on the invitation of friends and family. This condition can be utilized in a positive direction. This means that this solidarity can be a strength for this community so that it has a bargaining position in obtaining their rights as citizens.

Based on the description of the physical environment and social life of scavengers, this study has recommended the cooperation of related parties and scavengers in the following aspects: 1). Obtain identity cards and administrative completeness as citizens for scavengers, 2). Health insurance program for scavengers, 3). Provision of clean water facilities and infrastructure that is not polluted by waste, 4). Counseling on increasing family resilience.

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