

## Survival strategies and stigma against the poor in the 1001 Malam community in Surabaya City

### *Strategi bertahan hidup dan stigma terhadap orang miskin pada komunitas 1001 Malam Kota Surabaya*

Teguh Imami ✉

Lembaga Manajemen Infaq

Sehati Building, Surabaya, Jawa Timur 60284, Indonesia

e-mail of corresponding author: teguhimami99@gmail.com

#### Abstract

This study aimed to determine how the poor community in the 1001 Malam settlement, Surabaya, live their daily lives. Most settlers coming from villages and settling in cities (urbanization) are forced to become poor people who live under bridge tolls. Qualitative research was used to describe the lives of the settlers where the researchers interviewed 12 research subjects. This study employed the theory of symbolic interactionism proposed by George Herbert Mead, the theory of marginality proposed by Robert Park, and the theory of Stigma proposed by Erving Goffman. The results of this study indicate that settlers have a distinct sense of self and identity compared to residents of Surabaya City in general. Settlers define themselves as poor, uneducated, and without access to resources so they must work on the side to make ends meet. This study concludes that the settlers' survival strategy is to work as buskers, beggars, scavengers, hawkers, and laborers. These informal jobs make poor communities stigmatized as criminals, poor, uneducated, and slum dwellers.

**Keywords:** poor communities; self and identity; survival mechanism; 1001 Malam settlement

#### Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana komunitas miskin di pemukiman 1001 Malam, Surabaya, menjalani kehidupan sehari-hari. Para pemukim yang kebanyakan berasal dari desa dan menetap di kota (urbanisasi) terpaksa menjadi orang miskin yang tinggal di bawah tol jembatan. Penelitian kualitatif digunakan untuk mendeskripsikan kehidupan para pemukim dimana peneliti mewawancarai 12 subjek. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori interaksionisme simbolik yang digagas oleh George Herbert Mead, teori marginalitas yang digagas oleh Robert Park, dan teori Stigma yang digagas oleh Erving Goffman. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pemukim memiliki self dan identitas yang berbeda dibanding warga Kota Surabaya pada umumnya. Para pemukim memaknai diri sendiri sebagai orang miskin, tidak berpendidikan, tidak memiliki sumber akses sehingga harus bekerja informal untuk memenuhi kebutuhan. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa strategi bertahan hidup yang dilakukan oleh para pemukim yaitu dengan bekerja menjadi pengamen, pengemis, pemulung, pedagang asongan, dan buruh. Pekerjaan informal tersebut menjadikan komunitas miskin menghadapi stigma negatif berupa pemukim sarang kriminalitas, miskin, tidak berpendidikan, dan kumuh.

**Kata kunci:** komunitas miskin; self dan identitas; mekanisme survival; pemukiman 1001 Malam

## Introduction

Poverty in cities is inextricably linked to the increasing urbanization of society (Mulyani & Hadi 2014). The United Nations (UN) estimates that by 2050, 68% of the world's population will live in urban areas (Widyaningrum 2018). However, due to their limited knowledge and skills, not all of the rural poor can be absorbed into the job market in cities (Lan 2019).

Poverty in cities is more complicated than in villages. People can still eat in villages without money, but the poor can't get anything in cities without money (Hanani & Syafiq 2013). One of the fundamental issues that the poor in the city have to face is the difficulty of earning a living, causing them to live in poverty (Aryani & Zuber 2017). Several dimensions of urban poverty are shown by low-income levels, poor health conditions, low education, vulnerability, and powerlessness (Yandri & Juanda 2018).

Because of the aforementioned issues, the poor in cities tend to group in areas that are inexpensive or unoccupied. They set up illegal buildings around the downtown area close to where they work. They have a tendency to congregate and form crowds of residences on vacant land, such as beside railroad tracks, under bridges, and on state lands. The majority of them work in the informal sector as street children, scavengers, and buskers.

The poor people make a community in the slum area of the city. his community's level varies between slum areas in a city, regions, and countries. The main factors influencing these differences are the size of the slum area and its physical characteristics, the area of settlements, the age of settlements, conflicts over houses and land (eg squatters), leases, ethnicity, kinship ties, and freedom or narrowness of motion (Lewis 1998, Prayitno 2013).

Surabaya as the second largest city after Jakarta is the target of the poor for urbanization. According to Statistics Indonesia (BPS), East Java has a population of around 40.666 million people in 2022. Among the tens of millions of people, Surabaya City is the most populous city with a population of around 2.874 million people. According to this information, every square kilometer is home to 8,217 people (Badan Pusat Statistik 2022). This condition has made many poor communities settle in Surabaya City. Currently, there are 15 identified poor communities (Barbara et al. 2014). Out of these communities, the 1001 Malam community, Dupak, Surabaya, is the most slum.

The area beneath the Dupak toll road in Surabaya was a jungle, at least until the 1990s. However, in 1986, several poor people began living under the bridge. These poor people named their settlement 1001 Malam (Fadilla 2019). Negative stigma then emerged from the residents of Surabaya, particularly when the settlement was made a "criminal den" because it was considered to be a haven for "cargo theft" perpetrators (Liputo 2014).

The number of poor people living in the 1001 Malam settlement grew in 1999. When the toll road is full, new poor people who do not have a place to live end up using riverside areas near the bridge. To form a community, poor people construct temporary houses, semi-permanent buildings, and clear wild plants that grow creeping to form a community. The majority had the same reason when they finally decided to settle in that area, which is expensive housing prices in Surabaya.

There are 180 poor people living in 1001 Malam settlements. Currently, 135 of the 180 families have Surabaya City ID cards, while the rest have ID cards from other cities. The majority of those without Surabaya ID cards are from Gresik, Lamongan, Malang, and Madura. These poor people go about their daily lives as beggars, scavengers, traders, buskers, and unskilled laborers, with an uncertain daily income.

Poor people in Settlement 1001 Malam receive a negative stigma from society, particularly Surabaya residents. They are stigmatized as filthy, undisciplined, lazy, criminals, disorderly, polluted (both polluted and dirty), outcasts, and non-native citizens. The existence of such stereotypes also has an indirect impact on the mental health of the poor. Several studies prove that poor people feel less happy and are vulnerable to serious mental disorders, such as depression, schizophrenia, and personality disorders (Varamitha et al. 2016).

Bad stigma makes these poor people excluded from city life. The settlers feel inferior, surrender to fate (fatalistic), and stay away from outside life. Every day while working, they always feel shame, are afraid of the police, evictions, and experience various difficult situations (Hanani & Syafiq 2013).

Poverty research was once conducted by Suyanto (1995) who revealed how poor people were empowered to meet their daily needs. Karnaji (2011) conducted similar research, examining how poor people are unlikely to be able to change their lives as a result of the social inequalities they experience. A similar study was conducted by Misdar Mahfudz (2018), investigating poverty in Madura, which cannot be

## **Imami: "Survival strategies and stigma against the poor"**

eradicated because these poor people have a culture of poverty that has been passed down through generations. According to the findings of Prayitno's (2013) study on the poverty of urban poor families, poor families survive and earn enough money because family members help each other at work.

Unlike previous research, this study focuses on how the poor's survival strategies in the city and the stigma against the poor in the 1001 Malam settlement. These poor people live in slums and have developed a unique survival strategy.

George Herbert Mead revealed in his book *Mind, Self, Society* (1934) that self is a process that results from individual social interactions with other people. Individuals, according to Mead, are sensitive, active, creative, and innovative creatures. Their social existence effectively determines the form of their social environment and themselves. Furthermore, Mead explained how the concept of "self" can be both an object and a subject at the same time. The object in question applies to itself as the basic character of other creatures, allowing it to achieve self-consciousness and the foundation for taking an attitude for itself, including in social situations.

The concept of "stigma" used in this study is Erving Goffman's concept of stigma, which is an attribute that deeply discredits a person and is usually seen in the language (both verbal and nonverbal) in everyday relationships. Goffman categorizes stigma into three types, *first*, hatred of the body - that is, a form of bodily deformity or physical disability; *second*, individuals who are 'rejected' because of their personality are considered sick or have a disorder in which they are not respected; *third*, stigma imposed on the basis of ethnicity, race, nation and belief (Goffman 1963).

In addition to the theory of Symbolic Interactionism, this study employed Robert Park's theory of Marginality. In his article 'Human Migration and Marginalized Humans,' Robert Park used the term "marginalization" for the first time at the individual level. He noticed that many immigrants were 'marginalized,' which he believed was ingrained in their social fabric. Various social deviations occur, particularly in slum areas, as a result of the influence of weakening social organizations caused by uncontrolled urbanization, resulting in marginal individuals. Marginalized people have been described as 'cultural hybrids'.

## **Research Method**

This study was carried out using qualitative methods. The qualitative research method is used to investigate and comprehend social meaning (Creswell 2015). Of course, meaning and comprehension differ in the context of space and time, necessitating greater intensity. It is because the primary objective of qualitative research is to make facts understandable and to allow the model to generate new hypotheses (Hennink et al. 2020).

This study gathered all data, including data from in-depth interviews, documentation, field notes, and secondary data, which was further classified based on the understanding of data reduction. The sorted and classified data was then analyzed using the theory employed in order to form a comprehensive analysis and answer research questions or problems in the problem formulation. This study focused on the daily lives of the poor community in Surabaya. How do they interpret their "self" in their everyday lives? How do they interpret the identity of the urban poor community, and how do they deal with the urban environment's stigma?

This study was carried out at the 1001 Malam Settlement, which is located under the Dupak Bridge Toll Road in Surabaya City. This settlement is home to 180 families, including 135 Surabaya Family Cards (KK) holders and non-Surabaya residents from Lamongan, Gresik, Malang, and Madura. All of the poor people who live in the 1001 Malam settlement earn a living as buskers, beggars, scavengers, and unskilled laborers. There are differences between poor people who have Surabaya KTPs and those who do not yet have Surabaya KTPs, such as access to health care, education, and the use of public facilities. However, both those who already have Surabaya city ID cards and non-Surabaya residents are still poor.

This study employed a purposive method, with data gathered from a group of people who meet the criteria for being used as subjects/informants. Subjects/informants are people who provide information about situations and conditions that are not part of the research. The *first* subject criteria used in this study are poor people living in the 1001 Malam settlement. *Second*, they live their daily life and work as buskers, beggars, scavengers, or unskilled laborers. *Third*, people have been negatively stigmatized by those outside the 1001 Malam community, particularly Surabayans.

This study's informants were all residents of the 1001 Malam Surabaya community who were chosen based on the characteristics of the research subjects. Furthermore, the primary considerations for the informants chosen for this study were family backgrounds, each with their own uniqueness, and types of work engaged in a variety of fields of work, as this would affect the daily lives of the 1001 Malam residents. Informants in this study consisted of GIS (40 years) as the community leader; ROP (63 years) and AHM (43 years) as scavengers; SAG (40 years) as a porter; SUL (52 years), SUW (38 years), and ANN (33 years) as beggars; ZUL (23 years), WAT (32 years), FEN (35 years), and MUS (33 years) as buskers; and SLI (42 years) as a trader.

In order to obtain data to answer problems, data collection was carried out by the following methods: *First*, observation, specifically direct-based observation. Observation techniques also allow for the comprehension of complex situations in which communication techniques are ineffective. *Second*, conduct depth or in-depth interviews. *Third*, tracing data through documents such as letters, memorandums, and official announcements; agendas, meeting conclusions, and other written event reports.

This study also employed data analysis techniques to assist in the analysis, categorization, and direction of conclusions drawn from the collected data. The data analysis techniques used in this study were data reduction, data presentation, conclusion, and verification. The three data analysis techniques were introduced by Miles and Huberman, which are interrelated with one another to form a comprehensive data analysis technique which then forms the interactive model data analysis component (Miles et al. 2014).

The explanation for each of the three techniques is, *first*, data reduction. Data reduction is an attempt to sort and select as well as select the raw data that has been collected, such as interview transcripts, observations, field notes, news reports, and knowledge of the literature. *Second*, data presentation. In presenting the data, various visual evidence such as relevant photos/pictures is also displayed, thus completing the data analysis. The data are more than just field findings, but can also provide information and knowledge. *Third*, data verification. Drawing conclusions is actually not only done at the time of data presentation and final but can also take place during data collection and data reduction.

## Results and Discussion

### Background to urbanization

According to a substantial amount of research, poor people move to cities for economic reasons (Noverina 2017). When asked why they are moving, the poor typically cite 'better prospects' in the urban economy as the primary reason. The same can be said about the reasons why poor people choose to live in the 1001 Malam settlement and urbanize. They, like the 12 subjects/informants interviewed, believe that living in Surabaya guarantees a better future. AHM (43 years), one of the settlers who currently works as a scavenger, revealed the reason why he moved to the city. Here's his narrative:

"Since childhood when I lived in Madura, I had trouble. I used to help my neighbors find feed for cows in the fields. Then growing up, I had to drop out of school because of financial constraints. It's difficult for my family to make food. Therefore, it's impossible to go to school. Finally, not long after that, I decided to wander. I am ashamed to live in the village because I am unemployed." (Informant AHM).

## **Imami: "Survival strategies and stigma against the poor"**

ANN (33 years), one of the residents who currently lives in the 1001 Malam settlement, told a similar story. Since childhood, she was abandoned by her parents. When growing up, she wanted to change the fate of life for the better. Here's her narrative:

"At first, it sucked too. But what can I do? In the past, my family in the village could not afford to pay for school. In the end, it's okay. The important thing is that I can get food. When I first arrived here, I did many kinds of work to meet my daily needs. My families work odd jobs. I do the same. We're so poor. I thought living in the city can change my life for the better." (Informant ANN).

Several subjects, especially AHM and ANN, moved from villages to the city in the 2000s. They do not get the job they want right away in the city. Living in the city does not guarantee that they can find work and become wealthy. In fact, the majority of the settlers were taken aback when they first arrived in Surabaya. They then realize that urban poverty is more complex than rural poverty, especially since they are residents of the 1001 Malam settlement.

One of the fundamental problems that the poor in the city have to face is that they find it difficult to compete in terms of earnings, making them live in poverty (Aryani & Zuber 2017). Several dimensions of urban poverty are shown by low-income levels, poor health conditions, low education, vulnerability, and powerlessness (Yandri & Juanda 2018).

For the first time in the city, the settlers must reinvent themselves. According to Mead, the individual's past is understood as a tool for a person to maintain his self-concept in the present and future. This also demonstrates that roles and identities are not passively assumed or "taken," but are actively constructed by individuals. These poor people are aware of their current situation. As a result, when they make important life decisions in their daily lives, poverty plays an important role (Banker et al. 2020).

### **Adaptation and survival strategy**

The problem of poverty that occurs in cities is more complex than poverty that occurs in villages. People without money can still eat in villages, but it is impossible for the poor to get anything in cities. The problems of poor people in urban areas include, among other things, difficulties in meeting basic needs (malnourishment from healthy food, limited clothing, inappropriate housing, or even not having a permanent place to live), inability to pay for medical treatment, difficulty accessing quality education, vulnerability to crime, criminalization in the legal process, and limited opportunities to express opinions (Yandri & Juanda 2018).

According to Mead, the self is a human characteristic that animals do not possess. The ability to accept oneself as an object from the perspective of another person or society is defined as the self. In this context, "*I*" refers to the part of me that is concerned with myself. Mead considers it to be a source of originality, creativity, and spontaneity (Mead 1934). As a subject, "*I am capable of taking action* actively and innovatively. The 1001 Malam settlers ignore the stigma that comes with working as buskers, beggars, and scavengers; instead, the community focuses on how to earn money for their daily needs.

The poor in the 1001 Malam settlement make ends meet by working as beggars, scavengers, buskers, hawkers, and unskilled laborers in the city. This was done as a result of the burden of living in a very large city. Some of the interviewees, including SUW (38 years), stated that the rational choice now is to work as a beggar. This middle-aged woman described how, after moving to the city, her expectations and reality had shifted 180 degrees. Initially, the expectation of living in Surabaya was to find work and stability, but in the end, she only survived on the side of the road. Here's her narrative:

"It's just like that. I came from a village. Because there was no work in the village, I moved to the city in search of work. But I cannot get any jobs. I finally become a beggar. I'm at a loss for what to do. Working in the city turns out to be extremely difficult. It's also difficult because I don't have an ID card." (Informant SUW).



Some subjects are unfamiliar with city life. On the one hand, they are still fighting with themselves. On the other hand, they need to find a solution as soon as possible to get out of the poverty trap. One of the traders interviewed, SUL (52), stated that she had to work as a beggar in addition to being a trader. She did this to boost her selling capital. Here's her narrative:

"I am in shock, of course. Living in a harsh city like this is especially difficult. If I don't work as A and work as B, Young Man, I can't buy food. Finally, I also become a beggar in the mosques. I usually beg on Fridays after Friday Prayer. That's a pretty decent income for trading capital." (Informant SUL).

Most of the residents of 1001 Malam must adjust to city life. They are used to living casually, working as farm laborers, or doing odd jobs in the village. Even if they don't work for a week, they can still meet their daily needs with the rice and side dishes that are available. However, when they are forced to live in a city with different daily lives, they must gradually adjust. They must work in order to eat. They have to buy or pay for something if they want it. Such things do not exist in the village.

Of all the subjects interviewed, the subject with the poorest life is ROP. At the age of 63, she still works as a scavenger. ROP's husband died several years ago, and his son, now 52, lives in poverty with his wife. ROP was eventually forced to live alone and work as a scavenger. She revealed that when she decided to become a scavenger at a very old age, her eyesight was already nearsighted, and sickly. Here's her narrative:

"If I don't scavenge, who will feed me? The government? Or the people here? No. Moreover, living in a city like this means that no one else can provide assistance. In the end, I work as a scavenger. The important thing is that this is halal. I'm not begging. Thank God, until now I still live healthily." (Informant ROP).

Aside from buskers, scavengers, beggars, and casual laborers, the settlers supplement their income by working as household assistants (ART), construction workers, or odd jobs. Most settlers choose to be laborers if they have a calling to work in construction. If no one calls, they go back to being buskers. Mead's conception of the self as capable of composing or being composed into a complete self is capable of responding to various aspects of the overall structure of the social process. Furthermore, the structure of the total self reflects social processes (Mead 1934). The structure of what the interviewed subjects did was the process that was actually thought out in their lives after the 1001 Malam settlers adopted their new identities.

Essentially, the self is a social process that involves human-owned thoughts. The body does not have a self. However, if it is accompanied by reason in the form of a thought process, it will develop into a self. The self is an awareness that humans carry out based on the response shown in their behavior; humans do not only hear themselves. However, humans are capable of responding to themselves, answering themselves as others answer. This is where social experiences, such as human daily habits, become a behavior when humans become objects of themselves.

### **Negative stigma against poor communities**

According to George Herbert Mead, a person is a product of society. Without the behavior shaped by society, a person is unable to create his/her own world. Similarly, the self is a product of society as a result of social processes that occur throughout life. Mead sees the self as a social object in and of itself. Individuals can interpret all meanings in the social processes carried out by society and turn themselves into an object or what is known as "me" (Mead 1934).

"Me" is a self-organization of the community that is typically based on societal customs. The function of "me" is solely to fulfill the perceptions and expectations of others (Basrowi & Soenyono 2004). here are various interpretations of "me" regarding the ability performed by individuals who are inspired by the perspectives of others. It is stated in this "me" is understood as a social being formed by society. Actions are taken by someone in response to others' expectations.

## **Imami: “Survival strategies and stigma against the poor”**

The poor in the 1001 Malam settlement, as individuals with a self-concept as an object or “me,” engage in a variety of social activities to meet society’s expectations. The community continues to act, try to get along, and live as if they were Surabayans. On the other hand, they continue to learn to be obedient, patient people, despite the fact that they are still frequently regarded as dirty, uneducated, unskilled, and “society trash” in Surabaya.

According to the 12 interviewees, they frequently heard negative assumptions about the settlement and its community. SAG (40 years), one of the subjects, was once thought to live in a thieving village. SAG does not dismiss this stigma; considering the history of the 1001 Malam settlement, it used to be like this. From 1989 to 1993, there was a phenomenon of jumping squirrels hiding under the toll road, which left a lasting impact, namely the existence of a negative stigma in the form of the title of the name of the residence, namely “Criminal Den” village because it was considered to be a haven for “cargo theft” (Liputo 2014). Here’s his narrative: “People often say that. I’m used to being told that. Anyway, just relax. They never feed me. Why should I care about that? They say this is a village of thieves, slum, dirty, uneducated, and lots of things.” (Informant SAG).

Several subjects agreed that the settlement is stigmatized by the outside community because of the settlers’ occupations and places of residence. ZUL approved and added to SAG’s response. The young man, who is currently 23, said that the community views the settlers as uneducated. The following is his narrative: “Our village is called a slum, despite the fact that it is the same. Yes, simply accept what others say. No need to listen to the negative things. Just listen to the good ones. We have been insulted for not going to school. They say we are uneducated, dirty, busking, and naughty. Something like that, Mr.” (Informant ZUL).

According to Erving Goffman, stigma makes people feel inferior. People who share society’s characteristics (such as being worse, dangerous, or weak) will be assumed to be tainted. This characteristic is known as the stigma. As a result, the term stigma refers to characteristics that significantly harm a person’s image. Stigma is defined as any physical or social characteristic that diminishes a person’s social identity and disqualifies that person from acceptance (Goffman 1963, Santoso 2016).

Faced with a negative stigma, FEN (35), who works as a busker every day, feels inferior. He rarely interacts with outsiders and prefers to interact only with members of his community. Here’s his narrative: “I am a busker and poor, so I am a bit shy when I talk to outsiders. Finally, I only interact with people in this circle. There are no friends outside either. Here, the people are also the same as me. Few have friends outside.” (Informant FEN).

FEN compared it to the village. According to him, when he was in the village before, he had never been insulted like what happened in the 1001 Malam settlement. Back in the village, even though he was poor, he was still able to socialize and meet his daily needs. According to him, in the village, there is rarely a gap between the rich and the poor. Everything is about the same. However, in the city, the gap between the poor and the rich is clearly visible, especially in the 1001 Malam settlement, where everyone is poor.

Settlers also receive a negative stigma as filthy, undisciplined, lazy, criminals, disorderly, considered polluted (both polluted and dirty), outcasts, and non-native citizens (Susanto & Aini 2021). The existence of such stereotypes has an indirect impact on settlers’ mental health. According to Goffman, people are “rejected” because they live in an inappropriate location (Goffman 1963).

### **The subject’s response to society’s stigma**

#### *Feeling inferior*

The negative stigma by the people of Surabaya makes the settlers of the 1001 Malam community feel inferior. The settlers stated that living in the 1001 Malam slum is a recurring nightmare in their lives.

Individually, settlers are filled with feelings of worthlessness, helplessness, dependence, inferiority, and resignation (Subagio & Handoyo 2020). This surrender encourages settlers to adapt to and make peace with their surroundings. During this time, the discomfort of living in a run-down house, in a filthy environment, and even in slums has gradually become acceptable.

At his lowest point, WAT (32 years) expresses feelings of inferiority by living under a toll bridge. WAT, a busker, has five children, all of whom are still young. Finally, she and her family find themselves in exile, living beneath a toll bridge. Aside from that, there is a dearth of economic factors. Here's her narrative:

“It's very different, Mr. I live under the toll. Every day I have to sit down for daily activities. It feels lacking. Other places seem comfortable. Yes, it's like this, most people here can't afford it. People have no place to live. We end up staying in a place like this.” (Informant WAT).

WAT initially avoided and moved to another location when she is approached by the researcher. According to her, when telling her story during the interview, she felt embarrassed when she met new people. Apart from that, the poor economic factor adds to her reticence. She has five children, the oldest of whom is 13 years old and the youngest of whom is 1.5 months old. MUS (33 years), a settler who works as a busker, told a similar story. MUS said that the reason his parents chose to live under the toll bridge was that they felt ashamed of the environment in Surabaya, which could not provide a decent living for their family.

“My parents used to tell me, Mr., that one of the reasons for choosing a place far from many people was the economic factor and the feeling of embarrassment. We don't need to meet people if we live under the toll road. So, it's quiet and peaceful, and we can do your activities here.” (Informant MUS).

Some subjects feel inferior, completely dependent, and resigned. This is illustrated in their daily lives. This is demonstrated in their daily lives. The habits of the community, which are very dependent on themselves and their fate, clearly demonstrate dependence. Finally, this surrender encourages the community to adapt and make do with the current circumstances.

All of this time, they have felt uneasy because the houses are not proper, the environment is dirty and tends to be slums, and this community lives in the 1001 Malam community all year round. That is how long this community has existed, adapting and blending with the existing environmental conditions. They feel disconnected from their surroundings; in this case, these attitudes and feelings spread feelings of inferiority. They are marginalized people who are aware of their problems, internal conditions, environment, and way of life.

### *Fatalistic*

The settlers believe that the poverty they are currently experiencing is part of God's plan (fatalistic). Settlers believe that God has placed them in this position to always be patient. This fatalist or resigned attitude is one of the poor's ways of life. Their surrender is a manifestation of feeling hopeless and powerless. They are aware of how impossible it is for them to achieve success or a better life. The surrender attitude encourages them to try less to change the poor conditions that currently entrap them Suparlan (1993).

SLI (42 years) works as a fried food seller at the intersection next to the cemetery. However, the sales often don't sell well, and SLI often has to throw away the leftover fried food because it's stale. To initiate a lack of income, this widow with one child will beg first every time she doesn't have capital. The money from the begging is used for trading capital. The following is her narrative: “I am grateful for everything and do everything I can. I do everything, Mr. If I'm embarrassed, I can't buy food. Selling is a good thing. If I want to sell, the capital is gotten by begging. Actually, I wanted to have my own capital, but no one would give it to me, so I had to beg first.” (Informant SLI).



## **Imami: "Survival strategies and stigma against the poor"**

The concept of accepting destiny is also interpreted by several other settlers. For them, illegally occupying land is still preferable to living in expensive rented houses or sleeping on the side of the road. One reason is the high cost of living space in Surabaya. Prices for land, buildings, houses, boarding houses, and rent are all increasing. Poor people who do not have a steady job or only work odd jobs are unlikely to own a dream home. Therefore, the choice of these people to settle in the 1001 Malam settlement is the last option that could be a solution. Even if the community lives a dirty, dirty, flooded life in the end, at least there is a place to take shelter and rest. The following is an explanation of GIS:

"It must be different, Mr. It's like this here, seedy, unkempt, and dirty. Flooding is unavoidable, especially during the rainy season. It's clean and well-kept in other villages. But there's nothing else we can do. This is all we have. If it rains, we're all in trouble. Yes, it was flooded, wet, and filthy. We must also be prepared if our house is flooded. That's a common thing." (Informant GIS).

The settlers demonstrate their belief in being a beggar, scavenger, or busker as a noble job both in front of humans and in front of God. Furthermore, the job is a noble job to survive rather than stealing. They believe that the only way they will be able to survive is to beg and live in slums because it is free. This attitude promotes a fatalistic existence, which affects how they live as a poor community, where this actually makes them more accustomed to the existing lifestyle, which is continuously passed down and develops into a belief that this is part of absolute destiny (Hakim 2019).

### *Isolating from outside life*

Poverty, combined with generally humiliating jobs, causes members of the community to isolate themselves from outside life (Ala 1981), both in terms of their activities and the people of Surabaya. When asked how they had to interact with the outside village, several of the settlers interviewed gave nearly identical answers. They only communicate with other settlers.

SUW (38), a beggar with two children, stated that some of the settlers in the 1001 Malam Settlement rarely interact with the outside village. When someone is sick, they usually go to the Community Health Center (Puskesmas) and then back home. If that is not the case, settlers will purchase medicine directly from the pharmacy. Here's her story:

"Never, Mr. I'm ashamed of my work like this. The people in the next village might not want to be friends with me. Villagers rarely get together with other residents, so they never interact. If we get sick, we go to the Puskesmas nearby or treat ourselves." (Informant SUW).

FEN (35 years old), the settler who currently works as a busker, shared the same story. When he meets outsiders, he feels inferior. The reasons are his job and his place of residence. Therefore, he decided to spend his time with his fellow settlers. Living in an environment like the 1001 Malam settlement is a disgrace for FEN. Outside of the settlement, life is always simple, and the village's condition indicates prosperity. Here's his narrative:

"I feel inferior to the townspeople because of our condition. I rarely go to the mall or the square. In fact, it seems I never go there. I spend a lot of time in this village, not going anywhere. At least if there's something urgent, I'll just come out." (Informant FEN).

Furthermore, other subjects stated the same thing about their reasons for avoiding outside life. They are shy, insecure, and unfamiliar with Surabaya residents in general. Moreover, a completely individualistic society is also another reason why the community does not socialize with outsiders.

Another factor is a willingness to accept one's fate as poor. The settlers surrender after realizing their poverty and the community's limited abilities. Even so, the desire to be like others who are more capable exists in the minds of the characters in the 1001 Malam Community. This feeling of being

alienated or marginalized from outside life is very prevalent, inherited, and constantly repeated, making them belong to people who live in a poor culture (Guillemin 1982).

## Conclusion

The results of the study on the poor in the 1001 Malam settlement in Surabaya show that the settlers choose to do urbanization because they want a more decent life. The poor's mental construction sees the city as a promising future location. However, in fact, they become newly unemployed in the city. These issues make the urban poor homeless, and they tend to congregate in vacant areas such as beside railroad tracks, under bridges, and on unused state lands.

Knowing that they are poor and do not have a job, the poor in the 1001 Malam settlement choose to survive and work as buskers, scavengers, beggars, hawkers, and unskilled laborers. To supplement their income, they spare their time as household assistants (ART) and construction workers.

Poor people in 1001 have to live their daily lives with a negative identity and stigma from the community, especially the residents of Surabaya. Their identity as the poor in the city who live in the 1001 Malam settlement makes them isolated from city life. Every day while at work, they feel shame, are afraid of the police, and evictions, and always experience various difficult situations. These poor people are stigmatized as dirty, undisciplined, lazy, criminals, chaotic, considered pollutants (polluted and dirty), exiles, and non-native citizens. They respond to the negative stigma from the people of Surabaya City by feeling inferior, surrendering to fate (fatalistic), and isolating themselves from outside life.

This study can explain why urban poverty is so difficult to eliminate, let alone eradicate. It is because, first, the poor in the city live with an identity and stigma that makes them inferior, and they surrender to fate (fatalistic). They only think about how to meet their daily needs every day. Second, the city government is conflicted about the existence of this impoverished community. On the one hand, they hampered the city's development; on the other, the city government had to reconsider expelling them for humanitarian reasons.

This study also has a unique paradigm for dealing with problems in slum villages, particularly in the 1001 Malam settlement. People-centered development is very relevant as a decentralization policy in dealing with social problems including the problem of poverty. This paradigm realizes the importance of society's ability to increase independence and internal strength through internal control over the material and non-material resources.

Aside from the settlers, the government's role in alleviating the problem of poverty is also critical. The government must take settlers seriously so that their numbers do not increase and have a negative impact on the city's survival. However, settlers do not have to be evicted and relocated. Instead, they must be nurtured spiritually, economically, and socially. They need to be listened to and given a place to be able to develop and overcome solutions to their problems. Therefore, coaching like what has been done by the city government before, in alleviating the problem of the largest border house in Surabaya, can be used as an example and model for development related to steps that the government must take in the future.

Skills training and the provision of small-scale capital loans for businesses of the settlers can be used to alleviate their poverty problems. Because, despite the fact that there are many government programs aimed at the poor, many poor people are still unable to benefit from these programs. As a result, the targets of these programs do not appear to be as expected. Hopefully, in the future, the government and the community can work together to solve poverty problems that begin with the environment.

## **References**

- Ala AB (1981) Kemiskinan dan Strategi Memerangi Kemiskinan. Yogyakarta: Liberty.
- Aryani YC & Zuber A (2017) Budaya kemiskinan di Kota Surakarta (Studi etnografi di pinggir rel palang joglo, Kadipiro). *Jurnal Sosiologi Dilema* 32 (2).
- Badan Pusat Statistik (2022) Provinsi Jawa Timur Dalam Angka 2022. Surabaya: PT. Sinar Murni Indo Printing.
- Banker S, Bhanot SP, & Deshpande A (2020) Poverty identity and preference for challenge: Evidence from the US and India. *Journal of Economic Psychology* 76: 102214.
- Barbara PB & Umilia E (2014) Clustering permukiman kumuh di kawasan pusat Kota Surabaya. *Jurnal Teknik ITS* 3 (2):C172-C177.
- Basrowi M & Soenyono (2004) Teori sosiologi dalam tiga paradigma. Surabaya: Yayasan Kampusina.
- Creswell JW (2015) Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Mixed. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Fadilla SH & Zain IM (2019) Kajian kondisi fisik, kondisi sosial dan kondisi ekonomi di permukiman kumuh Kampung 1001 Malam, Dupak, Krembangan, Kota Surabaya. *Swara Bhumi e-Jurnal Pendidikan Geografi FIS Unesa* 2 (1):1-7.
- Goffman E (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Guillemin J (1982) *Anthropological Realities: Readings in the Science of Culture*. New Jersey: Transaction, Inc.
- Hakim M (2019) Fatalisme dan Kemiskinan Komunitas Nelayan. *Society* 7 (2).
- Hanani DG & Syafiq M (2013) Mengatasi ancaman identitas kemiskinan: Studi kasus sebuah keluarga miskin di Surabaya. *Jurnal Penelitian Psikologi* 4 (2):120-141.
- Hennink M, Hutter I, & Bailey A (2020) *Qualitative Research Methods*. London: Sage.
- Karnaji (2011) Komitmen dan konsistensi pemerintah dalam mengatasi masalah kemiskinan: Analisis kasus di Jawa Timur. Thesis, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya.
- Lan TJ (2019) *Tinjauan Kritis Ketahanan Sosial (Masyarakat Miskin Perkotaan dan Perdesaan)*. Jakarta: LIPI Press.
- Lewis O (1988) *Kisah Lima Keluarga*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Liputo S (2014) Distres psikologik dan disfungsi sosial di kalangan masyarakat miskin kota malang. *Psychological Journal: Science and Practice* 2 (3):286-295.
- Mahfudz M (2018) *Konstruksi budaya mengemis pada masyarakat Desa Pragaan Daya Kecamatan Pragaan Kabupaten Sumenep Madura*. Thesis, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya.
- Mead GH (1934) *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miles MB, Huberman AM, & Saldana J (2014) *Qualitative Data Analysis, A Methods Sourcebook, Edition 3*. USA: Sage Publications. Terjemahan Rohidi TR. Jakarta: UI-Press.
- Mulyani L & Hadi A (2014) *Urban development in Indonesia: Contemporary problems and intervention programmes*. A Research Report for OXFAM in Indonesia.
- Noverina M (2017) Fenomena urbanisasi dan kebijakan penyediaan perumahan dan permukiman di perkotaan Indonesia. *Masyarakat Indonesia* 36 (2):103-124.
- Prayitno US (2013) Diferensiasi peran anggota keluarga miskin perkotaan: Perspektif modal sosial. *Jurnal Aspirasi* 4 (1).
- Santoso DD (2016) *Stigmatisasi orang tua tunggal perempuan di masyarakat (Studi pada masyarakat pedukuhan dongkelan Kelurahan Panggunharjo Kecamatan Sewon Kabupaten Bantul)*. Thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta.
- Subagio DL & Handoyo P (2020) Fungsi sosial lansia pada keluarga miskin (Studi etnometodologi tentang pengemis lansia di Makam Sunan Giri Kabupaten Gresik). *Paradigma* 8 (2).
- Suparlan P (1993) *Kemiskinan di Perkotaan, bacaan untuk Antropologi Perkotaan*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Susanto E & Aini AN (2021) Stigma dan inklusi sosial orang miskin. *Jurnal UGM: Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*.
- Suyanto B (ed) (1995) *Perangkap Kemiskinan Problem & Strategis Pengentasannya*. Surabaya: Airlangga University Press.

- Varamitha S, Akbar SN, & Erlyani N (2016) Stigma sosial pada keluarga miskin dari pasien gangguan jiwa. *Jurnal Ecopsy* 1 (3).
- Wahyudi SF & Pambudi H (2014) Budaya Kemiskinan Masyarakat Pemulung. *Paradigma* 2 (2).
- Widyaningrum GL (2018) PBB: 68% populasi dunia akan tinggal di area perkotaan pada 2050. *National Geographic Indonesia*. National Geographic Indonesia, 18 May. [Accessed 26 October 2022]. <http://nationalgeographic.grid.id/read/13673071/pbb-68-populasi-dunia-akan-tinggal-di-area-perkotaanpada-2050?page=all>.
- Yandri P & Juanda B (2018) Memahami karakter kemiskinan perkotaan dengan pendekatan observasional. *Jurnal Ekonomi & Studi Pembangunan* 19 (1):75-84.