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Abstract

The present study deals with the issues of family, income, livelihoods, and the patterns of employment of women migrants in the street food sector in Indonesia and Thailand. Based on a sample of 200 women street food vendors in Tangerang city and 96 in Hat Yai city the study employed a variety of methods in gathering the data. The cities were specifically selected due to rapidly increasing numbers of street food vendors. To select the respondents, purposive sampling technique was used. The "triangulation" research approach was adapted in which survey questionnaires, personal interviews (biography interviews) and observations of the researcher were used to collect data. 14 vendors from Tangerang and six vendors from Hat Yai were enlisted as research participants for biographical interviews. Quantitative data was analyzed using percentages, bivariate analysis, Pearson and Chi-square analysis.

Among the women street food vendors, the age-groups of 20 to 50 years old make up the dominant group in Tangerang as well as in Hat Yai. Unlike Tangerang's vendors, most Hat Yai's vendors were reasonably educated; a few even highly educated (high school and above). Most vendors in both areas have been in the street business for more than nine years. These results indicate that street vendor business activities are no longer a side job. Nevertheless, the vendors still face serious security problems, especially in Tangerang where in a majority of cases the vending locations have not been legalised by the local authorities. In turn, many vendors have to pay a “fee” to local thugs. However, unlike Tangerang, 24.0% of Hat Yai's vendors operate their business in government market stores and pay monthly rental fees to the local government.

As calculated by the researcher, the average daily income of women street food vendors in Tangerang was at least two times higher than the official minimum wage earned by formal sector workers, while in Hat Yai it was three times higher. However, the study pointed out that the street food sectors in both study locations have a strongly disproportionate income distribution, indicated by a Gini coefficient of 0.363 (Hat Yai) and 0.442 (Tangerang). The

linear regression model reveals that two independent variables, education and initial working capital, are positively correlated to the daily income of street food vendors in Hat Yai, one, the number of children, is negatively correlated. In Tangerang, the amount of initial working capital and business experience have a significantly positive impact on the vendors' income level.

The study found out that 39.0% of the vendors in Tangerang and 42.8% of the vendors in Hat Yai were the sole breadwinners in their households. An additional number have become the main breadwinners due to low and volatile incomes of their husbands. Accordingly, in terms of social capital, equally in the two cities, the vendors' reputation has sharply increased among their families and communities since they started to trade the street food business. However, in the eyes of families and neighbourhoods, the appreciation of women working outside the family is dependent on the supposition, that their so-called responsibilities as housewives and mothers have been carried out. Accordingly, in general, the women vendors are still much more involved in doing domestic works than their male partners. However, the study also showed that in Hat Yai a rising education level enables a number of vendors to convince their husbands to enhance their domestic activities.

The following recommendations are suggested: The practice of giving street food vendors a trading license, as already started in Hat Yai should be continued and immediately be adopted in Tangerang. For the next steps on this way to at least a partial formalization of the informal sector it would be crucial – from the authorities' side – to acknowledge the vendors as partners, not as objects, as it is at the moment. Generally, the authorities should take into account that many women, even the less educated, have brilliant ideas but do not have the capital and facilities to work on them. Consequently, to facilitate the access to loans, a locally based fund should be issued, financed by local companies of the formal economy and the high-earning members of the vendors' community. Furthermore, training courses should be provided in various fields, such as business organization, accounting and especially hygiene, the latter to become mandatory. Schools and universities are called upon to help. The vendors’ husbands should be addressed, too, in order to make the street food business more beneficial to the community, the customers, and the vendors’ families.

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List of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nation
BPJS Employment	Employees Social Security System
BPJS Health	Social Security Administrator for Health
DFID	Department for International Development
EDI	Early Development Instrument
ESI	Export Similarity Index
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICEDR	International Consortium for Executive Development Research
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
IEMS	Informal Economy Monitoring Study
IES	informal Employment Surveys
ILO	International Labour Organization
JKN	National Health Insurance
LEDCs	Less Developed Countries
NRI	Natural Resources Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCU	Primary Care Unit
SPSS	*Statistical Package for the Social Sciences*
SUPAS	The Intercensal Population Surveys
THB	The currency of Thailand
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WDR	World Development Report
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	*World Trade Organization*

Average exchange rates in 2018 (relevant period for the Thailand and Indonesian research findings):

Thailand Baht USD 1	= 30.3 baht
Indonesia Rupiah USD 1	= Rp 14,000

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1. Background of the Study

1.1. Rural-Urban Migration

The most rapid growth in urbanisation has occurred in economically less developed countries (LEDCs) in South America, Africa and Asia. Between 1950 and 1990, the urban population living in LEDCs doubled (UN DESA, 2014). Historically, urban living is linked with higher levels of literacy and education; better health care; lower fertility; longer life expectancy; greater access to social services and enhanced opportunities for cultural and political participation (UN DESA, 2014). These factors drive people away from their hometowns (rural areas) and draw people to a new location (urban areas). The United Nations Population Fund reporting on the world population (UNFPA, 2007) stated: "For the first time in history, more than half its human population, 3.3 billion people, will be living in urban areas. By 2030, this is expected to swell to almost five billion. Many of these new urbanites will be poor. Their future, the future of cities in developing countries, the future of humanity itself, all depend very much on decisions made now in preparation for this growth." A new United Nations (UN) data set showed that by 2018, 55.0% of the world's population would live in urban areas and this figure is expected to increase to 68.0% by 2050. Projections by United Nations show that urbanization, the gradual shift in residence of the human population from rural to urban areas, combined with the overall growth of the world's population could add another 2.5 billion people to urban areas by 2050, with close to 90.0% of urban residents in the world found in developing countries, particularly in Asia and Africa (United Nations, 2018).

According to the UN, the urban population of the world has grown rapidly from 751 million in 1950 to 4.2 billion in 2018 with Asia being home to 54.0% to the urban population, followed by 13.0% in both Europe and Africa. Southeast Asian countries have been urbanising rapidly by hosting a large urban demographic base of 294 million people. In 2010, 41.8% of the population (246.7 million people) in the region lived in urban areas compared to 15.5% in

1950. The United Nations expects the urban population of the region to increase to 49.7 % by 2025 (UN DESA, 2014).

Nevertheless, rapid population growth in the cities, particularly in developing countries is mainly due to the high rate of rural-urban migration, which in turn, has led to a significant increase in the urban workforce. In almost all developing countries, the level of urbanization exceeds the national average population growth rate which shows that migration is a major factor for the urbanization process (UN-Habitat, 2012). Rural-urban migration is often regarded as one of the most effective ways to reduce rural poverty, provide work, generate capital and alleviate income inequality. Research by Cali and Menon (2009) in India proved that the growth of urban areas has had a systematic and significant poverty-reducing impact on surrounding rural areas. At the same time, rapid growth in rural-urban migration together with a slow expansion of employment in the formal sector has forced the largest share of the workforce into the informal economy (ILO, 2002; Kebede, 2015).

Rural-urban internal migrants in Indonesia and Thailand constitute a significant population. Nearly 9.8 million individuals in Indonesia were estimated to be temporary internal migrants in 2010 against a merely 450,601 people migrating internationally for work in 2012 (Ananta and Arifin, 2014). In Thailand, according to the 2010 Thailand Population and Housing Census, 8.3% of the Thai population had migrated internally during the previous five years, and 21.8% of the total population did not live in their hometown (National Statistical Office of Thailand, 2010). This significantly outweighs the number of international migrants (inflows and outflows from Thailand) estimated at just under 4.5 million in 2017 (UN DESA, 2017).

In Indonesia, the rural-urban migration trend can be explained by a number of so-called push and pull factors (Nashrul, 2017). Tirtosudarmo (2009); Susanti and S (2015) and Sukamdi and Mujahid (2015) summarize the main push factors of internal migration in Indonesia by the lack of job opportunities in agricultural sectors, working matters, a desire to rejoin family members, marriage, to seek a better economic opportunities and access to education. The demand for labour in urban centres, however, is the main factor pulling people from rural areas to urban areas. In Thailand, according to Amare et al. (2012), the lack of employment in rural areas, following family and educational opportunities are push factors which have driven people to migrate to urban areas. Wongchai et al. (2012) reported that the search for better job opportunities instead of farming is a factor that significantly affects the migration of farmers in northern Thailand. Chalamwong (1998) added that push factors, as well as pull factors, increasingly drew people to urban areas.

One of the important changes in internal population movements within Indonesia and Thailand has been the rise in the participation of women in migration streams that were previously dominated by men. According to Sukamdi and Mujahid (2015), female migrants in Indonesia are greater than male migrants in number among married, divorced and windowed migrants, particularly for younger groups (15-34 years) where the proportion of migrant females and males were 66.9% and 63% respectively. The 2012 Migration Survey found that the number of women in Thailand's internal migration was lower than in other countries in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. Notwithstanding, according to the National Statistical Office of Thailand (2012) almost half of Thailand's internal migration flows were women (47.8%). This has led to the conclusion that there is a ‘feminisation of internal migration’ suggesting that there is an increasing number of women in internal migration streams occurring in both countries, especially in Indonesia. Changes in migration that are evident not only occur in the increasing number of migrant women but also in migration patterns. In the last few decades, the volume of unskilled migrant women has exceeded migrant men.

1.2. The Informal Economy – Academic Perceptions of Grassroot Activities

Since the 1960s, the informal economy has emerged as a concern for policy makers and agents of development as they recognise that a persisting unemployment rate is a major economic challenge in LEDCs (Tanga, 2009). In response, the International Labor Office (ILO) initiated a study on urban employment by organising and allocating multi-disciplinary employment missions to different countries of the world (ILO, 1972). The first ILO mission to Kenya used the term 'informal sector' to describe the activities of the poor, working very hard but not recognized, protected or regulated by the public authorities. A year after this Kenya mission, Keith Hart used the concept of the informal sector to describe a part of the urban labour force, which operated outside of the formal labour market (Hart, 1973). Since then, the work in the informal economy has become a subject of studies by many scholars and international organizations.

The definition of informality has been subject to various debates in recent decades. According to Shinder (1998), informal economies were described as economic activity excluded from the national data on gross domestic product (GDP), not subject to formal contracts, licensing and taxation. These businesses generally rely on domestic resources, small-scale operations and unregulated markets (Schneider and Enste, 2000). Likewise, Gërxhani (2003) defined the informal economy as "grey economy", that is neither taxed nor monitored by government institutions. Valodia and Devey (2010) defined the informal economy as, (a) non-registration of the enterprise in terms of taxation and or other commercial legislation; (b) non-registration of employees in terms of labour legislation and (c) small size of the enterprise. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the informal sector consists of units not constituted as separate legal entities; produces goods or services for sale or barter and includes not only those enterprises that employ hired labour but also self-employed persons such as street vendors, taxi-drivers, home based workers, etc (ILO, 2002).

For statistical purposes, the 15th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) (ILO, 1993) defined informal sector enterprises by including all jobs in this sector and all persons who, during a given reference period, were employed in at least one informal sector enterprise, irrespective of their status in employment and whether it was their main or a secondary job. A joint study of the International Labour Office and the Secretariat of the World Trade Organization defined informal workers as those who do not benefit from social security and are not protected by labour regulation (e.g. hiring and firing regulation, minimum wage) (WTO and ILO, 2009). The ILO and ICLS definitions are now widely accepted and consistently applied in employment-related analyses.

The informal economy is the chief source of livelihood for the majority of the urban poor and plays a crucial role in providing jobs and reducing unemployment for a number of rural-urban migrants, thereby helping alleviate poverty in developing countries (ILO, 2002). The ILO report (2018) shows that two billion people work informally, of which 93.0% make their living in the informal economy, indicating that this growth has been more rapid in emerging and developing countries than elsewhere in the world. In Africa, approximately 86.0% of employment is informal compared to 68.0% in Asia and the Pacific; 69.0% in the Arab States; 40.0% in the Americas and 25.0% in Europe and Central Asia (ILO, 2018).

In Indonesia, based on the latest global estimates, informal employment, as a percentage of total non-agricultural employment, was estimated at approximately 73.0% (ILO Department of Statistics, 2011). According to the data from the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics in 2009, 69.0% of Indonesian workers (64.84 million people) were employed in the informal sector (Nazara, 2010; Asian Development Bank and BPS-Statistics Indonesia, 2011). Based on the official informal employment surveys (IES), the share of informal employment in Thailand was 62.0% of the total employment in 2010, which gradually increased to 62.5%, 62.7% and 63.7 % in 2011, 2012 and 2013, respectively (Dasgupta et al., 2015).

The informal sector became even more important when the two big economic crises (the 1997/98 Asian financial crisis and the 2008/09 global economic crisis) impacted Indonesia and Thailand. These crises caused a decline in the ability of the formal sector to absorb employments. A large number of employees lost their jobs as many companies closed (Suryahadi et. al., 2003). Consequently, the informal sector can be regarded as a solution for unemployment problems. Accordingly, there has also been a significant increase in the number of urban informal activities in almost all cities in Indonesia and Thailand since the crises (Brata, 2006; Tambunan, 2004; Warunsiri, 2011). Survey evidence of an urban village in Jakarta (Tambunan, 2004) concluded that the informal sector is undoubtedly very important for many urban families, at least as a secondary or a complementary source of income.

1.3. Street Food Vending as a Prominent Sector of the Informal Economy

As a part of the urban informal sector, street vending is one of the most visible activities in the informal economy. Bhowmik (2005) defined street vending as an activity which takes place outside enclosed premises on street pavements, sidewalks and in other public places carried out by self-employed workers. These self-employed workers are either stationary or mobile. Bhowmik further defined a street vendor as a person trading from the street who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell. Street vending is considered to be one of the growing informal activities in urban areas to survive in the growth circumstance (Irianto, 2014; Roy and Alsayyad, 2003) and is associated with people having no professional skills and with low levels of education who cannot get jobs in the formal sectors (Kamala, 2007).

Over the years, street vending has become an essential source of employment and income to many urban dwellers. Hence, it is the largest sub-group of informal workforces after home-based workers. Together, these two groups represent 10.0%-35.0% of the non-agricultural workforce in developing countries compared to 5.0% of the total force in developed countries (ILO, 2002). In the same study, ILO showed that street vending occupies 8.0%, 14.6% and 6.0% of the non-agricultural labour force in Kenya, South Africa and Tunisia, respectively. Adamtey (2015) revealed that in sub-Saharan Africa, the trade of street vending accounts for 43.0% of all informal non-agricultural employment. In Asian cities, street vendors account for a slightly lower share of informal employment. For example, city-level data for Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam show that street vendors form 11.0% of total non-agricultural informal employment whilst in Indian cities, the share of street vending is lower – from 4.4% (Mumbai) to 6.5% (Ahmedabad) of total urban informal employment (Roever and Skinner, 2016).

Reports from Southeast Asian countries show an increase in the number of street vendors after the financial crises of 1998 and 2007, affecting the Asian Tigers and causing a sharp rise in street vendors in Thailand and Indonesia. In Thailand, the number of street vendors increased from 310,500 in 1997 to 390,600 in 2000 (National Statistical Office of Thailand, 1997 and 2000 as cited by Kusakabe, 2006). Most of these street vendors were immigrants or laid-off workers (Maneepong and Walsh, 2013).

Among various occupations in street vending, street food vending is the most dominant and prominent activity. Street food is defined as ready-to-eat foods and beverages prepared and/or sold by vendors or hawkers, especially in the streets and other similar public places that can be eaten directly without processing or further preparation (FAO, 1986; Dardano 2003). The vendor locations are usually popular spots such as marketplaces, busy street corners and strategic locations. Similarly, WHO (1996), defined street-vended foods or 'street foods' as foods and beverages prepared and sold by vendors in streets and other public places for immediate consumption or consumption at a later time without further processing or preparation. This definition includes fresh fruits and vegetables which are sold outside authorized market areas for immediate consumption.

There are at least three main characteristics of street food trading. Firstly, street food is an important entrepreneurial activity and income source for urban and rural poor, particularly women who are often the first victims of poverty (Tinker, 2003). Secondly, street food is reasonably priced, flavoured and easily available (Marras and Agbendech, 2016). Thirdly, street food is a nutritional option for the urban poor who often can only afford to buy small quantities of food at a time (Bhat, 2000). As a means to provide sources of income and employment for the urban poor, the street food sector is a simple way of income generation by investing small capital (Adhikari, 2017). Many migrant workers and unemployed persons who are in search of jobs obtain their first income from the street food business (Winarno, 2017). The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) showed that women, as a vital part of the informal economy, were essential to the functioning of the street food industry (FAO, 2012). To meet the food demands of city dwellers and provide a source of affordable nutrients, women food hawkers contribute significantly to the economy of whole countries (Muzaffar et al., 2009).

The following definitions are used in the survey design and throughout this analysis. The informal food economy in this study is defined as a business with less than ten people. It includes small producers, enterprises, traders, all of whom ran their businesses on the sidewalks selling foods and beverages using semi-permanent tents or carts and are involved in legal as well as unrecognized activities. The term 'street foods' as used in this study refers to food prepared on the streets or prepared at home and for sale to the public on the streets – meaning on the sidewalk (including pedestrianized streets) without having a permanent built up structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall (or head load). Street food vendors may be stationary by occupying space on the street, pavements or other public/ private areas or may be mobile in the sense that they move from place to place carrying their wares on push carts or in cycles or baskets on their heads to sell their foods. The respondent (woman migrant) in this study is a person who has lived continuously for most of the last six months in the area of destination. A member of household is identified as a person who is related to the vendors or lives with the vendors for the entire year as a member of the vendor's household.

2. Characteristics of the Street Food Sector in Developing Countries – a Literature Review

This study aims to specifically explore the roles played by women street food vending in Tangerang, Indonesia and Hat Yai, Thailand, especially by female migrants. To formulate suitable strategic measures for the improvement of economic potentials of these women, this study focuses on socio-economic characteristics of women and their livelihood situations before and after conducting the vending and examines their income strategies, along with their scopes and constraints as economic subjects in the public space. Finally, a shift in perspective turns the attention to the household level. Using the division of household chores as a test, this study intends to examine how the women's new role as breadwinners, sometimes even as the sole breadwinners, might have changed family values and behaviours.

The interest in the role of women entrepreneurship in the street food sector began with a review of the literature on informal economies in Indonesia and Thailand. The researcher realized that in the literature the phenomenon is widely acknowledged, but for the two countries research results are still sparse and inconclusive. Generally, the number of recent micro-studies on street food vending in Thailand and Indonesia is not abundant. The two major studies, dealing with the topic from different points of view (Nirathron, 2006; Fixy, 2004) relied on data sets that are only partially appropriate for studying the contribution of women migrant street food vendors. Fixy's (2004) study about street food vendors in a special area of Jakarta, for example, included women only as a part of the respondents, not as the main research object. Their business success was not exhaustively evaluated, as a comparison of livelihoods and well-being before and after starting a business was not accomplished. There was no discussion related to the role of women vendors in the family and the society as a whole.

Similar to the study by Fixy, Nirathron's study of street food vendors in Bangkok did not focus on female vendors. Insofar, working conditions and the family role of women were not within the scope of his study. Additionally, the study passes on a couple of economic parameters, such as the capital investments to start the vending, the savings and the remittances to their places of origin. However, these studies touch a couple of issues, playing an important role in this study as well, and will partially allow comparative considerations, especially on the economies of the street food business. In order to create a proper design of this study, the scope had to be widened to examine methods and topics from a large range of international studies on the street food business.

Street food sectors in developing countries are heterogeneous and their classification is fairly diverse. This is the first impression, provided by a bulk of international literature. Therefore, this subsection gives an overview of research findings on the main characteristics of the street food sector focusing on labour conditions, legal issues and especially the role of women in this business and the repercussions for the division of domestic duties.

2.1. Families and Individuals: Female Domination

Most authors agree that the street food business is usually owned and operated by individuals or families. Nirathron (2006) found out that of the 744 street food vendors in Bangkok, approximately 37.0% were engaged in street vending as individual operators whilst 44.0% were family operators. More precisely, the EPOC study of street food vendors in lower- and middle-income countries found high levels of women's involvement in eight of the nine countries studied (Tinker, 2003). Using Bangkok, Thailand as a case study, Chung et al. (2010) have shown that most of the enterprise owners were women.

In African cities (FAO, 2012), including cities in South Africa (Martins, 2006); Zimbabwe (Njaya, 2014); Ghana (FAO, 2016) and Tanzania (Marras, 2018), women are the dominant vendors selling food on most of the streets. Similarly, women in towns and cities of many developing countries in Asia also play an important role in the street food industry including Iloilo city, Philippines (Tinker, 1997), Chonburi, Thailand (Tinker, 1997; Gengaiah et al., 2018); Sarawak, Malaysia (Rahman et al., 2012; Jores et al., 2018); Yangon, Myanmar (Lin and Yamao, 2014) and Ho Chi Minh city, Vietnam (Thanh, 2015).

A study examining the empowerment of women street food vendors in West African by World Food Programme (WFP, 2017) found that a little over half of the vendors ran their business alone and without assistance. The study also discussed that those who do utilize assistance (paid or unpaid), the most common type of association was help from a family member. Women were likely to use children to assist in their business. Many women explained that their children, especially daughters help performing secondary tasks such as sweeping, dishwashing, and hawking. Similar findings from other African countries (Nyaruhucha et al., 2007; Milanzi, 2011, Fellows and Hilmi, 2011; Marobhe and Sabai, 2016; Marras, 2018) reported that street food business enterprises are usually owned and operated by individuals or families and most owners rely on unpaid family labour (including children, siblings, and other relatives), while some hire paid labourers.

2.2. Education Levels of Women Street Food Vendors

According to the literature, a global characteristic of street food business across countries and rural-urban areas is that women vendors are overwhelmingly poorly educated (Osei-Boateng and Ampratwum, 2011; Bressers et al., 2016). For example, the study by Bereda et al. (2016) in Eastern Ethiopia found the majority of the street food vendors were women with the average age range of 23–49 years and most of them were illiterate. Conversely, a comprehensive survey on the Natural Resources Institute (NRI) conducted from a sample of 334 respondents on street food sector in Accra, Ghana showed that the majority of the street food vendor owners were women with minimal or no education (NRI, 2015). A survey on street food vendors in Gaborone, Botswana revealed more differentiated results: In 2013, approximately 76.3% of vendors involved in the business of street food vending were women. The majority of the respondents in the study (84.5%) were aged between 21 and 40 years. However, most street food vendors had attained basic education as 95.9% of vendors had completed secondary education (Chicho-Matenge and Ongori, 2013). Similarly, in Tanzania, 80-90% of the street food vendors are women aged between 20 and 45 years with primary education (Marras, 2018). Likewise, In Bahia, Brazil, 55.9% of the 247 food vendors interviewed by Alves da Silva et al. (2014) were female with minimal education whilst 49.0% had obtained elementary education.

In the case of Southeast Asia, a study of 72 street food vendors in Yangon, Myanmar, revealed that the majority of the street vendors were women and most of the women entrepreneurs passed the primary level of education (Lin and Yamao, 2014). Bangkok's street food project in Thailand and the municipality of Nonthaburi in 1994 showed that among the vendors enrolled in the project, two-thirds were women over 30 years of age and most of them were married. More than 95.0% of the vendors had completed primary education or more, suggesting that vendors were literate with basic levels (Dawson et al., 1994). Similarly, a Ford Foundation-funded street food project in Chonburi, Thailand showed that nearly four-fifths of the 948 vendors in Chonburi were women (78.0%). Most vendors were aged between 26 and 50 years (Cohen, 1984). In contrast to the previous studies, Gengaiah et al. (2018) found that among the vendors enrolled in their project in Thailand, the literacy rate and minimum qualification to enter street food vending are higher than in other countries.

2.3. Working Conditions

Almost around the world, the work of women vendors is characterized by an extremely long working day. In Phnom Penh, Cambodia, women vendors work long hours a day (8-13 hours) and most of them must balance their long working hours with other household responsibilities (ILO, 2016). A study of 294 individual respondents, of whom 68 per cent were female in Maiduguri, Nigeria reported that traders work on average between 8 to 11 hours a day (WFP, 2017). Similarly, Kumari and Singh (2016) found that street vendors, on average, work between 8-12 hours per day. Nepalese vendors find that street food vending is a survival strategy which involves working long hours (8.8 hours) per day to earn a basic income that simply allows vendors to provide a means of subsistence for their families (Adhikari, 2017). A study carried out In Dhaka, Bangladesh found that the women street food vendors selling cooked food begin working early in the morning to prepare the food, resulting in some vendors to now work for longer hours (Habib, 2016). Strikingly, women street food vendors in Mongolia work longer hours—between 12-15 hours a day (Kusakabe, 2006). As stated by many authors, the general working hours of street food vendors are unusual and irregular. Most of them often exceed the standard working hours set by the government for formal workers and spend more than eight hours per day in vending. The primary reason for the long working hours is the uncertainty of income.

In addition to working hours, female street food vendors face other forms of vulnerability at the workplace. Anjaria (2006) mentions that vending is full of insecurity and uncertainty since vendors work at the roadside and accidents may occur at any time. In a survey, Kumar and Pillai (2017) found that as the workplaces of these vendors are public spaces, there is often no provision of toilet facilities which result in health conditions, including diarrheal diseases.

The study of the informal food sector in developing countries conducted by the FAO (2007) showed that in general, the informal food sector has limited access to basic services, including access to potable water. Hence, it is seen that any vending activity that lacks basic services may contribute to problems of food hygiene and safety. For example, the nutritional quality of fresh and cooked street food may be compromised.

With regards to the social security of vendors at the workplace, Kumar and Pillai (2017) commented that most vendors do not have access to social security or welfare benefits like pension. They revealed that the local government in their study location, Kollam District, India does not provide any health benefits or insurance to the vendors as they belong to the unorganized informal sector. Since street vendors do not have access to any government assisted social security, Kumar (2015) reported that in Kerala, India, around one-third of vendors borrow money for their social protection including health care, medicine, maternity, and accidents. Lund (2009) suggested that the local government should be involved in developing social security for informal street vendors, particularly health care, since most vendors live in a poor environment with minimal to no access to local facilities and cannot afford to buy insurance services from a private company.

2.4. Legal Issues

In many cities across the world, urban public space has become the place of work for the urban poor. Many vendors operate their business in areas that can be classified as public spaces including spaces where people assemble in great numbers. Unfortunately, the small food stalls used for vending are mostly put up illegally because there is no license available for street food vendors in those areas of public spaces.

Worldwide, the majority of street food vendors undertake their businesses with the fear of eviction, imprisonment, harassment and fines because the laws do not recognize their operations (Mramba, 2015). Almost in all Asian and African countries, street food vending is illegal and sometimes they are treated as criminals. Bhowmik (2005) stated that in many cases of street vendors in Asia, the vendors pay a part of their daily sales as a bribe to the authorities to continue doing business as most of street vending is considered an illegal activity. In Dhaka, Bangladesh, Etzold et al. (2013) showed that as most food stalls were put up illegally and the lack of licenses for the vendors left them vulnerable to evictions from their vending sites by the police, security officers of companies or public institutions or by local powerful people. Kusakabe (2015) revealed that in Bangkok, the vendor must make extra payments to the police, local authorities and sometimes, gangsters due to their illegal status. The work of Bell and Loukaitou-Sideris (2014) of street vending regulation in China shows that food stalls used for vending are mostly put up illegally and unlicensed. Similar to the vendors in Dhaka and due to the lack of licenses, Chinese street food vendors also face eviction from the police, public institutions or by local powerful people. They also often have to cope with confiscation of their equipment or total displacement from vending site.

However, not everywhere is street food vending deemed illegal by the local authorities. In Cambodian cities (Kusakabe, 2010), being a legal vendor implies that a fee is paid to the city council to conduct business from the streets. However, although street food vendors are increasingly required to have identity cards and vending permits, the share of licensed street food business has not risen significantly in many countries. According to Gadaga et al. (2014) in Maseru City, Lesotho, almost all street food vendors were renting their stands from the city council, but only 11 per cent of the vendors were licensed by Ministry of Trade and Industry and the local government, while In Tanzania, the share of licensed street food businesses has slightly increased (Nyaruhucha et al., 2007; Milanzi, 2011; Daudi, 2015). By constrast, Mazhambe (2017) showed that in Harare, Zimbabwe, only seven per cent of street vendors operated with a license from a government authority.

Scholars have identified many reasons for this observation. Nyaruhucha et al. (2007), in their study of three municipalities namely, Kinondoni, Ilala, and Temeke that constitute the city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania found that many vendors do not get a license the moment they begin their activity because they are still uncertain about their ability and willingness to carry it out for a long period. Some point to high registration fees, while others simply do not know the licensing procedures. In Mongolia, Kusakabe (2006) found that vendors spend about 18,700

MNT ($6,919) to obtain correct permits. On average, vendors operating small shops and kiosks spend more than a month in obtaining a valid short-term license.

One country that formally provides legal protection to street vendors on a national scale, is India. According to the law, street vendor has the right to conduct street vending activities in the vending zones allotted to them, in accordance with the terms and conditions mentioned in a so-called certificate of vending (Gupta, 2014 cited by Mramba, 2015). However, even in India official licenses do not guarantee protection from harassment by police officers and local warlords (see below).

2.5. Socio-economic Conditions of Women Street Food Vendors

The literature on the socio-economic conditions of women street food vendors is characterised by three themes. The first essential theme addresses how vendors establish a street food business which covers capital investments to start the enterprise, business costs and fees for rent to secure the business. The second theme discusses how the street food trade strongly affects incomes and savings of the vendors. The last theme examines the participation of women street food vendors as the main breadwinners of their households.

2.5.1. Investment Costs

One major obstacle in the start-up process of a street food business is the lack of access to formal credits. This is mostly because women are viewed as a high risk in investment by the bank system since they lack control over land and other properties which formal financial institutions view as collateral (Marras, 2018). Similarly, Temtime and Pansiri (2005) note that commercial banks were reluctant to lend money to small scale business as they lacked business skills, had high-cost risk and that small business emphasized on short term survival issues while banks were for long-term competitiveness. However, all over the world, the vendors found ways out of this difficult situation. Kusakabe (2006), in his article on Mongolia found that half of the vendors had borrowed initial capital from various individuals. Vendors in Botswana relied on loans from relatives and friends.

However, as demonstrated by a majority of researchers (Otoo et. al., 2011; Muzaffar et. al., 2009; Iyenda, 2001; Acho-chi, 2002) a street food enterprise is generally small in size, requires simple and basic skills and small amounts of capital. Therefore, in many cases, for instance in Tanzania (Njaya, 2014) and Cambodia (Kusakabe, 2006), the initial investment made by women in the street food vending business came from their personal and/or spousal savings. In Tanzania most female food vendors deliberately avoid applying for loans from credit institutions. As a consequence, however, numerous women start with undercapitalization, which leads to a permanent lack of working capital in the ongoing business process. Insofar, limited access to financial credit and the dependence on informal, volatile and unreliable sources of financial capital significantly hinder progress and sustainability of the street food business.

2.5.2. Fees for Permits and Rent

In addition to operating under challenging conditions by being in a highly unstable and competitive business, most street vendors commonly pay a variety of taxes, fees, and levies that they have to contribute to local and national government (Chen et al., 2004; Roever, 2014). Roever (2014) showed that nearly two-thirds of street vendors pay for special licences, permits or access to public spaces and that many also pay value-added tax on their purchases, although they are unable to charge it to their sales. Marras and Agbendech (2016) found that in Ghana, the vendors paid taxes and fees to different parties. The fee for business operating permit was paid to the local authorities; an income tax was paid to the Ghana Revenue Authority and the fee for the use of public space was paid to different recipients. Other studies by Otoo et al. (2011) on women entrepreneurship in the street food sector in Niger and Ghana found that in Niamey, Niger and Kumasi, Ghana, each female street food vendor paid daily fees to the local authorities.

Due to their illegal status, vendors often pay bribes to resolve problems with city authorities and police and to avoid greater hardship through fines, evictions and/or arrests. Etzold et al. (2013) highlighted that street food vendors in Bangladesh commonly paid bribes to thugs every day for their use of public space. The amount of money used as bribes depends on the size of the shop and the business volume. In return for the payment of bribes, thugs allow vendors to sell at "their" place, provide information regarding police evictions and serve as middlemen in negotiations with more powerful figures such as the police or local political leaders if the vendors experience problems related to their businesses. Similarly, Vyavahare (2016) published that one-third of the street food vendors in Mumbai, India have to pay “inducement money” regularly to the traffic police linked with the problem of zoning and traffic issues.

Recent research shows that street vendors, in addition to paying a variety of taxes, fees, and levies, vendors are also required to pay for basic services, such as electricity, garbage cleaning, fire safety, water supply, heating, sanitation and hygiene requirements. For example, the Informal Economy Monitoring Study (IEMS) in their studies in 10 cities around the world including Accra, Ghana; Ahmedabad, India; Bangkok, Thailand; Belo Horizonte, Brazil; Bogota, Colombia; Durban, South Africa; Lahore, Pakistan; Lima, Peru; Nakuru, Kenya; and Pune, India found that one in four vendors pays for lights, electricity, and water at the workplace. The study also showed that half of the vendors pay to use public toilets and four in ten pay for access to storage space (Roever, 2014). Magehema (2014) found that five per cent of the street food vendors were paying for water fetched from public taps constructed by local government authority in Songea District, Tanzania. According to Kusakabe (2006), in Bangkok, Thailand registered street vendors were required to pay a monthly fee to the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) for the cleaning and maintenance of streets occupied by vendors.

Anyidoho (2013) presents another argument linked to paying of taxes and other levies collected by the local governments. In his study at Kumasi Metropolitan, Ghana, Anyidoho found that taxes collected by the local government were supposed to be used in the provision of infrastructure such as electricity, toilet facilities, pipes, and waste disposal system for vendors. In fact, not much can be said about fulfilment of these tasks by the local government and the provision of adequate public services for street food vendors in Kumasi Metropolis. This evidence further highlights that the local authorities are failing to provide toilets, water and garbage services and that the street vendors themselves are responsible for these basic facilities.

2.5.3. Income

Street food vending is an essential source of food and provides critical income to women in cities worldwide. Most street food vendors are attracted to this occupation because of the possibility of earning relatively high incomes. Omemu and Aderoja (2008) reported that street vendors in Abeokuta, Nigeria earned more than the minimum wage. In some countries, street foods vendors can earn considerably above the minimum wage (Otoo et al., 2011). In Maseru City, Lesotho, Gadaga et al. (2014) reported that nearly all vendors earn profits almost five times the amount that workers in textile factories earn, which is approximately ten times the minimum wage. Darko-Koomson (2016) studied street food enterprises in Kumasi, Ghana and showed that the average sales revenues produced by street food vendor owners were about nine times more than the national daily minimum wage (at the time of the study). Similarly, Otoo et al. (2011) reported profits of almost 16 times higher than the national minimum wage for street food vending in Kumasi. Marras and Agbendech (2016) showed that enterprises operating in Accra, Ghana have a slightly higher income than the official minimum wage earned by public sector workers. The study found that there are significant differences between vendor earnings and formal sector living standards with average vendor earnings about five times higher than the wage earned by formal workers.

Like vendors in African cities, street food vendors in Asia can earn reasonably well above-the-average minimum wage. In some Asian countries, Winarno and Allain (1991) revealed that the average earnings of a vendor may be three to ten times more than the minimum wage and are often comparable to the wages of skilled labourers employed in the formal sector. This finding is similar to the results of other studies carried out by Fixy, 2004; Kusakabe, 2006; Etzold et al., 2013. Etzold et al. (2013) showed that in Dhaka, Bangladesh the street food vendor income is quite a substantial income compared to the wages of factory workers or day-labourers. In Bangkok, Thailand, Kusakabe (2006) published that the income from street vending is relatively high compared to the minimum wage of Bangkok at the time (169 Baht a day). In line with these reports, the daily income of most street food vendors in Jakarta ranged from Rp 300,000 ($21.3) to Rp 1,000,000 ($71.0) (Fixy, 2004). At the time, the standard minimum wage set by the Government of Jakarta was a little more than half a million Rupiah per month. The higher daily income compared to formal workers may be one the reasons why people stayed in this business for quite a number of years. However, the spread in the group of vendors may be considerable. Setia (2008) claims that the income level is associated with a variety of things, including the type of goods sold, selling locations, and several additional conditions. Of all vendors, for instance, mobile vendors were noted as the least successful (Kusakabe 2006; Fixy, 2004).

2.5.3.1. Savings

The study by Otoo et al. (2011) on women entrepreneurship in the street food sector between enterprises in Niamey, Niger and Kumasi, Ghana showed that approximately 80.0% of street food vendors in Niamey have relatively stable incomes and some ability to generate savings. In Kumasi, however, the percentage is lower (57.0%) but still significantly high. In a study of dynamic and growth of street food enterprises in Kumasi city, Ghana, Darko-Koomson (2016) stated that the savings are usually reinvested into street food vending in the event of increase in stock prices or when the vendors require cash for immediate use concerning their business and personal matters. A study of saving culture among street food vendors in Kogi state, Nigeria by Oluwoyo and Enemali (2016) published that the average savings of the vendors were 35.0% of the total profit and that most of the respondents save for life cycle daily needs, for unforeseen contingency otherwise called emergencies and for investments purposes.

Similar to African street food vendors, Chinese vendors in Kolkata, India also saved parts of their earnings (Ghatak and Chatterjee, 2018). In a study of livelihood opportunities of street vendors in Kathmandu, Nepal, Parajuli (2013) revealed that nearly half of the total vendors had the habit of saving their income to re-invest into the business for expansion. In India, regional differences are apparent. In Hyderabad only 20.0% of the street food vendors have savings. Consequently, vendors would borrow money from someone else in the event of emergencies (Wipper and Dittrich, 2007).

2.5.3.2. Remittances

The migrants among the street food vendors are often the main income earner supporting large families of dependents. This allows rural families to benefit from remittances (ILO, 2002; Brown et al., 2010), the portion of a migrant's earnings sent from the destination of employment to the place of origin. Remittances from migrants have been seen to be crucial to the growth prospects of developing nations with potentially positive impacts (Ratha and Mohapatra, 2007). Most authors agree that remittances play a central role in the livelihood of many households in rural areas. Some authors (Adger et al., 2002; Quartey and Blankson, 2004) even claim that migrant remittances have played an important role in the economic development, social resilience and the improvement of household welfare in many developing countries.

Ray and Mishra (2011) showed that there was a positive relationship between income level and the likelihood of sending money home of street vendors in Surat City, India. However, the topic has been neglected by most of the authors dealing with street food business. Accordingly, many details of the urban-rural money flow, induced by migrant food vendors have not systematically been studied in the past. This study is starting to fill that gap.

2.5.3.3. Determinants of Income Levels

Otoo et al. (2011) presented that married women in Niger have less successful enterprises in comparison to single entrepreneurs. Adhikari (2017) argued that marital status indicates a negative correlation with daily income. The study found that larger numbers of married respondents were involved in vending, but the average monthly income was found less compared to unmarried. Roever's (2014) findings were more differentiated. He stated that earnings of the street vendors in 10 cities around the world: Accra, Ghana; Ahmedabad, India; Bangkok, Thailand; Belo Horizonte, Brazil; Bogota, Colombia; Durban, South Africa; Lahore, Pakistan; Lima, Peru; Nakuru, Kenya; and Pune, India vary according to their marital status: Widows have the lowest median monthly earnings and those who never married have the highest. Age was found to be another determinant of the profit level. For Kigali, Rwanda, Uwitije (2016) observed that normally younger respondents performed better than older vendors. Accordingly, for Bangladesh, Adhikari (2017) found that when respondents' age increased, the probability of the respondents' capacity to generate income decreased.

Bates (1990) is one of the first studies to examine the influences of entrepreneurs' education on business performance and confirms a positive relationship between owner's education and firm survival. Similar findings were made by Tsai and Yang (2018) and Begari (2017). Tsai and Yang found a positive and significant result regarding education and profit in some of the vendors in Taiwan, whether they were food and non-food vendors, while Begari's study showed that there is a positive relationship between income and education level of vendors in Hyderabad, India.

According to several studies, the number of working years conducting the business is another variable affecting the incomes of vendors. Experience helps developing the insight of doing business in an efficient manner, as stated in the case of women street vendors in Kenya (Gatere, 2016). By contrast, Adhikari (2017) discovered that the variable of working years is not significant to the daily income of the vendors in Bangladesh. Starting with a higher initial capital, however, is likely to ensure a better performance even in the following years.

Muzaffar et al. (2009) also found that initial working capital positively affects the sales revenues of the street food vendors in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Female participation in the street food sector of Iloilo, Philippines varies widely due to social, cultural and religious norms (Tinker, 2003). Thus, in this country, religion plays an important role in determining the operation of enterprises. For Niger and Ghana Otoo et al. (2011) found that religion is one of the key determinants that influences the success of women entrepreneurs selling cowpea-based street foods. The study revealed significant differences between the average earnings of the vending's run by Muslim and those operated by Christian enterprisers.

2.6. Women as the Households' (Main) Breadwinners

In a deep-rooted traditional view of family roles, men are known as the breadwinners whilst the women care for the family and household. This family model has been challenged for many years, since women have been sharing the role of breadwinner, either as primary or co-breadwinners (Ben-Galim and Thompson, 2013). The role of women in the economy received new scholarly attention since Heather Boushey released 'The New Breadwinner' in 2009, a chapter in The Shriver Report: A Woman's Nation Changes Everything (Glynn, 2014). Simultaneously, Boushey illustrated how the women labour-force participation has grown dramatically over the past 50 years and that mothers are more likely to provide significant financial support to their families than ever before (Boushey, 2011 as cited by Glynn, 2014).

In this long-standing and still ongoing process economic crises have played the role of an accelerating factor (Badawi et al. 2008). Especially in developing countries, high unemployment rates have contributed immensely to the loss of formal employment for men and consequently, there has been a decline in the role of male breadwinners in the families (Casale and Posel, 2002 as cited Mabilo, 2018). However, the activities of their wives are almost exclusively directed towards the informal sector. One reason for women commencing jobs in the street trading business is that they are often excluded from the remunerative formal sector because of disadvantages they had experienced in the education system (Ouédraogo et al., 2017), for instance a limited access to vocational training (Chen et al., 2004).

However, this is not the only motivation for the female preference for jobs in the informal sector. In a study on Penang, Malaysia, Franck (2012) concluded that women may consciously prefer opting for street vending activities than for formal jobs. The responsibilities of a formal job do mostly not allow women vendors to fulfil a double role as breadwinners and mothers. So, a multiplicity of motives has to be taken into account, factors including flexible working hours, the possibility to balance home and work responsibilities, proximity to economic activities, and sometimes even dissatisfaction with conditions and wages in formal jobs (Perry et al., 2007; Franck, 2012). In Zimbabwe, Manyanhaire et al. (2007) has shown that women predominately engaged in street vending as the sole breadwinners when their husbands were in poor health or had passed away. The work of Noritake (2008) states that female street entrepreneurs in Seoul, South Korea started to work and become the breadwinners because their husbands failed to set up and continue business or they did not want to earn money anymore.

As a consequence, in all households economically engaged in the street vending business, women contribute significantly to the household capacity to cope with basic needs, including clothing, school fees and health care (Milanzi, 2011). By participating in street vending, women financially empower themselves and thus, reduce their economic dependence on men. In South Africa three-quarters of the women street vendors have even become the main breadwinners in their households (Bedford, 1995; James, 1998 as cited by Lund, 1998). Similar findings by Kusakabe (2006) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia and Tacoli (2012) supported the observation that most of the women street food vendors were the major breadwinners in poor households.

2.7. Gender (In)equality in Household Chores

Although there are varying definitions in the literature, household work is simply defined as unpaid work conducted to run and uphold a household (Bray, 2003). Slight differences in the definitions of household labour in the relevant literature are owed to different research purposes and measuring methods. Household work may include activities such as general housecleaning, meal planning, cooking, dishwashing, cleaning up after meals, grocery shopping, laundry (washing, ironing, and mending clothes), caring for sick family members, yard work, animal care, taking out the garbage, paying bills and driving family members (Bianchi et al., 2000; Coltrane, 2000; Badr and Acitelli, 2008; Lincoln, 2008).

The study by Fuwa (2004) based on recent data trends in the last 10 or 20 years presented that women continue to bear most of the responsibilities for the home, including caring for children and other dependent household members, preparing meals and doing other housework. The study showed that in all regions – European countries, the United States of America, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Oceania – women spend at least twice as much time as men on domestic work.

By the early 1990s, in many countries' women became more educated and female participation in the labour market increased significantly. Hence the distribution of unpaid work between male and female was becoming a matter of new negotiations (Pignatti, 2016). The increasing participation of women in both formal and informal labour markets was assumed to transform the division of housework within the household. Accordingly, the study by McDonald (2000) showed that gender roles in the family and the division of housework have slowly adjusted. By contrast, Fuwa (2004) studied gender inequality and the division of household labour in 22 countries and concluded that a rising employment rate for women at the country level does not have an equalizing effect on the average division of housework.
Altintas (2009); Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard (2010) hold a more differentiated position. They found that the equal distribution of paid work is compensated by a more equal distribution of housework and childcare, but only partly. Other studies agree that the

gendered gap in housework distribution is narrowing but on average, men still only devote a third to half of the time on household labour compared to women (Coltrane, 2000; McGinnity and Russell, 2008). In line with other scholars, DeGenova and Philip (2005) reported that women, in most families, continue to undertake a majority of routine housework and childcare. According to their findings, women complete three times the amount of routine housework, compared to men. Consequently, most scholars agree, that employed women spend an inordinate amount of time on the double burden of paid work and family responsibilities (Sayer, et al., 2009; Cooke, 2011; Hu and Kamo, 2007; Hsu, 2008). Unfortunately, in spite of numerous studies on street food activities, the distribution of household chores among the women street food vendors and their husbands did not receive the attention it deserves. Starting to fill that gap, is one of the purposes of this study.

3. Research Questions

The study will be conducted in two elected cities: Tangerang and Hat Yai. According to the literature, this research has been organized into six main research topics. Several research questions have been developed and grouped under each research topic.

Research topic 1: Demographic features of women street food vendors

a. What are the demographic profiles of a women migrant street food vendor in Tangerang and Hat Yai (age distribution, marital status, place of origin, number of children and family size, religion and education level)?

Research topic 2: Patterns and processes concerning migration

a. What were the causes of internal migration from rural to urban areas for women street food vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai?
b. Are there still connections to the home areas, do remittances play a role?

Research 3: Labour: Working conditions and pre-conditions

a. When the women street food vendors started their business, who gave the vendors advice, information and moral support?
b. Did the vendors have jobs in the host area before starting their current business? Which ones?
c. What difficulties did the vendors face when they started the business?

Research topic 4: Access to Basic Resources: Start-up Capital, Location, Facilities

a. Have the vendors gained access to appropriate locations and basic facilities? Do they experience security and certainty – legally and financially? To what kind of pressure are they exposed?
b. Do they get any support from local authorities? Do they participate in unions or associations?

Research topic 5: Socioeconomic and livelihood conditions of women street food vendors

a. What is the impact of street food vending on the socio-economic lives of women street food vendors in the areas of Tangerang and Hat Yai?
b. Do the demographic profiles of women street food vendors, especially religion and education levels, have an impact on their economic performance and on family roles?
c. Has there been a change in livelihoods assets before and after joining street food vending (physical capital and housing, financial capital, human capital and social capital) of women street food vendors?

Research topic 6: Gender (in)equality: household division of labour in the family

a. How do women street food vendors manage their roles at home? Did the role profiles change when the vendors started running the street food business?
b. Is there any difference concerning the participation in household chores of husbands who have a job and husbands who are unemployed?
c. Is there any difference concerning the participation in household chores of husbands living in extended families?

4. Scope of the Comparison

Street food sectors are a global phenomenon, therefore they are heterogeneous and display a great deal of regional diversity. This is one of the main impressions created by any kind of literature review. However, researchers have mostly focused on one study region while they have contributed less efforts to develop comparative approaches. Most of the existing overview studies (Draper, 1996; Kusakabe, 2006; Otoo et al., 2011), on the other hand, are rather additive than comparative. Insofar, systematic studies of different regions with a comparison aim are still desirable. Moreover, further research attempts are required to develop adequate tools of comparison. This study does not claim to completely cope with these challenges. However, directing one set of methods (and one questionnaire) on two locations in two neighbouring countries like Indonesia and Thailand, may be a first step towards the solution of a problem that requires and deserves ensuing efforts in the future.

Indonesia and Thailand are Asian countries that to a European visitor look very much alike. In fact, both countries in question share similar basic attributes: (i) in climate as well as in plant and animal life; (ii) in basic food systems, as the staple food is rice; and (iii) economically, as they are the biggest palm oil exporter in the world. Although they have both been categorized as LDCs, Indonesia and Thailand are countries with high economic potentials. Both countries have become economic powers to be reckoned with in Asia as well as in the world. This is surprising because 20 years ago the two countries experienced an economic crisis, as a result of the Asian financial crisis, which devastated the economies of both countries.

In the trading sectors, besides palm oil, an essential part of other major export commodities is similar between both countries. According to data of UN Comtrade (2017), Indonesia and Thailand have 11 similar commodities out of 30 main export commodities, such as natural rubber latex, petroleum oils, automotive products and components, shrimp and crab, as well as radio and television components. In concordance with the results of UN Comtrade, Jayadi and Azis (2017) stated Indonesia and Thailand are competing in similar industries of the primary sector, such as vegetable oil, natural rubber, cocoa, animal and vegetable oils, spices, and plywood, tin, and coal. Further, the study by Pholpirul (2010) which used the export similarity index (ESI) found that the export similarity index between Thailand and Indonesia increased more significantly than the export similarity index between Thailand and Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. These basic natural, climatic and economic similarities provide a solid ground for comparisons concerning economic and social phenomena.

Simultaneously, the two countries are characterized by striking dissimilarities in the field of economy, education, religion and demography. The basic indicator to be considered in the economic sphere is the gross domestic product (GDP). In 2018, Indonesia's GDP reached $ 1.02 trillion, compared to Thailand's GDP which was only $ 504.9 billion (The World Bank, 2019). The success of Indonesia in this matter is quite reasonable considering that Indonesia has the advantage of territory, population, and economic potential over Thailand. However, GDP, by itself, is not a reflection of prosperity because there are still several other factors that need to be taken into account. According to The World Bank, a country's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita per year is classified into four categories: High income (GDP per capita of $ 12,375 or more), middle-high income ($ 3,996 to $ 12,375), middle-low income (GDP per capita of $ 1,026 to $ 4,035 USD) and low income (GDP per capita of $ 1,025 or less). Based on this classification, Indonesia is now categorized as a middle-low income country with a GDP of $ 3,557, while Thailand was ranked as a middle-high income economy with a GDP of $ 5,479 (54.0% higher than Indonesia) in 2018 (The World Bank, 2019a).

Education is said to affect the economic growth and welfare of a country because efforts to improve people's welfare can be realized through education. For this reason, development theories claim it necessary to improve the quality of human resources, because in their view high-quality human resources can provide a multiplier effect on the development of a country, both within formal and informal economies. At present, almost all developing countries in the world, including Thailand and Indonesia, have problems with the quality of their human resources due to the low quality of education. This is indicated by a low literacy rate, a generally low level of education and an educational process of a relatively inadequate standard. However, the Early Development Instrument (EDI) score showed that Thailand's education level is fairly better than Indonesia's. Thailand's education ranks 89th in the world when referring to EDI score, which is 0.608 in 2017, while Indonesia ranks 108th with a score of 0.603. UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2018) reported that higher education and secondary education in Indonesia is still lagging behind neighbouring countries such as Thailand. For example, in 2015 about 53.5% of the female population in Thailand received an undergraduate degree compared to 32.0% in Indonesia (UNFPA, 2015). In 2013, the tertiary education attainment level in Indonesia was 18.0% (OECD, 2018), much lower than in the neighbouring country, where nearly 50.0% of Thai women attend a college (Romanow, 2012).

Indonesia and Thailand received the title of the most religious countries from the Pew Research Center for Religion and Public Life (2019). The institute found that 95% of Thai residents claimed to be religious and only 5% claimed to be non-religious. Likewise, 93% of Indonesia's population claimed to be religious. These results show that in both countries the community considered that religion played an important role in their daily lives. While Indonesia may be proud to be one of the most religious countries in the world, in reality, strong religious attachments do not translate to tolerance. Consequently, Indonesia was ranked 48th in the global social tolerance index, with an index value of 0.207. However, Thailand was only slightly better, ranked 46th with an index value of 0.294 (Zanakis et al., 2016). Comparable results were found by the 2015 Legatum Institute's Prosperity Index (Legatum Institute, 2015), which in the index of tolerant countries in the world ranked Indonesia in place 123 and Thailand in place 106. Considering the growing number of intolerance cases in Indonesia, it is not surprising that Indonesia was placed at such a low position.

In Thailand, Buddhism is the major religion and is practiced throughout the country's population, including the Thai King. Buddhism has a significant influence on social life in the country, as Islam does in Indonesia. Buddhism values greatly influence the culture and social life of Thai people. These values include the application of Buddhist principles, such as promoting the values of freedom, violence avoidance, and practicing tolerance towards others. Although most Thai people are said to have acquired the characteristics of kindness and friendliness accordingly, some survey institutions (as mentioned before) still give a high intolerance ranking to this country because in many Southern Thailand regions violence often occurs against minority groups practicing Islam.

However, in general, Thailand looks more modern, developed and open to other countries than Indonesia. This is indicated by the number of tourist visits to the country compared to Indonesia. Data from the Ministry of Tourism of Thailand noted that in 2018, 38.27 million of tourists visited the country, 7.5% more than during the previous year (Rhee, 2019). While in the same year, Indonesia was only visited by 15.81 million of tourists (Rahman, 2019). Obviously, as a kind of feedback, tourism provides effects for many sectors, especially the culinary sector, which is mostly run by informal street food vendors.

The impression of a secular "modernity" displayed by the Thai society, becomes especially visible in the demographic differences between Thailand and Indonesia. Presently in Thailand, 2.7 million people live alone, and the trend is increasing (UNFPA, 2015). UNFPA further stated that in the next 20 years, one in five households is expected to be a one-person household. The State of Thailand's Population report showed that the profile of those who choose to live alone expressively increased from 6.0% in 1987 to 14.0 % in 2013 (UNFPA, 2015), with more women choosing to live alone compared to men. Between 1970 and 2000, the percentage of women remaining single at age 30-34 rose from 8.0% to 16.1% in Thailand, while in Indonesia it increased from 2.2% to 6.9% (Jones, 2006).

As demographic data are mostly supposed to belong to the "hard facts", the rising trend of one-person households has been correlated to changes in another sphere of "hard facts", in this case to the improvement economic living standards. However, some authors have shifted the attention to religious and cultural change. Ultimately, it would be misleading to simply oppose these diverging explanations, as processes of urbanisation and increasing wealth often go hand-in-hand with better education, and the liberalisation of social norms. These almost inseparably intertwined processes can result in lifestyle choices that deviate from the traditional cultural and religious expectations of forming and maintaining families (OECD, 2014). The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) study of the features of Thai families reveals that in 2014 most Thai people have fewer children (1-2 children) compared to 1964 when average Thai families had six children (UNFPA, 2015). According to the UNFPA's study the average Thai families have reached the era of low fertility and longevity, while Indonesia is still lingering in the period of demographic transition.

However, Thailand's economic and demographic modernity is overshadowed by an obvious ambiguity of the political system. Since 1948, Thailand's history has been characterised by political unrest and a continuous pendulation between authoritarian and military-dominated governments on one side and democratic movements on the other side. Currently, this struggle has led to a system of a parliamentary façade with a strong backstage domination of the military. Indonesia, on the other hand, after the dictatorship of Suharto had come to end in years of turmoil (1998-2000), has been slowly progressing on the way to a solidification of democratic conditions, albeit not without serious setbacks and political unrest, mostly inspired by ethnical discord. Today, however, on "The Economist Intelligence Unit's" 2018 Democracy Index Indonesia is ranked 65th (score 6.39), while Thailand is lagging behind in place 106 (score 4.63) (the Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019). However, with respect to a special kind of political behaviour that, according to the literature, makes the most striking impact on the informal economies, a difference between Thailand and Indonesia is almost non-existing. On the World Corruption Index (Transparency International, 2019) the two countries appear as neighbours, with Thailand in place 99/180 (score 36/100) and Indonesia – slightly better – in place 89/180 (score 38/100).

To sum up, Thailand and Indonesia are neighbouring countries with a set of basic similarities concerning natural environment, economic potentials and political experiences. However, they exhibit major differences in demographic behaviour, noticeable divergences in the level of income per capita, the level of education and the degree of openness of local communities, the latter being regarded as a variable mainly dependent on the underlying religious affiliation. Among other aims, this study is trying to find out which kind of footprint the large-scale differences in the formal world of income, religion, education, and demography leave on a regionally precisely defined part of the informal sector, the micro-world of local street food vendors in two cities, their business and their lifestyle.

5. Hypotheses

In accordance with the literature and in close connection with the research questions, ten hypotheses have been developed in the present study. They will have to be tested by suitable statistical and qualitative tools, for the two study locations, respectively:

1. Economic factors are the main inducement for women street food vendors' migration.
2. Women street food vendors are poorly educated and sometimes even illiterate.
3. Street food vendors regard their business not as a temporary makeshift, but as a long-term breadwinning strategy.
4. As an inherent part of the informal economy, street food business is exposed to various elements of incertainty and insecurity.
5. A lack of access to loans is the major obstacle in the start-up process.
6. Family support is pivotal for the decision to migrate, the start-up process and the continuation of the business.
7. The income gained from street food business is on average above the national Minimum Wages set in the formal economies.

8. The daily net income of the vendors is affected by age, marital status, education level, number of children, religion, initial working capital and the duration of running the business.

9. The income earned in the business has a major impact on the livelihood improvement of the vendors‘ families and enables the families to accumulate money for savings and remittances.

10. According to their role as a breadwinner, the women's position in families and neighbourhoods has fundamentally changed.

CHAPTER II

Research Methods

This chapter presents the methodology, research design, methods and techniques. Firstly, the chapter describes the study area, sample size and outlines the sampling techniques used to select the respondents. Secondly, this chapter presents the type and sources of data used as well as the research methods and designs used to conduct this study. Thirdly, methods of data processing and analyses are described. Since this study does not consider all the places in Tangerang and Hat Yai, the main limitations of the study are also presented in this chapter.

1. Selection of the Study Areas and Respondents

1.1. Selection of the Study Areas

The research for this study was conducted in two cities, namely Tangerang, Indonesia and Hat Yai, Thailand. Both cities have become a harbour for a large number of migrants from different parts of the two countries. The cities were specifically selected due to rapidly increasing numbers of street food vendors. The increase gained special momentum in the last economic crisis of 2007/08.

Tangerang

After Jakarta and Bekasi, Tangerang is the third largest urban centre in the Jabotabek region, the largest city in Banten province and currently the sixth largest city in Indonesia. It is located approximately 25 kilometres (16 miles) west of Jakarta with an area of 164.54 square kilometres (63.53 square miles). Tangerang is divided into thirteen sub-districts (*kecamatan*), which are Ciledug, Larangan, Karang Tengah, Cipondoh, Pinang, Karawaci, Jatiuwung, Cibodas, Periuk, Batu Ceper, Tangerang, Neglasari, and Benda. Due to the lack of resources and time constraints, it was difficult to research street food vendors located in all sub-districts. Therefore, a few districts were chosen with the expectation that a generalisation of the Tangerang street food vendors could be reached from the respondents. The study was undertaken in 6 out of the 13 districts. The different interview locations (Figure 2-1) were chosen on the basis of the socio-economic setting of the community. Among the districts those with a great deal of economic diversity were selected, where street food vendors could serve many customers of various occupations. So, in the study areas, factories, government offices, train stations, bus terminals, shopping centers, markets (modern and/or traditional) and the schools/universities are situated. The total number of female street food vendor respondents interviewed by geographic location in Tangerang is shown in Table 2-1.

Hat Yai

Hat Yai is the largest city of Songkhla Province, the largest metropolitan area in southern Thailand and the third largest metropolitan area of the country. The city is located on the Southern Gulf Coast, roughly 950 km (600 miles) from Bangkok and 30 km (18.5 miles) from the Malaysian border. Consequently, Hat Yai is a popular tourist destination for visitors from Malaysia who enjoy dining and experiencing local cuisine. The city was ranked the fourth largest in the country after Bangkok, Nonthaburi and Pak Kret (National Statistical Office of Thailand, 2017).

The city of Hat Yai is divided into 13 sub-districts (*tambon*) - Hat Yai, Khuan Lang, Khu Tao, Kho Hong, Khlong Hae, Khlong U Taphao, Chalung, Thung Yai, Thung Tam Sao, Tha Kham, Nam Noi, Ban Phru, and Phatong. The two *tambon* - Hat Yai and Kho Hong (Figure 2-2), were selected for this study as many migrant street food vendors from different parts of Thailand were based in these locations. Moreover, the train station, bus terminal, the government and private offices as well as many shopping malls, markets, schools and universities were found in these sub-districts. To certain degree, the economic structure of the selected districts tends to be similar to the districts selected in Tangerang. The total number of female respondents interviewed by geographic location in Hat Yai is presented in Table 2-2.

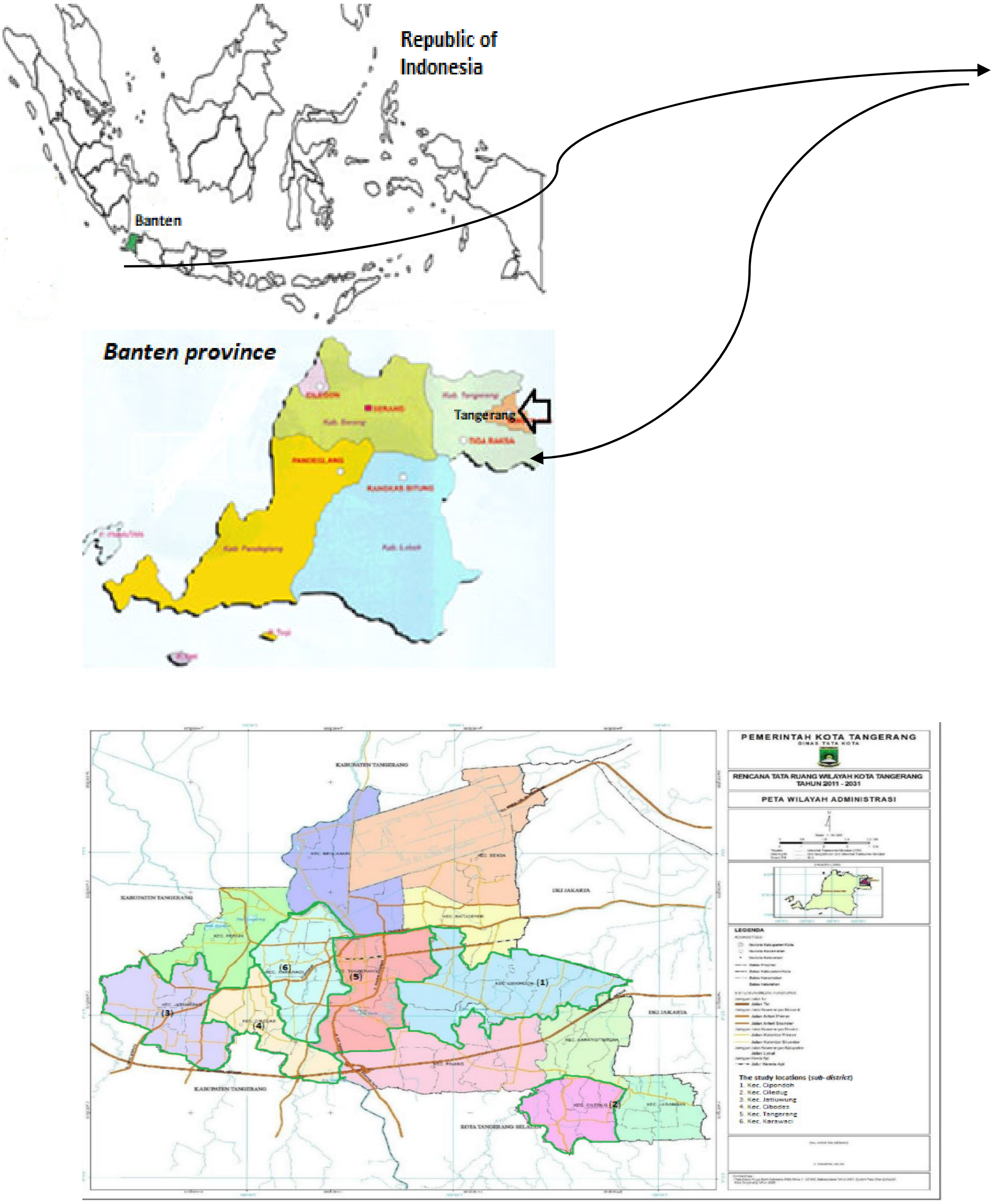

Figure 2-1. Locations of field survey in Tangerang city, Indonesia.
Selected sub-districts in Tangerang: 1. Kec. Cipondoh, 2. Kec. Ciledug, 3. Kec. Jatiuwung, 4. Kec. Cibodas, 5. Kec. Tangerang and 6. Kec. Karawaci.
Source: Pemerintah Kota Tangerang, 2018

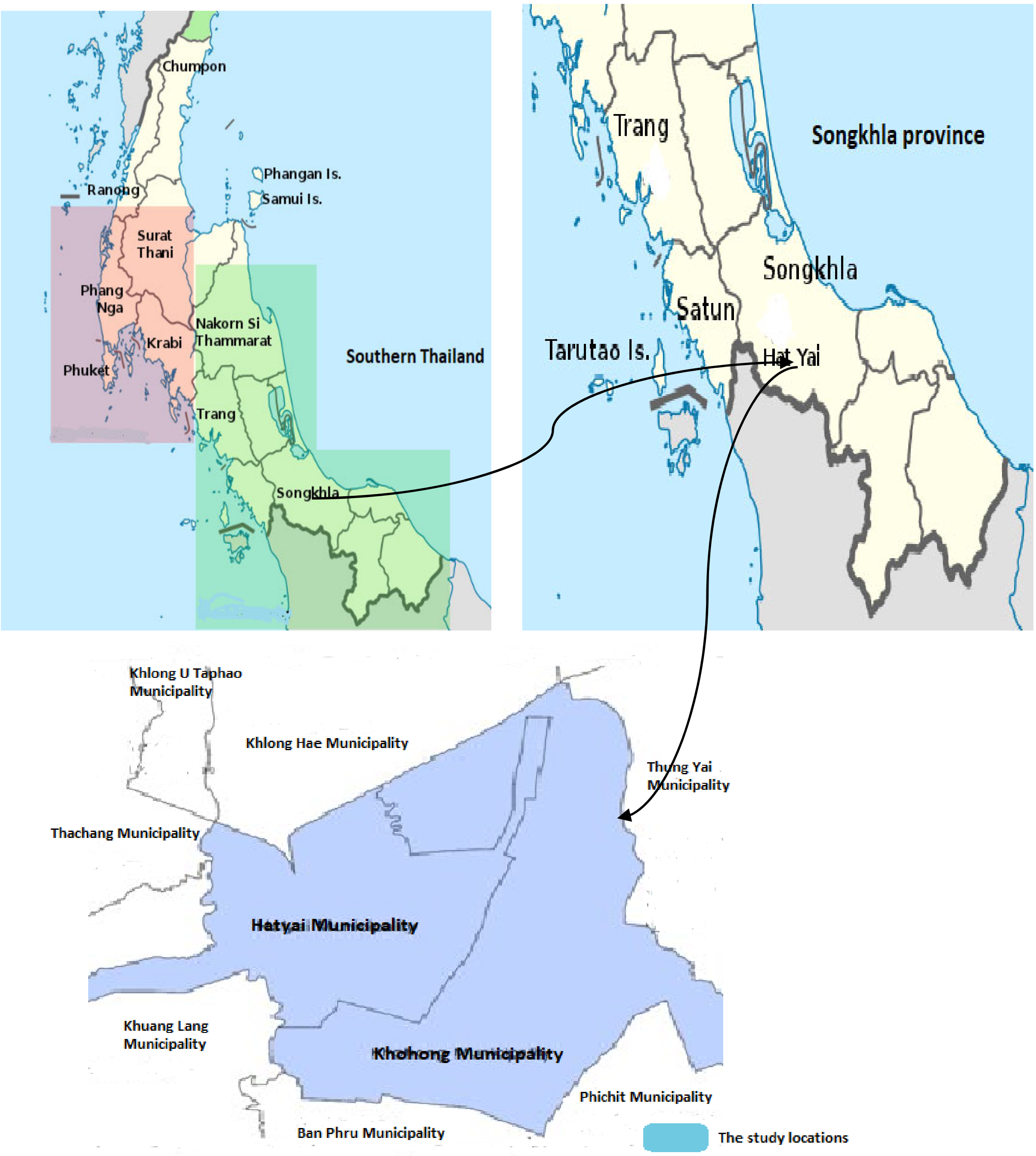

Figure 2-2. Locations of selected *tambon* in Hat Yai city, Thailand.
Selected sub-districts include, 1. Hat Yai municipality and 2. Kho Hong municipality.
Source: Sawadee Public Company, 2019.

Table 2-1. Total number of female street food vendors by sub-district in Tangerang

No	Location (sub-district)	Number of respondents
1	Cipondoh	43
2	Ciledug	12
3	Jatiuwung	18
4	Cibodas	20
5	Tangerang	75
6	Karawaci	32
Total		200

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation.

Table 2-2. Total number of female street food respondents by *tambon* in Hat Yai

No	*Tambon*	Number of respondents
1	Hat Yai	65
2	Kho Hong	31
Total		96

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation.

1.2. The Respondents on the Site

The selection of respondents was based on the criteria that (i) women migrants lived and worked as street food vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai cities and (ii) the respondents form a part of the street food labour force. A 'migrant', according to Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS, 2010), is defined as a person who had moved officially to or lived at least six months in the area of destination.

In the selected locations for the study, the researcher was introduced as a student conducting research in Hat Yai about women street food vendors. The research assistants and the researcher approached as many female street food vendors as possible in both Hat Yai and Tangerang cities upon the agreement of using the information provided by the respondents solely for academic purposes.

2. Sampling Method and Sample Size

Purposive sampling technique was used to select the women street food vendors as the respondents in Tangerang and Hat Yai. Malhotra and Birsk (2008) and Daniel (2012) explain that the purposive sampling technique is considered ideal for research because it is primarily qualitative and exploratory; requires limited financial and time resources; provides illustrative examples for comparisons; lacks a comprehensive sampling frame and has a difficult-to-reach population. Moreover, the use of purposive sampling permits a speedy collection of research data. Cohen and Lea (2004) selected participants with specific characteristics including street food vending, gender and migrant in the host communities to achieve the goals of their research in sub-Saharan African cities.

For the present study, the total sample size was 296 respondents consisting of 200 respondents in Tangerang and 96 respondents in Hat Yai. The participants were selected from the six study areas in Tangerang and two in Hat Yai (Figures 2-1 and 2-2) with large numbers of street food vendors. Firstly, the selection was based on specific characteristics of the vending locations. The respondents were found around the markets, near downtown, on the sidewalks, and at the edges of various stores. Furthermore, the respondents had to fulfill the following criteria:

1. The street food vendors had to sell ready-to-eat food on a street or at a public place by bike, food carts, food stalls as well as in a kiosk.
2. The respondent should be the owner of a street food business, not an employee.
3. Before starting with the questionnaire, the first question was about the future respondent's birthplace, to identify her as a migrant. Furthermore, a threshold of six months of business duration was set to enhance the validity of the responses.

Table 2-3. Geographical spreading sample selection in Tangerang and Hat Yai cities

Study locations	Sub-district / Tambon	Geographical spreading	
		Morning	Evening
Tangerang	Cipondoh	30	13
	Ciledug	9	3
	Jatiuwung	13	5
	Cibodas	15	5
	Tangerang	60	15
	Karawaci	20	12
Total		147	53
Hat Yai	Hat Yai	50	15
	Kho Hong	22	9
Total		72	24

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation.

3. Type and Data Sources

The study was planned and conducted on the basis of both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was directly gathered by the researcher to address the questions whilst the secondary data includes any relevant data collected by others but which are of importance to the study (Dawson, 2002; Ahiadeke, 2008). A combination of these two sources provided an opportunity for the researcher to learn about the phenomenon directly through first-hand information and from the perspectives of others (Dawson, 2002). Primary data was collected with the help of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Research journals on the subject matter and other related literature sources were reviewed for secondary data for the study.

4. Research Methods and Designs

This section describes the research methodology used in the present study. Firstly, to examine the economic potential of women migrant street food vending in urban Tangerang and Hat Yai, a descriptive survey research design was adopted. Creswell (2014) explains that a descriptive design is an approach that may combine qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. Kothari (2004) however, states that the qualitative approach is appropriate to study a phenomenon concerning the subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior of people whilst a quantitative study captures the general characteristics of a phenomenon. Secondly, to address the objectives of this research study, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, referred to as the mixed method was used. The mixed research strategy employs different techniques of data collection. Thirdly, to achieve mutual compatibility between quantitative and qualitative approaches in a thorough manner, the application of the triangulation method was carried out.

4.1. Quantitative Approach

Quantitative research can be defined as research that explains phenomena according to numerical data analysed by means of mathematically based methods, particularly statistics and therefore can be seen as scientific in nature. Bryman (2001) argued that the use of statistical data reduces the time and effort for research descriptions and analyses which the researcher, otherwise would have invested in describing their results. Data including numbers, percentages and measurable figures can be calculated by a computer through the use of a statistical package for social science (SPSS) (Gorard, 2001; Connolly, 2007) which saves energy and resources.

The aim of quantitative research in the present study is to measure and analyse causal relationships between variables, such as the dependent and independent variables. In quantitative research, the researcher collects more than one type of data to achieve a better and more holistic picture of the current landscape of the field. The primary survey research, such as semi-structured questionnaire and structured observations were conducted in this quantitative method of analysis.

4.2. Qualitative Approach

Unlike quantitative studies which encompass outcomes, generalisation, prediction and cause-effect relationships through deductive reasoning, qualitative studies are concerned with process, context, interpretation, meaning or understanding through inductive reasoning (Berg and Howard, 2012). Qualitative research produces findings not arrived at by traditional statistical procedures or other means of quantification (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Compared to quantitiatve research, qualitative research does not hypothesise or predict outcomes of the study (Creswell, 2014).

In contrast, the qualitative methods of research in this study aims to describe and understand the phenomenon studied by capturing and communicating participants' experiences in their own words from interviews. Qualitative data instruments such as in-depth interview and field notes were used to collect data from participants in their natural settings. Open-ended responses let the researcher understand and present the information as it is seen and experienced by the participants without predetermining those standpoints. Hence, qualitative findings are more detailed and variable in content compared to quantitative outcomes (Flick, 2004).

4.3. The Mixed Methods Research

In addition to standalone quantitative and qualitative approaches, the mixed method research strategy was used in this study. This method involves the integration of both qualitative and quantitative approaches where data are collected using a combination of methods such as open-ended and closed-ended questionnaires, experiments, focus groups as well as qualitative interviews. Proponents of this approach argue that the use of mixed research methods allows researchers to simultaneously generalize from a sample to a population and gain a richer contextual understanding of the phenomenon being researched (Hanson et al., 2005; cited in Gray, 2009; Creswell, 2014). Therefore, a mixed research method was used in collecting data for the present study and the presence of qualitative data assisted the analysis of quantitative data.

4.4. Triangulation Design

In the 1970s, Denzin developed this concept further into a more systematic approach of triangulation for social research and expanded the scope of mixed-methods research to the whole research design (Flick, 2018). Denzin defined triangulation as *“the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon.”* In social sciences, the use of triangulation can be traced back to Campbell and Fiske (1959) who coined the term ‘multiple operationism’. They argued that more than one method should be used in the validation process to ensure that the variance reflected that of the trait and not of the method. Creswell et al. (2003) however, claimed that triangulation design is the most common and well-known research design. Methodological triangulation has also been found to be beneficial in providing confirmation of findings, more comprehensive data, increased validity and enhanced understanding of the studied phenomenon (Halcomb and Andrew, 2005; Casey and Murphy, 2009).

The triangulation approach is probably the most familiar of the mixed-method models (Creswell and Clark, 2007) with the rationale that the quantitative and qualitative phases occur at the same time and the researcher equally values the two methods to subsequently combine the strengths of each method of data (Flick, 2004; Mertler and Charles, 2008). Therefore, the data are merged, and the results of the analyses are used simultaneously to address the research questions by comparing findings from both quantitative and qualitative analyses. Creamer (2018) stated that during interpretation, the triangulation design helps the researcher to compare and contrast quantitative statistical results with qualitative findings in order to elaborate valid and well-substantiated conclusions about the problem under study. Patton (2001) advocated for the use of triangulation by stating that triangulation strengthens a study by combining different methods, which includes both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. This is supported by Jick (2006) who mentioned that triangulation can help researchers improve the precision of their judgements and compensate for the shortcomings of each single method by the counterbalancing strengths of another.

In this study, the triangulation mixed methods approach was used to confirm and to verify quantitative results (from questionnaire surveys and site observations) with qualitative findings (from semi-structured interviews). The objective was to supplement the questionnaire results in instances where the questions asked during the interviews differed from the questionnaire. It was hoped that by using this approach the nature of street food vendor experience in running the street food business in Tangerang and Hat Yai could be revealed comprehensively.

5. Data Collection Instruments and Methods

5.1. Data Collection Instruments

To address the research question in the most comprehensive way, two types of data collection instruments were used during the fieldwork i.e. a questionnaire and an in-depth interview. These techniques were organized in a complementary fashion, with findings of each method informing the process and progress of the others.

5.1.1. Questionnaire Survey

To obtain systematic, representative and reliable information, the semi-structured questionnaire was used to directly associate with the survey research based on the objectives and research questions of this study. The questionnaire was developed before commencing the fieldwork and complemented with street food vendor interviews. It was designed based on the issues related to the theories in literature and to previous similar studies, focusing on finding answers to similar criteria set. The questionnaire was designed to be answered by the owners of street food stalls with an understanding that adjustments would be made later on depending on the observations made and results obtained in the field. The questions were created with the purpose of answering the research questions in this study.

The questionnaires consisted of ten sections (see Appendix 1), which focused on enterprise structures of street food trading (i.e. history of business activities, production process, and employment figures and legality); characteristics of human development of street traders (i.e. economic capital, human capital and social capital); gender discrimination and family roles. Most of the data obtained from this questionnaire were statistically amenable to serve as a basis for generalisation.

All questions were designed to be as clear and simple as possible. The questionnaire was translated into Bahasa Indonesia and Thai language. The pre-survey questionnaire for Hat Yai vendors was translated from English to Thai by a post-graduate student from Thailand. The final questionnaire for the survey phase was translated from Bahasa into the Thai language by one of the Indonesian consulate staff in Songkhla, fluent in Indonesian and English. Prior to carrying out field work, the questionnaire was carefully designed and discussed by the researcher and their academic supervisor.

In the pre-survey phase, the questionnaire was taken to the field and tested to see, if any modifications were required. Some comments received during the pre-survey phase were recorded and considered in modifying the questionnaire. After the pre-survey phase, the researcher modified the questionnaire based on the results of field work and input from the supervisor. Most modifications involved questions related to the socio-economic impact of street food vending, workplace conditions, history of business activities and family roles.

5.1.2. Semi-Structured Interviews

During the survey, it was found that important information required to address the research questions of the present study was not included in the prepared questionnaires, and hence needed to be covered in subsequent interviews. The semi-structured interview was therefore used with participants either during or just after surveys to gain additional knowledge and information by allowing the participants to express their views in their own words. The conversation was noted on the back of the survey questionnaire during the interview, to be reconstructed afterwards at home. The researcher did not use a tape recorder during the interview process for fear that its presence might cause the respondent to become rigid or self-conscious and refrain from discussing personal stories.

5.2. Methods of Data Collection

The data collection method used in this study was classified into two phases - pre-survey and survey.

5.2.1. Pre-Survey Phase

The pre-survey was conducted with the aim of achieving an insight and information from street food vendors in the study locations, about the impact of street food trading on socio-economic factors. More importantly, this phase attempted to conduct a census of street food vendors in the sampled areas who fall within the definition specified in the present study. The pre-survey information was valuable for the design and construction of data collection instruments in the survey phase (second field work).

During the pre-survey phase in Hat Yai, Thailand the research team consisted of the researcher as the principal researcher assisted by two field data collection assistants. Since the researcher did not speak the Thai language, the recruited field assistants were both Thai nationals fluent in English. The assistants were two male Masters students from Prince Songkla University with experience in survey activities and therefore facilitated the process of gathering information and data collection in the field. The researcher recruited the two assistants following the recommendation of their fellow Indonesian students studying at the same university. Post-recruitment, the researcher explained the aims and methodology of the present study to the assistants and due to their previous practical experiences in fieldwork, the assistants understood what was required of them to conduct the study.

In Tangerang, Indonesia, the pre-survey phase was carried out by the researcher and six research assistants. All the research assistants were undergraduate students at the Nutrition and Food Technology program, Surya University, Banten. Most of the research assistants did not have previous experience in field research. Therefore, following recruitment, the researcher organised a training program which included six hours long for each intensive sessions on the procedures of data collection and the administration of the survey questionnaire. The researcher explained about the procedures of data collection including sampling procedures; interpersonal communication and ethical issues; skills to approach street food vendors; gaining the trust of the respondents; interview techniques; phases and challenges of data collection and techniques to responding to data collection problems.

Pre-survey was conducted in Tangerang, Banten province, from 01 May to July 10, 2017, while in Hat Yai, Southern Thailand, the field work was held from 15 July to October 18, 2017. The researcher and the research assistants interviewed the respondents from different locations of field work including public spaces such as bus stations, train stations, markets, schools, government areas and shopping malls. In Hat Yai, the place of birth of the participating street food vendors varied from Northern to Southern Thailand. The respondents who participated in interviews in Tangerang came from several islands in Indonesia such as Java, Sumatera and Kalimantan. During the field work, the researcher and the research assistants met the respondents one to two times to complete one questionnaire. Out of 260 participants, 180 respondents and 80 respondents were collected in Tangerang and Hat Yai, respectively.

This pre-survey phase helped the researcher to discover pitfalls and to modify the structure and contents of the questionnaire. It also helped to appraise the reaction of respondents to the survey questions. Moreover, the pre-survey phase offered practical experiences for the research assistants before they started collecting the main data in the final survey (second field work).

5.2.2. Survey Phase

At the time of the survey phase, primary data were collected by administering the semi-structured questionnaire to sampled women street food vendors. The final phase (the second field work) for the primary data collection was conducted between 06 March and 24 July of 2018. In Hat Yai, primary data were collected between 06 March to 30 April 2018. Two field assistants were recruited for this phase where one assistant was a consulate of the Republic of Indonesia in Songkla while the other assistant was a doctoral student at Prince of Songkla University, Hat Yai. In this phase, the researcher set several criteria before recruiting the research assistants. As this was the final phase of the research, the assistants were selected based on the–criteria that (i) they were local people who lived in Hat Yai city or nearby, facilitating the reduced cost of transportation and accommodation; (ii) they spoke Thai and were able to communicate in English or Malay dialect. Since the researcher did not speak Thai, it was important to that the assistants could communicate with the researcher and (iii) they have previous experience of data collection procedures (interviews) to show that they are able to work independently.

Before the start of the study, the researcher trained the research assistants accordingly to provide sufficient background knowledge about the study, how and why certain details were being collected with the specific information included in the questionnaire. Since they all were experienced in conducting surveys, the researcher did not experience any difficulty in explaining the aims and objectives of the present study. In addition, the researcher explained the purpose of each questionnaire, examined the questionnaires in detail and discussed how to obtain and record answers. Data collection techniques in the fieldwork were also discussed.

Fieldwork for the collection of primary data in Tangerang city was conducted between 07 May and July 24, 2018. To avoid time being spent mainly on surveys, six new enumerators were recruited. They were final year undergraduate students at Surya University and some of them had considerable basic knowledge of social research methods. The researcher did not use enumerators from the pre-survey phase because they had graduated. After the recruitment, the researcher explained the research objectives of the study and introduced techniques involved in carrying out the survey questionnaire such as interview techniques, recording of notes and note-taking.

The researcher targeted 400 respondents from the study locations, however, only 296 street food enterprise owners or vendors participated and were subsequently interviewed. This original target of 400 respondents could not be met mainly due to time and budgetary constraints. Out of 296 respondents, 200 vendors were sampled from the Tangerang city, while the remaining 96 respondents were from Hat Yai city. Based on the formula (Leedy and Ormrod, 2015), the margin of error for the samples in the study locations is below 10 per cent. The formula for margin of error is calculated by multiplying critical factor (for a certain confidence level) with the population standard deviation and then the result is divided by the square root of the number of observations in the sample.

During the survey phase, a broad spectrum of data was gathered using the modified semi-structured questionnaire, based on the results of the pre-survey phase at the previous stage. This questionnaire included demographic characteristics of the vendors; history of the business; the process of migration; cost and revenue of business activities; business assets; membership to street food vendor associations; government policies; livelihood conditions; household responsibilities, family roles and gender discrimination faced by vendors. The questionnaires which were written in English were thoroughly reviewed to ensure that written English could be easily translated into the local language (Thai and Bahasa) for the interviews. The Thai national research assistant helped the researcher translated the questionnaire from English to Thai language.

To complete the questionnaires, the researcher and the research assistants conducted face-to-face interviews with street food enterprise owners. Before each interview, the researcher and enumerators explained the rights of the vendors, the content and purpose of the study and also practical information about how the interview would be carried out. The researcher used the personal interview to collect primary data because it allowed for flexibility, better focus and the possibility of rich, detail and in-depth information (Patton, 2001). The interviews took place at a location chosen by the vendors where they felt comfortable, which was predominantly at their places of trading and in a few cases, at their residences. According to the most favourable situation felt by the vendors, the interviews were arranged to be as informal as possible.

During the survey phase, many respondents refused to be taped. In those cases, extensive notes were made during the interview session to record participant responses. Where the research assistant was invited to the interviewees' home, they were always accompanied by the researcher. In Hat Yai, the research assistant asked the researcher to join interviews which took place in the Malay language. Generally, the interview with a vendor lasted for about one to one-half hours, but interviews at the places of trade meant that the vendor also had to respond to customers as well as partake in other personal activities and therefore, many respondents were visited twice to complete the interview.

5.2.3. Personal Biographical Narrative

A few personal biographical narratives were added to the research with the hope of providing greater insight into the particular circumstances that shaped the lives of women street food vendors. These personal biographical narratives complemented the data gathered during the interview sessions. The vendors were offered to tell their story in their own way, without interruption or guidance from the researcher. The method required the researcher to abstain from interrupting and to offer the interviewee a sense of open-ended space within which to speak (Roseneil, 2012). During the vendors' responses, the researcher would take notes about the topics discussed by the vendor, paying particular attention to the sequence in which topics were raised. This method allowed the interviewees to decide for themselves about the topic they wanted to discuss whilst the interviewer only asked for additional details about the events and experiences (Roberts, 2002; Roseneil, 2012).

A personal biographical narrative interview was used with participants either during or immediately after the surveys. The biographical interview was to provide further supplementary information about the vendors' stories and experience of everyday life as well as to obtain extensive and rich materials for the researcher to analyse. With the permission of the participants, synopses of their life stories have been included in a few chapters of the thesis.

As this method applied a qualitative approach, the number of participants was flexibly adjusted to accommodate the process of research activities. Along with the survey phase, the biographical narrative interviews were only conducted by the researcher. The researcher prepared himself thoroughly for the interview. Furthermore, the researcher prepared questions to assist in understanding the biography of each individual and the events that occurred in their lives as a street food vendor. During the interview, the respondents had the opportunity to tell the story of their whole life without interruptions, setting their own priorities and following an associative or chronological structure as they deemed appropriate. In Hat Yai, the research assistants accompanied the researcher when the researcher conducted the biographical interviews to translate questions from the researcher to the participant and conversely, translate participant responses.

The researcher chose the respondents for the in-depth biographical interviews according to following criteria:

1. The respondents had a business history of at least one year at the time of their interview.
2. The targeted respondents were of different marital status, namely single, married, and divorced.
3. The selected respondents had to represent at least three ethnic groups and three areas of origin in the study areas.

The rationale behind the criteria above was to obtain a diverse perspective from the respondents, so the biographical narratives obtained will be more varied. After determining the criteria, the researcher asked the respondents if they were willing to be the "subject" in the biographical narratives. Getting the respondent's permission made writing the biography much easier and ensured they are open with information about their lives as a street food vendor. Lastly, in total, 20 women street food vendors were enlisted as research participants for the case studies, which consisted of 14 vendors from Tangerang and six vendors from Hat Yai (Table 2-4). The biographical accounts were elicited in face-to-face interviews. The interview opened with a discussion of the participant’s current activity before they were asked to tell the researcher about their previous activities; describing the changes in their life; when they started the street food business; education; leaving the place of origin; getting married and having children and running the street food vending business were offered as examples of life events to outline their story and the interviews.

Table 2-4. List biographical narrative participants in Tangerang and Hat Yai

No	Name	Religion	Ethnicity	Age	Marital status	Education	Come from	Year of migration	Year of starting the business
Tangerang									
1	Harti	Islam	Javanese	38	Married	Primary school	Central Java	2002	2008
2	Harifah	Islam	Javanese	40	Divorced	Secondary school	East Java	2014	1999
3	Wati	Islam	Javanese	31	Married	Secondary school	Central Java	2008	2017
4	Lina	Islam	Javanese	51	Married	Secondary school	Central Java	1986	1999
5	Ida	Islam	Palembangnese	35	Divorced	Secondary school	Sumatera	2014	2016
6	Murni	Islam	Javanese	55	Married	Senior high school	Yogyakarta	1991	2012
7	Noh	Christian	Chinese Indonesian	62	Married	Illiterate	Banten	1993	1993
8	Ria	Islam	Javanese	46	Married	Secondary school	Central Java	1995	1995
9	Rusmini	Islam	Javanese	58	Married	Primary school	East Java	1984	2010
10	Yati	Islam	Javanese	46	Divorced	Senior high school	Central Java	1991	2010
11	Widi	Islam	Javanese	32	Married	Secondary school	Central Java	2014	2017
12	Cawi	Islam	Sundanese	49	Married	Illiterate	West Java	1991	2002
13	Wartiyem	Islam	Javanese	49	Married	Illiterate	Central Java	1987	2005
14	Susi	Islam	Javanese	20	Married	Secondary school	Yogyakarta	2000	2017
Hat Yai									

15	Sumpit Rungsawat	Buddha	Siam	54	Married	Senior high school	Songkla	1992	2001
16	Pauat	Buddha	Siam	64	Married	Illiterate	Isan	1980	1981
17	Supranee Insuwanna	Buddha	Siam	39	Single	Senior high school	Songkla	1995	1998
18	Umi Kisum	Islam	Thai Malays	40	Divorced	Secondary school	Narathiwat	1997	2003
19	Warapong	Buddha	Thai Chinese	42	Married	University	Songkla	1987	2009
20	Kasnawati	Islam	Thai Malays	53	Married	University	Yala	2001	2010

5.3. Data processing and analysis methods

Following the completion of data collection, the information gathered from the surveys was processed and analyzed. Firstly, all collected data were carefully compiled and coded where applicable for easy storage into a Microsoft Excel database. Secondly, the collected data were checked randomly and when error was detected, the necessary corrections were made accordingly after exporting to Microsoft Excel. Further consultation with the research assistants was required to determine the cause of the error. Lastly, data were exported from Microsoft Excel into SPSS version 23.0, which offered statistical tools to apply to social science research.

Since the mixed-method was used to collect the primary data in this study, triangulation was applied in the data analysis. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods provided a holistic picture of the street vending in the study locations. The quantitative approach was used to analyse the data statistically while the qualitative approach facilitated the quantitative approach. The results and statistical data were validated and cross-checked by the case narrative analyses of the street food vendors. Cases were developed from in-depth interviews with women street food vendors. Nevertheless, the case narratives also were cross-checked with quantitative evidence and data.

Quantitative data from the survey were analysed using SPSS. Both descriptive and analytical techniques were utilised in order to analyze the data. Descriptive statistical techniques were used to illustrate current situations, describe different variables separately and construct tables and graphs presented in results. Frequency distribution, percentage, range, mean, median, standard deviation, and cross-tabulation were used to describe characteristics of women street food vendors. In most cases, the opinions of respondents were grouped in broader categories. Statistical analytical techniques were used to investigate relationships between two variables and compare the difference between two groups of participants and significant differences/association among the groups. Statistical tests including Chi-Square test, Pearson correlation and linear regression analysis were used in this study. Each statistical technique used under specific conditions was dependent upon on the measurement scale of different variables.

Qualitative data was analyzed with field notes and observations. All field notes were immediately typed upon returning from the field each day. Qualitative analysis was undertaken through content analysis described as a social research method appropriate for studying human communications as well as other forms of social behavior (Babbie, 2005). This involved identifying key patterns that emerged from the collected qualitative data to describe benefits and challenges from the street food business, run by local vendors in the study locations. Qualitative methods were also used as an additional tool to illustrate and further explain statistical evidence emerging from the quantitative data.

Finally, all findings obtained from both quantitative and qualitative data analyses were presented coherently in conjunction with each other to enrich the profile and the dynamics of street food traders being analysed. This triangulation procedure is aimed at achieving convergence, corroboration and correspondence of the research results.

CHAPTER III

Demographic Features of Women Street Food Vendors

This chapter explores the profiles of street food vendors who work in Tangerang and Hat Yai by describing their number of children and family size, religion, ethnicity, age distribution, marital status, place of origin and education level. These demographic features provide an insight into the background of the vendors. The traits are described using data collected from participating 200 and 96 female street food vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai, respectively. The vendors were a heterogeneous group in terms of their demographic features and their motivation for selling food in the streets.

1. Age Distribution

Street food vending is an activity performed by many different ages. Within the various age groups, there is comparatively a higher concentration of migrants aged between 21 – 50 years in both Hat Yai and Tangerang (Table 3-1). The average age of vendors in Tangerang is 42.6 years with a standard deviation of 11.3 years, whilst in Hat Yai, the mean age of vendors is 40.4 years with a standard deviation of 12.3 years. These findings indicate that informal street food vending represents a source of work for working active population that does not take part in the formal job market. Similarly, Kusakabe (2006) shows that street vending in Thailand and Cambodia is dominated by working age ranging between 20 and 50 years.

Table 3-1. Street food vendors' age structure by study areas (in percentage)

Age-groups (years)	Tangerang (n=200)	Hat Yai (n=96)
< 20	2.5	1.0
21 - 30	14.5	24.0
31 - 40	28.5	32.3

41 - 50	29.5	19.8
51 - 60	19.5	15.6
> 60	5.5	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Mean ± SD	42.6 ± 11.3	40.4 ± 12.3

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

FAO (1989) study reported that in other developing countries such as the Philippines and Thailand, 79% and 80% of the population, respectively, had an average age of 41 years. Muyanja et al. (2011) showed that 74.6% of the street vendors interviewed in Kampala, Uganda were aged between 21 and 40 years whereas in India, Choudhury et al. (2011) reported that 98% of the street vendors interviewed were aged between 21 and 50 years. In line with the literature, the average age of vendors in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil was shown to be 40.3 years (Alves da Silva et. al., 2014).

In the sample populations within this study, it was observed that a high proportion of vendors in Tangerang city was older compared to Hat Yai (Table 3-1). However, a large majority of the vendors interviewed in both cities were aged 30 years or more and many of them reported their formal working days were over. Some vendors explicitly stated this was because they were far too old to be hired. Beef ribs soup vendor in Tangerang, Ibu Ida said that she tried to find a job in a company when she was 33 years old, following her divorce from her husband, but she was unsuccessful at the time because of her age.

"I'm struggling to find a job in a factory or a company. However, no one wants to hire someone my age. It's not easy for me to get a job. Many companies want young employees."

Ibu Ida is now 35 years old and does not think anyone would hire her. She explains that is the main reason why she started the street food business. Indonesian stir-fried rice vendor, Ibu Ria expressed the same feelings as she is 46 years old, it would be difficult for her to find a job in wage labour.

"When I was the thirties, I tried to find a job but never succeeded. At that time, I was only offered a job as a housemaid. Besides being age, I also don't have any skills, so it's hard for me to get a formal job."

Like the vendors in Indonesia, street food vendors in Thailand experience the same problem. Of note, the recruitment of employees in the Thai formal economy is discriminatory regarding age and gender. This form of discrimination is not illegal and is very common. Several vendors conveyed this opinion in the in-depth interviews. One of the interviewees, Pee Umi Kassuem, a 32-year-old spoke of her experience about the inconvenience of applying for a job as follows:

"Three years ago, when I was 30 years old, I tried to find a job in some companies as a staff. I looked for a job in newspapers, but the age restriction was stated in these vacancies, such as a woman under 30. Certainly, my age is an impediment to applying for these positions."

One vendor, *Pee* Pauat, Thai street snack vendor, who is 64 years old, narrated the following point:

"I want to be hired by a factory, but they probably would not hire me because I am in my sixties. It was extremely difficult to find a job after age 50. Most people from my age find work as a street sweeper or a cleaner. I don't want to do that kind of work, so I decided to work as a street food vendor."

Even fairly "young" people, like Pee Umi Kassuem, a 32-year-old spoke of the same experience of age-related inconvenience when applying for a job as follows:

"Three years ago, when I was 30 years old, I tried to find a job in some companies as a staff. I looked for a job in newspapers, but the age restriction was stated in these vacancies, such as a woman under 30. Certainly, my age is an impediment to applying for these positions."

Table 3-2 is a presentation of a cross-tabulation of age-groups of women street food vendors with the age of their business showing that the age of business is directly proportional to the age of vendors. For instance, 44 out of 296 vendors (14.8 %) aged between 31 and 50 years have run their businesses for one to five years, indicating that the street food business is dominated by productive women aged between 31 and 50 years. The interest of women aged 60 years and older to practice the street food business is quite small.

Table 3-2. Cross tabulation between age-groups of vendors and age of street food business

Age of business	Age groups						Total
	<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>60	
< 1	2	15	16	9	4	2	48
1 – 5	3	22	25	19	7	5	81
6 – 10	0	12	14	21	18	1	66
11 – 15	1	1	17	8	6	1	34
16 – 20	0	2	10	10	9	3	34
> 20	0	0	6	11	10	6	33
Total	6	52	88	78	54	18	296

NB. Figures in brackets are percentages
Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Furthermore, a correlation between the age-groups of the vendors and the age of their businesses (Table 3-3) was established by a statistically significant linear relationship ($p<0.01$). The direction of the relationship is positive; i.e. therefore, a higher age of the vendors is associated with a greater duration of business.

Table 3-3. Correlation between age-groups and age of business across study locations

		Age-groups	Age of business
Age-groups	Pearson Correlation	1	0.347**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000
	N	296	296
Age of business	Pearson Correlation	0.347**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	
	N	296	296

Note, **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

With regard to the educational level of the street vendors interviewed, younger vendors (20-40 years) were educated to a higher level compared to than elderly vendors (Table 3-4). For instance, 18 of 35 vendors who had academic/university education were the younger vendors (21-30 years). Only a few teenaged street vendors and those aged under 30 years were educated to the primary school level or below. There are variations between young vendors and elderly vendors regarding the level of education.

Table 3-4. Cross-tabulation of age-groups and levels of education

Education level	Age group						Total
	<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>60	
No schooling	0	0	3	6	3	3	15
Primary school	1	4	14	21	21	7	68
Secondary school	3	12	36	23	10	3	87
Senior High school	2	18	26	24	17	4	91
Academic / university	0	18	9	4	3	1	35
Total	6	52	88	78	54	18	296

NB. Figures in brackets are percentages
Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

A Pearson correlation examination on the age-groups and the level of education indicate a statistically significant reverse between them ($p < 0.01$) as shown in Table 3-5. The direction has a negative relationship (-0.31). However, the magnitude or strength of the association is approximately moderate (0.3).

Table 3-5. Correlation between age-groups and level of education across study locations

		Age-groups	Education level
Age-groups	Pearson Correlation	1	-.313**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	296	296
Education level	Pearson Correlation	-.313**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	296	296

Note, **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

2. Marital Status and Household Profiles

Marital status is another demographic variable that might influence enterprise performance. Marital relationships have implications for individual decision making and influencing what people can or cannot do. It is quite clear from Table 3-6 that a larger proportion of Hat Yai's vendors than Tangerang's vendors were not married and were single. Conversely, the proportion of Tangerang's vendors who were currently married were higher as compared to Hat Yai's vendors.

Table 3-6. Marital status of street food vendors (in percentage)

Marital status (%)	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Single	5.0	21.0
Married	87.5	66.7
Separated	1.0	1.9
Widowed	4.0	7.6
Divorced	2.5	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

The differences in marital status across study locations is statistically significant ($p<0.01$) (Table 3-7) as the vendors in Hat Yai were more likely to live as a single family than Tangerang's vendors do. This is perfectly in line with general trends in Thailand's demographic features (see introduction). In the present study, many women in Hat Yai unable to find a suitable partner may have chosen to forego a partnership entirely.

Table 3-7. Chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V tests between marital status and study locations

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	26.841[a]	4	.000
Phi	.301	4	.000
Cramer's V	.301	4	.000
Contingency Coefficient	.288	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	296		

[a]3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.30.

Data from the in-depth interview stage were compiled to understand the household dynamics of the women street food vendors in both Hat Yai and Tangerang cities (Table 3-8). In Hat Yai, 20.9% of the total vendors were characterized by one-person household compared to 3.0% of total vendors in Tangerang. UNFPA (2015) reported similar findings in Thailand, where 2.7 million Thais were living alone in 2014.

The average family size of the women street food vendors in Hat Yai was rounded to 3.08 with a standard deviation of 1.46. The average number of household members among street food vendors in Tangerang was 3.71 ± 1.52, with 97.0% of the vendors in Tangerang having more than one person in the family. This shows that in addition to themselves, the majority of the vendors are responsible for at least one family member. Many vendors are not only providing an income for themselves but are also responsible for the survival of their extended families, such as their parents, relatives and cousins.

Table 3-8. Street food vendors' household members living in the house by study areas (in percentage)

Number of household members living in the house	Tangerang (%)	Hat Yai (%)
1	3.0	20.9
2	18.0	13.5
3	28.0	20.8
4	26.5	28.1
5	12.5	13.5
>6	12.0	3.1
Mean ± SD	3.71 ± 1.52*	3.08 ± 1.46*

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

**Significant at 5% using chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V across study locations*

The household demography of the women street food vendors also included the number of children within their families (Table 3-9). A little over 33% of vendors in Hat Yai did not have children; 39.6% vendors had up to two children, followed by 24% of vendors with three or four children and 3.1% of total vendors had five children or more. The data in Table 3-9 also indicates the number of children in Tangerang. Comparatively, more than half of the street vendors (54%) in Tangerang had at least one child or two children whilst only 8.5% of vendors did not have children. The data also shows that almost 91.5% of the vendors in Tangerang and 66.7% of the vendors in Hat Yai have at least one child. Women street food vendors in Tangerang, on average have 2.24 children compared to 1.56 in Hat Yai. The difference is significant at F= 15.358 and sig. 0.000 ($p<0.05$). This finding again conforms with demographic features exhibited on the national level.

Table 3-9. Street food vendors' number of children by study areas (in percentage)

Number of children	Tangerang	Hat Yai
0	8.5	33.3
1	20.5	17.7
2	33.5	21.9
3	21.5	16.7
4	11.5	7.3
>5	4.5	3.1
Mean ± SD	2.24 ± 1.35*	1.56 ± 1.44*

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

**Significant at 5% using chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V across study locations*

In both Tangerang and Hat Yai cities, at the 99% confidence level, the variable of religion has no significant relationship with number of children. From the bivariate analysis, as shown in the Table 3-10, the education levels of the vendors have a significant relationship with the number of children in their households. The relationship is a negative one because as educational level increases, the number of children decreases. Understandably, education would impede childbearing. In nearly every country (Mehrass et al., 2017; The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019), women with more education tend to have fewer children than less-educated mothers.

Table 3-10. Correlation between number of children and religion and education levels of the vendors in Hat Yai and Tangerang

Variables		Tangerang	Hat Yai
		Number of children	Number of children
Religion	Pearson Correlation	-0.051	-0.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.471	0.816
	N	200	96
Education levels	Pearson Correlation	-.238**	-.370**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.001	0.000
	N	200	96

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In terms of the family dynamics, out of the total 96 vendors in Hat Yai, 45.8% were living with their nuclear family whilst 11.5% respondents were living in a joint family, including their parents (Table 3-11). In Tangerang, 80.5% of the vendors surveyed were a part of the nuclear family and 4.5% were living with relatives rather than their immediate family members. Approximately 2.5% of the total vendors in Tangerang were living alone compared to a higher percentage of vendors (10.4%) in Hat Yai.

Table 3-11. Street food vendors live with whom by study areas (in percentage)

Live with whom	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Only children	3.0	6.3
Only husband	4.0	4.2
Husband and children	80.5	45.7
Husband, parents and children	3.5	11.4
Husband, children and relatives	4.5	6.3
Only friends	0.5	9.4
Alone	2.5	10.4
Spouse	1.5	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

3. Ethnicity

In terms of ethnic distribution of vendors, Table 3-12 shows that the majority of street food vendors in Tangerang are Javanese (56%), followed by Sundanese (23%) and Chinese (9.5 %).

Table 3-12. Ethnic Affiliation of Tangerang's street food vendors (n=200)

Ethnic Affiliation	Frequency	% (%)
Sundanese	46	23.0
Javanese	112	56.0
Bataknese	2	1.0
Padangnese	2	1.0
Chinese	19	9.5
Madurese	4	2.0
Betawinese	11	5.5
Others	4	2.0
Total	200	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Four-fifths of all the Muslims in Thailand are ethnic Malays, who live primarily in the area near the Northern part of Peninsular Malaysia (Southern Thailand). They comprise around five percent of the total population of Thailand (69.2 million in 2018 based on the latest United Nations estimates) and are the second largest minority group, after the Chinese. When the vendors were asked about their ethnicity and ethnic backgrounds, 79.2% of the total vendors answered their ethnicity as Siamese, followed by Malay (19.8%) (Table 3-13).

Table 3-13. Ethnic Affiliation of Hat Yai's street food vendors (n=96)

Ethnic Affiliation	Frequency	% (%)
Siam	76	79.2
Chinese	1	1.0
Malay	19	19.8
Total	96	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

4. Religious Affiliation

Religion in Thailand is varied. According to the National Statistical Office of Thailand (2015), approximately 94.5% of the population is Buddhist (nearly all of them Theravada Buddhist) and 4.29% is Muslim. There are small Christian, Confucian and Hindu populations. The majority of Thai Muslims live in the most southerly provinces near the Malaysian border. Even though the Muslim population in Thailand is relatively small, however, Thailand's southernmost provinces — Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Hat Yai (part of Songkhla) — have large populations of Muslims with an estimated 1.5 million people. The National Statistical Office of Thailand (2015) reported that Islam was the second largest religion in Southern Thailand, which made up 24.3% of the total population, aged 15 years or older, followed by Christianity (0.2%). Buddhism was still the majority religion in this region with around 75.4% of adherents. The religious affiliation of vendors in Table 3-14 obtained from field research shows relatively similar distribution of religion in Southern Thailand. Interestingly, the present study shows that there are more women Muslim vendors (35.4%) in Hat Yai than the average Muslim population.

Table 3-14. Religious affiliation distribution of street food vendors in the study locations (in percentage)

Religion	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Buddhism	4.5	63.5
Islam	89.5	35.4
Catholicism	1.5	0.0
Protestantism	4.0	1.0
Hinduism	0.5	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Most other Southeast Asian countries have Muslim minority populations, including the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Myanmar (Burma) but this is not the case with Indonesia. Islam is the dominant religion in Indonesia, with 87.2% of its inhabitants identifying themselves as Muslim (Statistics Indonesia, 2010). Like others regions in Indonesia, Islam is by far the most common religion in Tangerang city, accounting for almost 87.1% of population, followed by Protestantism (5.8%); Buddhism (4.1%); Catholicism (2.7%); Hinduism (0.21%) and Confucianism (0.06%) (BPS Kota Tangerang, 2019).

The communities of vendors in Tangerang can be categorised into mainly Islamic, Protestant and Buddhist communities. Though the majority of vendors are Muslim (89.5%), this is followed by Buddhists and Protestants at 4.5% and 4%, respectively. Only 1.5% and 0.5% of the street food vendors follow Catholicism and Hinduism. This illustrates that the data shown regarding the religious affiliations of the street food vendors in this study (Table 3-14) is nearly the same as their proportion in the Tangerang city.

5. Educational Level

Education is one of the most important factors in one's upbringing in society that shapes and affects their attitudes and understanding to any social setting. Consequently, responses in any survey are influenced by the educational status of the respondents. It is, therefore, imperative to know the educational background of the vendors. Street food vending does not require special educational skills to operate it and it is easy to enter for those who have low education levels, and as a result, a large number of people actively participating in street food vending have low education levels.

Table 3-15. The education level of street food vendors by study locations (in percentage)

Education Level	Tangerang	Hat Yai
No schooling	6.0	3.1
Primary school	26.0	16.7
Secondary school	35.0	17.7
Senior high school	29.0	34.4
Academy/university	4.0	28.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

The participants interviewed in Tangerang exhibited the lowest educational level as 32.0% of the vendors were reported with an elementary school education or less. On the contrary, approximately 20% of the Hat Yai vendors were educated to the primary school. Similar results were described in studies conducted on a global level (Donkor et al., 2009; Muzaffar et al., 2009; Choudhury et al., 2011; Alves da Silva et al., 2014).

The present study concluded that the women street food vendors in Tangerang were less educated compared to their female counterparts in Hat Yai (Table 3-15). This finding is supported by recent patterns and trends of gender in Indonesia, based on data collected in 2010 of UNFPA Indonesia (2015). The study also noted that education attainment levels in Indonesia were lower than in Thailand, further suggesting that regarding education, Indonesian females are generally lagging behind their Thai counterparts (see Introduction).

Statistically, there was a significant difference in education levels between Tangerang and Hat Yai by using Chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V tests (p<0.01) (Table 3-16). This difference is most likely due to the Thai Government launching policies to provide 12 years of free education in 1997 and 15 years of free education in 2009 (Kantachote, 2013). They also increased the number of women who entered school and reduced the number of women who dropped out the school, directly contributing to the increase in the level of education for women.

Table 3-16. Chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V tests between education level and study locations

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	42.654[a]	4	.000
Phi	.380	4	.000
Cramer's V	.380	4	.000
Contingency Coefficient	.355	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	296		

[a]1 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.86.

Many Tangerang vendors confirmed that they had not been educated because of financial problems in the family. Mbak Harifah, one of the vendors interviewed stated that after graduating from junior high school, she could not enrol for higher studies due to her family's financial problems.

> *"I'm sure my parents would've loved to help me out by paying for my education if they could have. Unfortunately, my parents didn't have money. I have two siblings that still study in the school and my parents should finance it. I fully understand the problem and I have to accept that I drop out of from the school."*

Another respondent, Mbak Wati, a street food snack vendor, said:

> *"I wanted to continue to a senior high school, but my parents wouldn't consider it. They said it was too expensive. They asked me to find a job to support my family. A lot of girls don't have a chance to go to school; boys are prioritized over those girls in my village. Many of my friends got to marry even most of them was so young as thirteen or fourteen years."*

The views expressed above support the reports in the empirical literature concerning the issue with the traditional Indonesian perspective on education in the past few decades, which does not place value on female education and ascribes to a woman that her place is in the kitchen and to a girl that she should stay at home to assist their parents, whereas boys are sent to school (Brydon and Chant, 1989).

Unlike Tangerang's vendors, most Hat Yai's vendors in this study, who were engaged in the informal sector activities, were reasonably educated. In line with the vendors' accounts and the results of this study, (Romanow, 2012) states that compared to some decades ago, Thai's women are now offered more educational opportunities than before, and it is becoming increasingly accepted for women to become a part of the workforce. This is causing many Thai women who were migrating from rural areas to urban areas to seek jobs.

Among the interviewees in Hat Yai, a few were highly educated (high school and above). One of the vendors mentioned that: *"Many who engage in street food selling are students who have completed their primary and secondary schooling. There were also some university graduates."*

Some were vending due to a lack of employment opportunities as alluded to by a few respondents in the in-depth interviews. One of the street food vendors in Hat Yai, Pee Vikanda Kuymsap explained that:

> *"I kicked out of my home to gather some funds and enroll in a university here in Hat Yai. In my village, it is not easy to find a job, even casual jobs, because ... not many economically engaging activities were taking place within my village."*

6. Summary

The majority of the vendors are concentrated between the ages of 20-50 years. Around half of the vendors of Tangerang (approximately 58 %) and Hat Yai (52.1 %) are aged between 31 and 50 years, with the proportion of vendors declining over the age of 50 years. A Pearson correlation examination showed that there was a statistically significant linear relationship between the age-groups and level of education.

With respect to marital status, the highest proportion of vendors of these above mentioned are married, suggesting that married people carry out this occupation to support their families. However, the proportion of vendors in Tangerang who were married at the time of the study was higher than the proportion of married vendors in Hat Yai. The differences in marital status across study locations is statistically significant ($p<0.01$). It can be explained by general demographic data confirming that people in Thailand are more likely to live as a single person than people in Indonesia.

In terms of household size, around 54.5% of the Tangerang vendors reside with three to four household members while 34.4% of the respondents in Hat Yai have one to two coresidents. The average number of children in Tangerang is 2.24 and in Hat Yai 1.56, respectively. The vast majority of vendors in Tangerang (80,5%) were living with their nuclear family and, in Hat Yai it is only 46%. These differences can be explained by a reference to general demographic data of the two countries, reflecting a more "modern" demographic structure in Thailand. However, there are some data in contradiction with this generalized view. So, in Hat Yai, 11.5% of the vendors were living in stem families (husband, parents and children) and 6.3 % in joint families composed of husband, children and relatives, both being mostly regarded as reflecting a more "traditional" lifestyle. In Tangerang it was only 3.5%, respectively 4,5%.

The religious affiliation of the vendors is important because some religions proscribe certain types of food or the way they are processed. Tangerang is a cosmopolitan city with diverse religions, but the vast majority of these population follows Islam, which also explains why most of the vendors are Muslim. In contrast to Tangerang city, the majority of vendors in Hat Yai profess the Buddhist faith and only 35.4% are Muslims because Thailand is known as one of the largest Buddhist-populated countries in the world.

Concerning the education level of vendors, the participants interviewed exhibited a low educational level, exclusively in Tangerang city, as almost 67.0% of the vendors reported having a secondary school education or less. On the contrary, out of the total vendors, 34.4% of Hat Yai's vendors had senior high school education level, of which 28.1% had attended college or university, which is in conformity with general data on education performance in the two countries.

CHAPTER IV

Causes and Consequences of Women Street Food Vendors Migration

Over the last decades or so, international migration has garnered considerable attention. More recently, internal migration, particularly in general and rural-urban migration was viewed favorably in the economic development literature. Several studies globally indicate that internal migration is a driver of growth and an important route out of poverty with significant positive impacts on people's livelihoods and well-being (Siddiqui, 2003; Hossain, 2001; Murrugarra et al., 2011; Sukamdi and Mujahid, 2015). In Asia, including Indonesia and Thailand, the focus is often on international migration, even though internal migration is far more significant in terms of the number of people involved, the amount of remittances they send back home and the potential of reduction in poverty due to internal migration.

Despite the increasing numbers of women on the move as internal migrants and their gendered implications, very few studies have focused on the process of the causes and consequences of migration of migrant women. A large proportion of the existing work on internal migrants focuses on issues such as migrant health and nutrition (Lu, 2008, 2010); migrant responses to the 1998 Asian financial crisis (Frankenberg et al., 1999; Hugo, 2000) or the legacies of transmigration (Bazzi et al., 2016). Therefore, the objective of this section is to examine the causes and consequences of internal migration from rural to urban areas in Tangerang and Hat Yai, particularly women street food vendors by looking the process and pattern of migration and future plans of migrants.

1. Pattern and Process of Migration

1.1. Origin of the Women Migrants

Vendors are usually either city inhabitants or migrants from a different part of the region. This study aimed to identify the origin i.e. the birthplace of female street food vendors. The majority of respondents in Tangerang were born in the rural areas of Java provinces, whilst the remaining 8% of vendors were born in urban areas i.e. Jakarta (Table 4-1). When analysing the provincial birthplaces of the vendors, who later migrated to Tangerang, 38.5% of the interviewed vendors were migrants from Central Java. This finding is consistent with the data published by Handiyatmo (2010), who stated that the largest number of people migrating to other provinces in Indonesia orginated from the Central Java province. After Central Java, 23.5% of vendors orginated from West Java province, while only 11.0% of vendors were from outside of Java island (Table 4-1). Figure 4-1 presents the various places of origin of Tangerang's street food vendors.

From an urban perspective, it is not surprising that Tangerang has become a popular destination for rural migrants who are often less skilled or less educated. Since Jakarta experienced a decline in the number of migrants caused by suburbanization and the slow economic growth due to the economic crisis in 1997, the periphery of Jakarta, however, has experienced a drastic increase in population. The population in the periphery Jakarta has tripled from 4,4 million in 1980 to 12,6 million in 2000 (Rukmana, 2007). The explosive growth of migrants from Jakarta and rural areas is a key driver of population growth on the periphery of Jakarta, including the municipality of Tangerang.

Table 4-1. The place of origin of Tangerang's street food vendors by province

Place of origin	Frequency	Percent (%)	Kilometers
Central Java	77	38.5	483
West Java	47	23.5	199
South Sumatera and Babel (Sumatera)	21	10.5	626
East Java	20	10.0	736
Jakarta	16	8.0	38
Banten	10	5.0	107
West Kalimantan	5	2.5	1,756
Yogyakarta	3	1.5	585
Others	1	.5	
Total	200	100.0	

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

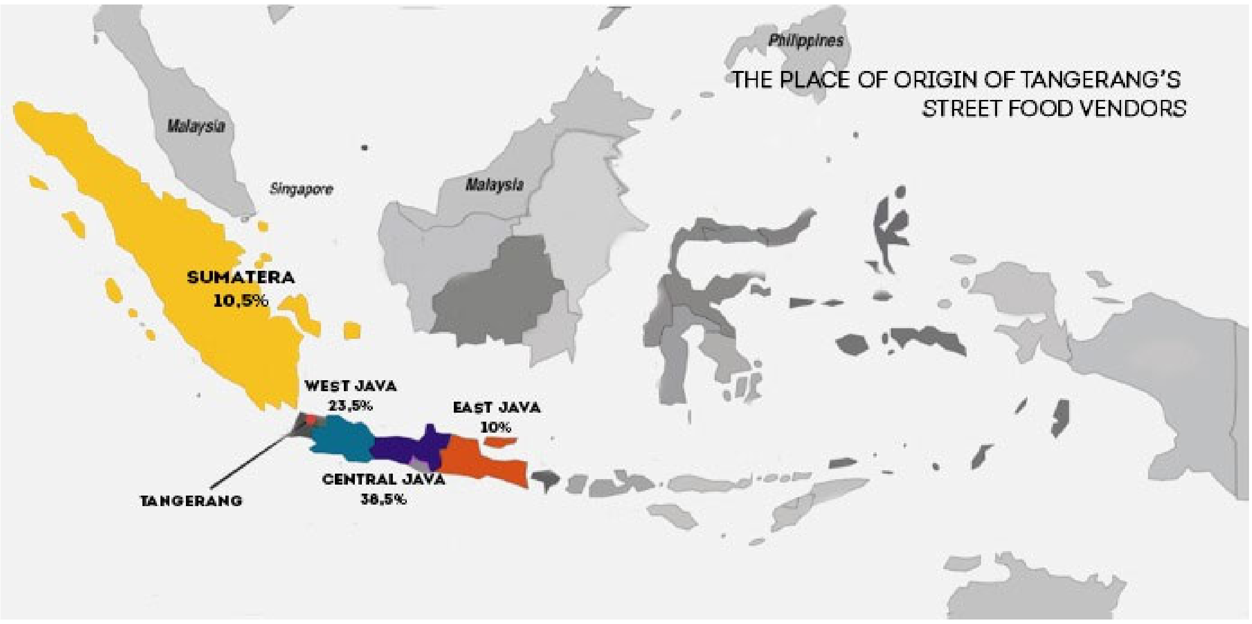

Figure 4-1: The place of origin of Tangerang's street food vendors
Source: Own compilation, 2018

In Tangerang, most women migrants came from certain rural communities in the island of Java (Table 4-1). Nearly 38.5% migrants from Central Java travelled a long-distance to migrate to the city of Tangerang. The distance from Central Java to Tangerang is 403 kilometers (250 miles). About 23.5% of female migrants from West Java traveled 153 kilometers (or 95 miles) to arrive in Tangerang. Nowadays, the movement of migrants to Indonesia has been dominated by long-distance migration. The improvement of transportation and communication have changed the length of movement for migrants and consequently, the average distance of migration can become longer than before.

The data collected in this study to ascertain the various places of origin of the street food vendors in Tangerang city (Table 4-1; Figure 4-1), support the literature discussed by Deshingkar (2006) and Sukamdi and Mujahid (2015). Deshingkar (2006) mentions that rural-urban migrants cover greater distances, often traveling to different states/regions than rural-rural movements are only mainly travelled short distances. Meanwhile, Sukamdi and Mujahid (2015) show that long-distance migration in Indonesia increased between the 1990s and 2000s, which was driven by faster inter-provincial transportation linkages. The research also indicates that the number of short-distance migrations declined in the same time period.

On the contrary, when analysing the migrants in Hat Yai city and their place of origin, short-distance migrants made up the majority of interviewed migrants (Table 4-2). Half of the female in-migrants to Hat Yai were reportedly born in the Songkhla province, while 11.5%, 5.2%, and 4.2% of female migrants orginated from Pattani, Patthalung and Satun, respectively. The four provinces, together with Yala and Narathiwat provinces are located in the southern region of Thailand (Figure 4-2).

The distance from Hat Yai to Songkla is only 30 kilometers and 62 kilometers (or 39 miles) to Satun. The distance from Patthalung province to Hat Yai, however, is approximately 82 kilometers. The distance to the destination city, Hat Yai and ease of transportation are the main pull factors for rising of rural-urban migrant in Hat Yai areas. These results are in line with the results from Jampaklay et al. (2017) who stated that in southern Thailand, the migration movements were relatively closer to their rural areas and were over a shorter distance.

Table 4-2. Place of origin of Hat Yai's street food vendors by province

Place of origin	Frequency	Percent (%)	Kilometers
Songkla	48	50.0	31
Pattani	11	11.5	116
Nakhon Si Thammarat	7	7.3	202
Patthalung	5	5.2	97
Narathiwat	4	4.2	202
Satun	4	4.2	101
Yala	2	2.1	133
Bangkok	2	2.1	944
Others	13	13.5	
Total	96	100.0	

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Figure 4-2: Place of origin of Hat Yai's street food vendors
Source: Own Compilation, 2018

1.2. Year of Migration

Migrants do not arrive at the same time to a certain place. Some of them will arrive earlier than others and some of them may have arrived recently. An attempt was made to examine when the migrants arrived in Tangerang and Hat Yai cities. The present survey data (Table 4-3) shows that only 4.0% of the vendors had moved to Tangerang less than one year ago. Most of the migrant vendors (33.5%) came to Tangerang before 1998. Similar with their counterpart in Tangerang, most of the migrants in Hat Yai had moved before 1998, while only 3.3% of vendors migrated less than a year ago (Table 4-3). The average duration of migration of vendors in Tangerang is 16.8 years with a standard deviation of 10.6 years compared with an average of 14.8 years and standard deviation of 10.9 years in Hat Yai. Moreover, it can be concluded that the average duration of migration of the majority of the vendors in both Tangerang and Hat Yai cities took place during the 2000s (Table 4-3).

Table 4-3. Duration of migration (in percentage)

Year of migration	Tangerang	Hat Yai
2018	4.0	3.3
2013 - 2017	9.0	24.2
2008 - 2012	23.5	15.4
2007 - 2003	13.0	15.4
2002 - 1998	17.0	14.3
Before 1998	33.5	27.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Mean ± SD	16.8 ± 10.6	14.8 ± 10.9

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

In migration, there are push and pull factors that cause migration movements from place of origin to a new place. Push factors being reasons why people would want to leave their home place and pull factors being reasons why people would want to come to a new place. The push and pull factors in migration can be driven by economic, environmental, social and political (safety factor) circumstances. In Tangerang, the large scale migration growth may be closely related to its, (i) economic potential following the city’s development as the center of the economic region for Banten province, and (ii) location which is straight-bordered with the

Indonesian capital, Jakarta. Gradually, the city of Tangerang significantly became a magnet for migrants in search of employment. The above argument is also strengthened by research from Pratomo (2017). Pratomo showed that Tangerang, which is a sub-urban of Jakarta, had more paid employment than other cities in Indonesia, especially for women. Pratomo noted that women migrants in Tangerang had a greater chance of being hired as paid employees than women in other cities. This is also related to the location of Tangerang which is close to Jakarta, the capital city of the country that offers more varied modern sector employment than other cities in Indonesia.

In Thailand, Jampaklay et al. (2017) found that poverty and lack of employment were significant determinants of migration from southernmost provinces of the country to other regions, including Hat Yai. The other important push factor that caused people to leave their place of origin and migrate to Hat Yai was their safety, especially for those who lived in provinces bordering with Malaysia such as Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat, which have suffered long-term instability and violence. Since 2004, the insurgency in the southern provinces of Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani, is currently ongoing, and as a result, many people living in those provinces have moved to other places, including Hat Yai. The issue of this violent insurgency in these provinces is known throughout the world which has been ongoing for more than 200 years. The conflict originates from the legend of Pattani guerillas fighting with the northern Muslim Malayans – namely those from Kedah, Kelantan, and Terengganu against the Thai (Siamese) government, since the early Rattanakosin era (Phuyuthanon and Kumjim, 2018). Abuza (2011) studied the insurgency in this region and found there were tens of thousands affected. More than 4,500 people have been killed and over 9,000 wounded in 2007 till 2008, making it the most lethal conflict in this region. Women became widows and had to struggle for life alone in fear. Thai Muslims in this region believe they are being threatened by the insurgency and it directly impacts their well-being.

Table 4-4. Chi-square tests of years of migration and religion, age, ethnic, place of origin, education and marital status of vendors in the study locations

Variables		The study location	
		Tangerang	Hat Yai
Ethnic Affiliation	Pearson chi-square	326.1	43.1
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.096	.968
	N	200	91
Age	Pearson chi-square	2375.2	1196.9
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.000**	.322
	N	200	91
Marital status	Pearson chi-square	167.7	110.7
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.493	.797
	N	200	91
Education	Pearson chi-square	199.0	157.9
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.051	.418
	N	200	91
Place of origin	Pearson chi-square	485.9	211.7
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.000**	.954
	N	200	91
Religion	Pearson chi-square	194.2	50.2
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.081	.858
	N	200	91

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

In Tangerang, chi-square tests examination on year of migration age and place of origin and age of the vendors indicate a statistically significant reverse between them ($p < 0.01$) as shown in Table 4-4. While in Hat Yai the demographic features of the vendors have no significant relationship with year of migration at the 99% confidence level.

When asked about the reasons behind their migration, interviewee *Pee* Umi Kasssuem, 32 years old, ethnically Malay, originating from Narathiwat, and engaged in selling chicken fried near the bus station said the following:

“I was born and raised in Narathiwat. As you know, the place that I live is dominated by the Islamic community.When I was in the school, around the 2000s, there were often acts of violence from outside. At that time I was young. Indeed, the violence was far away from my place, but it still made us worried. At age eighteen, after attending a private Islamic school, I decided to work in Malaysia. I had friends from my village who were working there already, and I wanted to make money and live in a big city like my friends. However, my parents did

not allow me to work in Malaysia. But I persuaded them and told them that I wanted a better life. Here (Narathiwat), it was hard to find a job. Lastly, I left my birthplace and came to Malaysia. I worked in Malaysia for about four years, and after that, I decided to go home and work in Hat Yai. It's better to be home."

1.3. Decision Makers in Migration

People migrate based on prevailing conditions and the reasons vary from one person to another depending on the situation that brings the decision. Migration is a selective process that affects individuals or families with certain economic, social, educational and demographic characteristics. The choice to migrate is generally made by the individual and household or family members (Lall et al., 2006; De Haas et al., 2010). Individuals can make rational decisions to leave their place of birth in the hope of better living and work opportunities than achieving their goals. This is always a risky decision for migrants and one that is full of uncertainty, which is made based on information and knowledge of their destination city, and moulded by their perception. The decision to migrate by the individual or encouraged by the family (mostly by parents) is primarily motivated by the need to ensure the survival of rural households.

The results from the survey reveal that more than half of women migrants (53.8%) in Hat Yai migrated of own volition (Table 4-5). This may be due to two underlying reasons. The short distances to their destination enabled young women to decide on their own, and – additionally – 21.0% of them were singles when they stared their migration. On the contrary, 48.5% of women vendors of Tangerang were influenced by their husbands (Table 4-5).

Table 4-5. Key figures involved in the decision to migrate (in percentage)

Key figures involved in the decision to migrate	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Self-desire	26.0	53.8
Relatives	14.5	12.1
Parents	7.0	6.6
Friends	4.0	4.4
Husband	48.5	19.8
Spouse	0.0	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Though the survey in Hat Yai indicated that the vendors decided they wanted to migrate by themselves, their decision to do so was not totally independent. Most of them made the decision to migrate on their own with the consent of their parents. In some cases, parents even encouraged their children to migrate and sometimes even helped fund the transportation cost of migrants. The decision to migrate that is made or encouraged by the family mainly occurs when migration from the village is primarily motivated by the need to ensure the survival of rural households (Jampaklay et al., 2017). The following views expressed by vendors in biographical interviews imply a similar reasoning that although the decision making was left to them, their parents still played a role in the final decision.

One vendor in Hat Yai, Pee Vikanda said:

> *"When I finished my education [senior high school], I decided to leave my hometown. My parents supported my decision, even they said, look at your age mates, how they are now going to the city, you should also go and look for money. This encourages me to migrate to the cities."*

Another woman migrant in Hat Yai, Pee Warapong stated:

> *"Before I moved to Hat Yai, I had the job in Malaysia. After several years, I finally decided to return back and settled in Hat Yai. My mother strongly supported my decision, even she offered me to help her street food business."*

Among married women vendors, their husband was dominant in their decision to migrate. If the husband disapproved of the migration, their wives did not or were less likely to migrate. This situation is common for migrants who come from Muslim communities in southern Thailand, especially from Yala, Pattani, Satun and Narathiwat since under the Islamic family law, wives must obey what is conveyed by husband (Neelapaijit, 2009; Samah et al., 2017).

From the Tangerang vendors only 26.0% left their place of origin of their own volition. Some women decided to move on their own to Tangerang because they were involved in occupations and got a job offer from their relatives which led them to migrate to Tangerang. The decision to move to Tangerang was often motivated by the desire of their family. However, nearly half of the women vendors said, their decision was mostly made by their husbands. These results are in line with the research conducted by Pew Research Center For Religion and Public Life (2013) and Thorsen (2017). Thorsen found that in Indonesia, migration of married women was contingent upon their husbands' approval. The social and cultural norms emphasise male entitlement to make decisions about women's migration when they have officially become husband and wife. Therefore, the above results are not surprising because the majority of respondents in Tangerang are married Muslim women and in Islam, men and women have different roles that are defined by religious teachings. An interviewee, Ibu Wartiyem, 49 years old, a mother with two children from Wonogiri, Central Java described the following experience which illustrates the role of men in women's migration.

"I moved to Tangerang twenty-six years ago. My husband moved to Tangerang, so I had to follow his movement. Before migrating to Tangerang, our family lived in Jakarta."

Another female vendor, Ibu Wati, 31-year-old explained:

"In 2001, my friend in the village returned back to celebrate Eid al-Fitr and we met each other. My friend spontaneously invited me to move to Jakarta and offered a nanny job like her doing. Then I talked with my parents and they gave their permission. I decided to go to Jakarta with my friend. I was only 15 years old then. I got married in 2008 when I was 22 years old. My husband comes from the same village as me. I moved to Tangerang city with my husband after we married. We moved to Tangerang because my husband's older brother invited us to come and live in the city. So, we migrated to Tangerang."

The interview additonally shows the importance of factors such as the presence of relatives and friends (see below) in the target area.

However, the role of husbands in the decision-making process was not despotic, at least not always. Qualitative interviews show, that women vendors may enjoy a greater degree of autonomy and independence especially when they seek employment outside the home. One woman vendor, Ibu Harifah, 40 years old, the owner of the food stall Soto Lamongan expressed that the couple took a joint decision ("I and my husband"):

> *"After graduated from junior high school, I worked in my hometown. I was 15 years old at that time. I had been working in that job for five years. Marrying in 1997, I resigned from my job. I married a man who comes from the same village as me. After seven months of my daughter was born, I and my husband decided to migrate to Jakarta. I and my husband made the choice of coming to Jakarta for our children's future as well as the desire to improve our family welfare. We migrated in early 1999. Our first destination was Jakarta. After 15 years running the business in Jakarta, in 2014, I moved to Tangerang."*

From the statistical data, it is impossible to reveal, in how many cases women took the initiative and husbands were persuaded or convinced to give their approval: So, Ibu Rusmini, 59-year-old from Madiun, East Java expresses her experience of migration as the following:

> *"Before deciding to migrate, I lived in my hometown Madiun with my husband. In 1982, I requested permission to my husband to migrated to Jakarta. In the beginning, my husband did not give permission, but finally, he approved. After two months, my husband followed me to Jakarta. In Jakarta, I worked as a housemaid, while my husband worked as a construction worker. After two years living in Jakarta, in 1984 we decided to move to Tangerang."*

1.4. The Main Source of Information

In order to make the final decision to move to any area, migrants often knew of the place in advance through many sources of information. Sources of information play a significant role in the process of migration to any place. When people have migrated from a given origin to a specific destination, a greater amount of information will flow between the two places. There are various sources of information available for potential migrants to take their migration decision. Improvement in technology and communication has facilitated the flow of information. Visits return, mass media, internet access, and telephone calls are served to inform the members of the home community about the opportunities in the new community or region. This flow of communication may be one of the important roles that the family plays on the migration process.

It is observed that the availability of information concerning alternative localities plays a prominent role in the potential migrant's decision regarding a destination. Those who are more likely to move to places about which they have at least some information, rather than to localities about which they know little or nothing. Kuadamah (2017) point out that friends and relatives who have previously migrated in Accra, Nigeria from one place to another may provide persons in their former locality with an important source of information about their present localities. Zeleke (2011) found that more than three-quarter of migrants had obtained information about the destination (Addis Ababa) prior to their migration. The sources of information were friends, relatives, family members, school, their previous knowledge and some other informal sources. This information and personal networks such as friendship and kindship, may turn in increase the propensity of persons to move to the right destination.

Table 4-6. The main source of information to migrate (in percentage)

Source of information to migrate	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 91[1]
Friends and Relatives	46.4	55.6
Mass Media	3.3	6.9
Previous Visit	18.6	12.5
Family Members	30.1	25.0
Others	1.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Table 4-6 above shows that a greater percentage of the women street food vendor migrants both in Tangerang (46.4%) and Hat Yai (55.6%) had information of the conditions of the destination through friends and relatives and this observation is consistent with the literature

[1] The actual sample in Hat Yai was 91 respondents, 5 respondents did not answer this question.

as stated above. Another proportion of vendors in Tangerang (30.1%) and 25.0% of vendors in Hat Yai claimed family members were a source of information for them. Very few vendors (3.3%) in Tangerang and 6.9% of the vendors in Hat Yai had heard information from mass media because many of them were of rural origin and had been less sensitive to mass media.

1.5. Occupations of Women Street Food Vendors before Migrating

The Occupational status of women street food vendors before migrating to a new destination is one of the significant factors influencing the migrant decision making, which plays a role for the vendor to migrate from their place of origin to the destination. The pre-migration occupation of vendors provides a better understanding of the factors that may serve as motivation for migration (Babi et al., 2017). Prior to migration, some of the migrants were primarily self-employed as farmers, artisans or in various capacities in the rural informal sector. Others were either students or unemployed (Potts, 2004).

As shown in Table 4-7, about a third (33.5%) of the women migrants in Tangerang were previously housewives, while 22.5% of the vendors were unemployed. Many of the respondents who were housewives said that they did not have a job when they were in their place of origin. The study also illustrated that 27.0% and 17.0% of the vendors were working as a wage labourers and vendors, respectively. The majority of vendors were employed as day labourers in farming. On the contrary in Hat Yai, the data presented in Table 4-7 reveal that a greater percentage of vendors (31.9%) were unemployed before migrating whereas 26.4% and 25.3% were working as vendors or daily wage earners, respectively and the remaining vendors were housewives (11.0%).

Table 4-7. Occupations before migration (in percentage)

Occupations before migration	Tangerang n = 200`	Hat Yai n = 91[2]
Vendor	17.0	26.4
Wage Labor	27.0	25.3
Housewife	33.5	11.0

[2] 5 respondents in Hat Yai did not answer the question in Table 4-7.

Unemployed	22.5	31.9
Student	0.0	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Female migrants, however, were described predominantly as unemployed, even though they were also involved in the various limited occupations available in the villages. Many of the women migrants who declared themselves as unemployed prior to migration were also engaged in farming. Although they were involved in farming, they felt that the work was inadequate to be considered as an employment. They worked in farming only for a few days a month. Income limitations, poverty and lack of employment prospects in the farming sector are the cause of migration from women to urban centers. However, the migration of female labourers has an implication on the agricultural production because the youthful labour force crucial to the agricultural industry and cultivation of land, migrate to the urban centre. As a result, agricultural production in rural areas can be hampered and adversely affected because of the dominance of an older labour workforce by in rural areas.

2. Causes of Migration

It is a commonplace that migration processes are motivated by economic and non-economic factors. To come to a closer determination, this study grouped the motives into two main categories - economic and socio-cultural factors. Furthermore, economic and non-economic causes of migration can be differentiated into push and pull factors (World Development Report, 2009). Push factors are those that compel a person, due to different reasons, to leave the place of origin and to go to some other place. For example, people of a certain area may be pushed away by poverty to move towards towns for employment. On the other hand, pull factors indicate the factors which attract migrant to an area such as better employment or education opportunities. In this study, according to the responses, the pull factors seem to have had a greater influence on the decision to migrate than the push factors. However, especially concerning the economic factors, a servile adherence to a differentiation between the two sets of factors does not always make substantial sense. In fact most of the responses express that these are two sides of the same coin.

2.1. Push Factors

In terms of push factors, economic factors were the preeminent factors forcing the women migrants of Tangerang (19.0%) and Hat Yai (19.9%) to leave their places of origin, while socio-cultural motives were almost absent.

Table 4-8. Most influential push factors (in percentage)[a]

Conditions	Push factors	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Economic factors	Poverty and unemployment	15.5	13.9
	Insufficient farming income	3.1	5.0
Socio-cultural factors	Lack of education facilities	0.4	1.0
Total		19.0	19.9

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation
[a]This is a multiple response question

The interviewees deplored, that labour demand in rural area was confined to the agricultural sector. In her interview a respondent in Tangerang, Ibu Ria from Pemalang, Central Java summed up the situation regarding rural jobs as follows:

> "*…the only thing we do in our place is farming. There is nothing more. Here, one can engage in different kind of jobs that will pay better than farming in the village. It is much better to migrate than staying in my village*."

More specifically, a certain decline of agricultural activities has been noticed. A woman migrant in Tangerang, Ibu Yati from Wonogiri, Central Java reflected that in her opinion, "*the main reason why many of the youth in rural areas migrate to urban centre is as a result of declining agricultural activities. The problem is that agriculture is the only thing we do in our village, but now, there is nothing. You can cultivate for a whole season and not be able to reap enough to feed your family and be able to sell*".

2.2. Pull Factors

The data in Table 4-9 represents the share of various pull factors for migration in the women migrants from rural to urban areas.

Table 4-9. Most influential pull factors (in percentage)[a]

Conditions	Pull factors	Tangerang n=200	Hat Yai n=91[3]
Economic factors	Better prospects	36.1	50.4
	To create job and migration opportunities for additional family members	17.4	12.9
Socio-cultural factors	Married and followed husband	27.5	15.8
	Better education	-	1.0
Total		81.0	80.1

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; [a]These are multiple response questions

It reveals, that the dominant pull factor for migration to Tangerang (36.1%) and Hat Yai (50.4%) cities is prospects for better employment. The decision to leave the parents' homes and moving to another area was based on the expectation to have better access to employment opportunities, which is completely in line with previous studies on South East Asian countries (Wadji et al., 2017; UNESCO, 2018). Among the non-economic factors better education prospects do not play a role. One pull factor in the literal sense of the word is preeminent: Women feel obliged to follow their husbands' decision to migrate (Table 4-5; see above).

[3] The actual sample in Hat Yai was smaller than the total 96 respondents because 5 respondents did not answer the question.

3. Belonging to the Community of People from the Previous Place of Residence

Sample vendors were interviewed about their participation in any formal or informal community from their previous place of origin, for example micro-credit associations, women associations and different formal associations. Only a small proportion (17.0%) of vendors in Tangerang had participated in such a community while around 83% of the vendors were not involved in any community associations with connections to their place of origin (Table 4-10). The percentage of vendors in Hat Yai who were involved in such a community (4.4%) is even lower than in Tangerang.

However, even though they did not participate in a community of their place of origin, many of them are currently involved in several local communities, such as prayer groups and saving groups (arisan). This indicates that migrant women are more interested in local communities and want to spend time with other people from the same areas of residence such as their neighbors, leading to greater local participation and likely increasing their ties to the area. One respondent, Ibu Murni 55-year-old from Yogyakarta expressed this view:

> *"Belonging to the community from my hometown here is not necessary to me. It is just a waste of time. I don't have time to attend meetings. Nobody is helping me from my hometown. When I have a problem, my neighbor helped me. I have to be close to them. They are my family now. Once a month I attend the prayer group which held in my neighborhood."*

Apart from formal associations, there are different community based informal associations in Tangerang aiming to help members in time of death or other sudden socio-economic crises that women migrants may experience. These associations are known as Banyumas family community and Paguyuban Wonogiri which serve the local members as coping strategies for problems related to financial shortage. Some sample respondents further mentioned that their participation in such associations helped them to access support when they experienced sudden natural life events like death of a family member. In this case the community helps strengthen their social networks and even enable them to improve their money saving habits.

Table 4-10. Belonging to community from the previous place of (in percentage)

Belonging to community from the previous place of origin	Tangerang n = 200`	Hat Yai n = 91[4]
Yes	17.0	4.4
No	83.0	95.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

4. Future Plans of Women Migrants

The women street food vendors were also interviewed about future aspirations, plans and place of preference. Most of the interviewed vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai would not return to their rural areas of origin or move to another urban centre. According to the survey data presented in Table 4-11, very rarely do female street food vendor migrants, particularly in Tangerang (14.5%), intend to return to their place of origin or other urban centers. A greater proportion of vendors in Hat Yai city (26.5%), however, were willing to migrate to their native towns or to other cities. Despite the severity of urban congestion, difficult life and unsatisfactory living conditions in the capital, more than three-quarters of the surveyed female street food vendor migrants in Tangerang and Hat Yai reported that they had no plans to leave their cities (Table 4-11). Many of the interviewed female street food vendor migrants said that living and working conditions in the city is generally better for migrants than in rural areas. The following excerpt from a conversation with Ibu Cawi, 49 years old, from Subang, West Java who opens the kiosk near the main road street in Tangerang illustrates this point:

"At this time, I have no desire to return back to my village. All my family lives here, both my husband, children, and grandchildren. Here, I have my own business. I can't leave the business. If I go back to the village, what can I do? Nothing... I am here having the income to help my family."

[4]The actual sample in Hat Yai was 91 respondents because 5 respondents did not answer this question.

Table 4-11. Future plans of women street food vendor migrants (in percentage)

Do vendors plan to migrate to another place?	Tangerang n = 200`	Hat Yai n = 91[5]
Yes	14.5	26.4
No	85.5	73.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

An interviewee in Hat Yai, Pee Warapong from Songkla regard uttered the same experience:

"I have no discourse to move to other cities or my place of origin. I enjoy my life in Hat Yai with my son. ... My income in Hat Yai is more than enough for our family. I have my own business here...."

Hence, from the results of the survey, it can be understood that even if the surveyed vendor populations are from rural origin, most of them show no interest to return to their rural birthplaces. This may be explained by their prospering income situation (see Chapter VII) and by the fact, that they have adopted an urban lifestyle and are increasingly benefiting from different social services (see Chapter V). According to the interviews, one major factor seems to be the pride, they feel as independent business persons. Therefore it has become difficult for them to return to rural areas. The smaller group that had plans to leave the cities, belongs to the less successful part of the vendors. Many of them reported that rising costs of living, the absence of regular jobs and the poor living conditions were the important factors driving their desire to leave the cities.

5. Summary

Rural-to-urban movements from poor areas to rich areas have been the dominant form of migration and this is exemplified by the sharp increase in rural-to-urban migration to Tangerang and Hat Yai cities in recent years. In terms duration of the migration, a high proportion of the migrant street food traders have settled in Tangerang city and Hat Yai city

[5] The actual sample in Hat Yai was 91 respondents because 5 respondents did not answer this question.

for many years. The majority of the vendors settled before the year 2013. Only 13.0% and 27.5% of the total respondents in Tangerang and Hat Yai, respectively arrived after 2013. When the women migrant street traders were interviewed about their region of origin, it was found that most of the vendors in Tangerang migrated from Java island. In Hat Yai, most of the female migrant vendors come from nearby regions, including Songkhla, while fewer women migrant vendors were attrected from more distant regions.

The study also indicates that more than half of the women migrants in Hat Yai migrated by themselves, whereas in Tangergang, almost half of the total respondents were more likely to be influenced by their husband in making the decision to migrate to Tangerang city. The findings also indicate that the network of contacts, such as the flow of information from earlier migrants about the availability of job opportunities at the destination is seen as a highly significant motivator for the vendors to migrate. The majority of the vendors obtained information about the destination conditions through their friends, and relatives as well as family members, giving the vendors confidence to make the decision to migrate.

The present study has revealed that poverty, job searching, insufficient farming income and lack of education facilities were the main push factors for outmigration, while at the place of destination, the availability of employment, better opportunities, being married and search for better education were the main pull factors behind migration. At the place of destination, the availability of employment was the main pull factor. This study also confirms that most of the respondents mentioned “pull”- factors rather then “push”-factors, but both underscore the significance of economic reasons.

CHAPTER V

Labour: Working conditions and Pre-Conditions

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents the pre-history of street food business activities. It will review the situation before the vendors started their business. More detailed, it will deal with several fundamental questions concerning the setup of their business: Who gave the future vendors business advice, information and moral support when they started the business? Did the vendors have had any employment before starting the current business, and did the vendors have business experience before operating the food business? The second section discusses the main issues of working conditions of street food vendors, including the average working hours and conditions, labour arrangements and wages they pay to their employees, if they have any. Finally, section three details the degree of social protection, particularly the access to health insurance systems in both countries.

1. Employment Biographies

1.1. Duration of Food Vending Experience

To understand the biographical history of the vendors' experience, it was important to measure the number of years vendors of Tangerang and Hat Yai have spent on operating a food vending enterprise. Data revealing the time span of food vending experience was collated from the respondents' interviews. Table 5-1 shows that most street food vendors were found to be operating their business between 2012 and 2017. This is similar for both Tangerang (42.0%) and Hat Yai (42.7%). Approximately, 23.5% of the street food vendors in Tangerang and 21.9% in Hat Yai have been operating their businesses since 2000 and 2005. However, only 8.0% and 5.2% of the total vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai, respectively, reported being in existence before 1994. The average duration of the business experience is similar in both Tangerang (9.57 years) and Hat Yai (9.23 years). This is supported by no significant association between study location and year of starting the vending business (Table 5-1).

Table 5-1. History of food vending experience of vendors (in percentage)

Year of starting the business	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
2018	6.0	6.3
2012 – 2017	42.0	42.7
2006 - 2011	23.5	21.9
2000 - 2005	11.0	11.5
1994 - 1999	9.5	12.5
< 1994	8.0	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Mean ± SD	9.57 ± 8.98[a]	9.23 ± 8.19[a]

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; [a]There was no significant association between study location and when the vendors started their business using Anova ($p<0.05$); sig. 0.757

This suggests that the sector is not merely a temporary source of income but can be seen as a long-term employment option. However, initially many vendors shifted to street food vending after trying other forms of employment. Some vendors received training from their family members already established in the trade, while some chose food vending after losing employment in the formal sector. One of the interviewees, Ibu Lina, 51 years old, from Solo, Central Java shared her experience of starting her food vending business as follows:

"When I migrated from my hometown, I worked as a maid in Jakarta for 4 years. In 1986, I moved to Tangerang with my husband after we got married. I started running my business in early 1995. I had begun the business by selling coconut ice and in mid-1999, I opened the food stall. My family livelihood changed drastically since I started the business. I don't worry again about our finances. Previously, I often overwhelmed to manage money from my husband. The wages of my husband didn't enough to cover our living costs. From the business, I could finance our children, although only up to senior high school. I can also acquire the house with the various equipment, include television, refrigerator, furniture and so on".

The study participant in Hat Yai, Pee Umi Kassuem, 40 years old revealed that:

"When I migrated to Hat Yai from Malaysia, I did jobs here and there. After a few years, I left due to very low salary to fulfill my needs and my family. Then I used to sell Thai Deep-Fried Chicken. Selling food in the street is better, you are independent, and you earn more".

1.2. Employment Biographies before Starting the Current Business – in the Host Area

As seen in Table 5-2, 43.0% (86 of 200) and 44.8 % (43 of 96) of the street vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai, respectively reported that they never participated in any type of occupation (including the informal sector) in the host area before they started street food vending. This may indicate that a main motivation to migrate was the decision to open a street food business in the destination area, albeit it is not clear for how many of this group. As noted in Chapter III, some of the vendors reported, they did not have the chance to obtain a regular job in the formal sector, partially due to age reasons.

On the other side, the survey shows that just over half of the street vendors in Tangerang (57.0%) and Hat Yai (55.2%) had been employed before moving into the street food vending field.

Table 5-2. Have vendors had previous job in the host area (in percentage)

Previous jobs	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
Yes	57.0	55.2
No	43.0	44.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

In many cases, as reported by Ibu Lina, mentioned before, when young single women are migrating into urban areas, before becoming a vendor they would find a job as a domestic worker. One of the migrant women interviewed, Ibu Wati from Kebumen, Central Java represents this observation.

"It has been nearly 16 years since 15-year-old I migrated from my hometown in Kebumen, Central Java to Jakarta. I, jobless, migrated from my village to eke out a living for my family, hoping that the new place would offer better prospects. In 2001, my friend in the village returned back to celebrate Eid al-Fitr and we met each other. My friend spontaneously invited me to move to Jakarta and offered a nanny job like her doing. Then I talked with my parents and they gave their permission. I decided to go to Jakarta with my friend. I was only 15 years old then. In my the first job, I workeMd with people who told me to take care of the children as a nanny."

Such biographies with a housemaid phase are to be found in Yat Hai more often than in Tangerang (Table 5-3) because the celibacy rate in the sample is much lower in Tangerang (see Chapter III). The majority of these vendors said Malaysia was the main destination for them when they worked as a domestic helper and they must return to their origin countries after the completion of their employment contracts. Many of them came from the southern provinces of Thailand because people in the southern border provinces are often closely to Malaysians through language as well as their religion. In Tangerang, by constrast, over one quarter of the vendors were previously engaged in jobs like coconut ice street vendor, mbok jamu (traditional herbal medicine) gendong sellars, and itinerant cake seller, representing types of business, that allowed an easy switching to the street food business.

However, among the persons with a previous job the majority of the future vendors had been permanently employed, some even in the formal sector (Table 5-3).

Table 5-3. The main jobs of vendors in the new area before engaged street food business (in percentage)

Types of jobs	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Permanent employment	59.6	62.3
Paid government employment	3.5	0.0
Housemaid	4.4	17.0
Student	1.8	17.0
Own business	25.4	3.2
Others	5.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Many of vendors reported, that they started street vending because that business allowed them the flexibility to earn money as well as continue to do other household chores. A street food vendor, Ibu Yati, 46 years old, selling *nasi uduk* in M.H. Thamrin street, Tangerang, a former factory employee, revealed:

"I have been to Tangerang for more than 20 years. I arrived in the city in 1990 and worked in a manufacturing factory for 8 years from 1991 to 1998. At that time, I was 19 years old. I liked working in the factory and was satisfied with my salaries. Until the day, I met my husband, then we decided to get married and have children. After I had a child, I took the

decision to drop out of the factory and concentrate on taking care of my baby. After 5 year, I started a business. I first rented a food stall on the street to sell fried snacks. My business was progressing because the location that I occupied was very strategic. Along with the development of the business, then I decided to rent a kiosk for selling various menu dishes."

A female street vendor in Hat Yai, Pee Warapong, a 42-year-old, who opened a kiosk on the main road near the Prince of Songkla University shared a similar experience:

"I did my bachelor in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia about 15 years ago. After graduating from university, I got a job in Malaysia. While working in Malaysia, I met my future husband. Having acquainted with him about two years, we decided to get married. Two years later, we had a son. After my son was five years old, I entrusted him to my mother in Hat Yai. It's hard to part with my son. Even though I got a pretty good salary, however I lost my time with him. Finally, I decided to return back to Hat Yai and take care of my son by myself. After one year, my mother asked me to manage her kiosk. Since then, I began to go practice the street food business."

A recent global ICEDR (2018) study revealed similar results where leaders believe that the majority of women around the age of 30 leave their jobs because they struggle to balance work and life, especially when planning to have children.

Surprisingly, according to some of the women, the primary factor influencing their decision to leave their employment was different, it was pay. An interviewee in Tangerang, Mbak Widi, 32 years old reported:

"Before I went into this business, I used to work in a factory which is located in Bekasi. I started working in 2008. My first experienced to work was at Yamaha music factory. After one year, I left Yamaha music because my contract was not renewed. Then, I moved to the Sanyo factory for one year too. In 2010, I was accepted to work at the Mattel manufacturing. I worked there until November 2014. In all factories, the salaries followed the regional minimum wage. For a single person, the income is enough, but if you have a family, the salary that you earn will not be enough to fulfill your family life. It's too little. In early 2014, I married my future husband. After marriage, he suggested me to stop working at Mattel because we planned to have children soon. We waited for three years however we have not been blessed with children. I don't know why Allah doesn't give us children, but I believe that it's always for our own good. I then discussed with my husband to allow me to open a food stall. He agreed. Since then I started the street food vending in 2017."

One vendor who was highly successful after quitting her formal sector job, Pee Supranee Insuwanna, a 39-year-old reported:

> *"After I finished from senior high school, I had the job in the private company near Hat Yai. I was feeling bored when I worked at the company. So, I decided to quit my formal job a few years ago. I earn much more from my business. One day selling on the street is equivalent to fortnightly pay that I was getting in that formal sector job."*

1.3. Business Experience before Operating Food Vending

It was important to collect information related to the experience of women food vendors in operating their businesses to understand why some operators were more successful than others. Vendors were asked about their experiences in managing and operating a business. Most of the women food vendors both in Tangerang (62.0%) and Hat Yai (66.7%) said that they did not have any previous experience of working in business before food vending and that running their food vending stall was their first business (Table 5-4). On the other hand, 38.0% vendors in Tangerang and 33.3% vendors in Hat Yai shared that they had some previous business experience. The business experience in the food sectors had been gained by the vendors when they worked as a worker in other places, such as in the store, a food kiosk or food booth, cafeteria, and restaurant. One respondent, Ibu Susi from Yogyakarta explained:

> *Before I am running this business, I was a restaurant worker. When I worked in the restaurant, I learned how to make murtabak like what I sell now.*

When asked for further information, most vendors stated that the nature of their previous business was different to the business they are currently managing. One of the migrant women interviewed, Ibu Wartiyem from Wonogiri, Yogyakarta represents this observation. She said that before running this business, she had experienced running a business by selling herbal medicine (*jamu*) since she was 12 years old.

Table 5-4. Previous business experience of vendors (in percentage)

Do you have previous business experience before?	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
Yes	38.0	33.3
No	62.0	66.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

The majority of vendors interviewed did not receive a formal education or training in finance and business management including vendors in Hat Yai. Although the results of the study showed that in Hat Yai 17.0% of vendors were students before starting the steet food business, the majority expressed they had never received any training in finance and business while they were in the school or university. The knowledge of operating a business was aquired from their work experiences including learning skills from close relatives. These vendors do not have access to a formal training programme to learn about their businesses. For them, the theoretical knowledge of business is far removed from reality, whereas the real-life experiences are valuable sources of practical know-how. A Thai vendor interviewee, the former student *Pee* Warapong, selling Thai dishes in a kiosk, extolled her experience of learning from experiences instead of theory:

"When I started a business, I learned many things that I didn't know before. The theory in university is different from the experience in the field. By plunging directly into the business, I found many new things that I never knew before. My mother is the greatest mentor who teaches many things about this business. I have learned a lot from her."

Most of the time, vendors learned through trial and error. Most respondents in the biographical interviews felt that the street food trade was easy to do, provided the vendors can work and have a little working capital. They were convinced, that, over time, traders would acquire skills and knowledge to understand their current business and therefore, would be able to perform increasingly better in their current street food vending activity. The study found that human assets changed very little over the year, especially the skills and knowledge aspects of this business. During the in-depth interviews, traders in Tangerang stated that they had never received training or skills from either the local government or other non-profit institutions since they started their business. While in Hat Yai, only two traders said that they had received training related to the business they are currently engaged in. One of the vendors in Hat Yai, *Pee* Warapong who had joined in the training stated:

> *"I have participated in food hygiene practice for street food vendors which were organized by the local government two years ago. I got the certificate that I had attended the training. After training, my kiosk received certification from the Hat Yai Health Agency.Within a year two or three times, they will come and check the safety and hygiene of the food that I sell."*

However, in the interviews, according to this issue, serious contradictions emerged. Many vendors demonstrated that they would want training to be provided by local governments in making their business more successful and profitable. Indeed, they require basic training covering finance and accounting methods, business marketing, knowledge of how to handle and outsmart the competition and negotiation skills with customers and suppliers and before all in the sector of food hygiene (see Chapter VII), as apparently launched in Hat Yai. It is important for local authorities to provide a focussed training, encompassing the various aspects of the street food business to street vendors which would enable them to grow, expand and run their businesses to its full potential.

Many street food traders not only lack the skills and knowledge to do business but also do not have formally acquired cooking skills. The results of the interviews show that many street food vendors in both countries acquired cooking skills by observing family members, friends, relatives and from experience. In Indonesia and Thailand, cooking and household chores are defined as the roles of women. Women in both countries learn to cook to prepare food for other members at home (Gengaiah et al., 2018). Family members are, therefore, more encouraging and motivating women to start their own business with this skill in the food sector. A woman street food vendor in Tangerang, Ibu Murni, selling rice cooked in coconut milk, commented:

> *"I started the street food business six years ago. At that time, I was a housewife. When I opened the business, I did not have business experience and cooking skills. In my mind was how can I help to make my family financially secure. I was motivated by my friend who already had a street food business. With a friend's help, I decided to open up this business*

from nothing. I learned from friends how to open and manage a business. My husband also fully supported my decision to open the street food business. My step began to feel really heavy after a few weeks opening this business. I didn't have many customers. It took several months to say that the business was on the track".

1.4. Start Support

In line with the findings of this study, Tissington (2009) stressed in his research in Johannesburg, that 9 of 10 street traders did not receive any formal business training. Another study conducted by Bromley and Mackie (2009) found that a large proportion of females operating in the informal sector in Latin American city centre have little or no schooling. However, it was not just trial and error that taught them how to conduct their business. Like Pee Warapong and Ibu Murni, mentioned before, the majority of respondents in Tangerang (81.0%) and Hat Yai (80.2%) indicated that they received support for obtaining their current business from other family members, friends or relatives (Table 5-5). This is in line with the studies of Tissington and Bromley, who found out, that many of the food vendors received assistance from family members, such as their mothers, grandmothers or friends in selling various items prior to engaging in informal trading. Thus, the ability to learn from one's social network becomes an important feature of a street trader's livelihood strategy as without it, they would not be able to do their jobs. Consequently, most of the knowledge and skills that street food vendors possess were gained through observing and working with previous employers, family members, relatives and receiving advice from friends.

. Table 5-5. Did vendors receive support for obtaining their business? (in percentage)

Did vendors receive support for obtaining their business?	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
Yes	81.0	80.2
No	19.0	19.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Powell and Eddleston (2013) as cited by Xia (2015) found that family-to-business support positively influences entrepreneurial success in the United States, especially in terms of financial capital, feedback as well as advice on business problems and emotional sustenance. Accordingly, many vendors emphasized that support from family members was a strong factor in encouraging these women to become self-employed. Additionally, women vendors feel that the support of their husbands and family members have played an important role in motivating and encouraging them when the market situation is poor or when the business has performed poorly.

The investigation shows that a nearly half (44.2%) of the women street food vendors in Hat Yai received support from their husbands in launching the business, while in Tangerang it was at 60.0% (Table 5-6). The lower rate of conjugal support in Hat Yai can be explained by the practice of delayed marriage beginning to prevail on the national scale (see Introduction).

Table 5-6. The persons who gave business advice and information to vendors (in percentage)

Business advice and information	Tangerang n = 162[1]	Hat Yai n = 77[6]
Husband	58.60	44.2
Children	6.20	3.9
Parents	5.60	14.3
Friends	9.30	18.2
Relatives	17.30	11.7
Spouse	0.60	6.5
Others	2.50	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Over 14% of the vendors in Hat Yai received support and advice from their parents, only 5.6% of vendors in Tangerang received similar support. This may be associated with differences in the age profile. The study shows that traders in Hat Yai on average are younger than their counterpart in Tangerang. In the sample of this study, more than a quarter of Hat Yai's vendors are below 30 years, while in Tangerang (as seen in Table 5-7 and 5-8) it is only 18.5%.

[6] 38 respondents in Tangerang and 21 respondents in Hat Yai did not inform about the persons who gave them business advice and information.

Table 5-7. Cross tabulation between age-groups of vendors and age of vendors and the persons who gave business advice and information in Hat Yai (n=77[7])

Group Age (years)	The person who gave business advice and information to vendors							
	Husband	Children	Parents	Friends	Relatives	Spouse	Others	Total
<20	0.00%	0.00%	1.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.30%
20-30	6.50%	0.00%	3.90%	9.10%	5.20%	0.00%	0.00%	24.70%
30-40	15.60%	0.00%	6.50%	5.20%	1.30%	3.90%	0.00%	32.50%
>40	22.10%	3.90%	2.60%	3.90%	5.20%	2.60%	1.30%	41.60%
Total	44.20%	3.90%	14.30%	18.20%	11.70%	6.50%	1.30%	100.00%

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Table 5-8. Cross tabulation between age-groups of vendors and age of vendors and the persons who gave business advice and information in Tangerang (n=162[8])

Group Age (years)	The person who gave business advice and information to vendors							
	Husband	Children	Parents	Friends	Relatives	Spouse	Others	Total
<20	0.60%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	1.20%
20-30	9.30%	0.00%	1.90%	3.10%	2.50%	0.60%	0.00%	17.30%
30-40	17.90%	2.50%	0.60%	1.20%	6.80%	3.90%	0.60%	29.60%
>40	30.90%	3.70%	3.10%	4.90%	8.00%	2.60%	1.20%	51.90%
Total	58.60%	6.20%	5.60%	9.20%	17.30%	0.60%	2.50%	100.00%

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

As many as 26.6% and 29.9% of vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai, respectively, indicated that their relatives and friends were a source of inspiration for their business, who also offered financial support to them to obtain the business. In relation to the age distribution some minor differences are to be seen. The growing role of relatives among senior vendors in Tangerang may be due to more stable ties in extended families, the role of "friends" among the younger vendors in Hat Yai may be an indicator for the prevalence of unmarried couples.

These results are consistent with the findings of Dhaliwal (2000), Bamfo and Asiedu-Appiah (2012) and Adda (2014). Dhaliwal found that the majority of Asian women entrepreneurs received support from their family in launching and running a business. Bamfo and Asiedu-

[7] See previous footnote.
[8] The actual sample was smaller than the general sample because 38 respondents did not answer the question.

Appiah stated that the majority of women entrepreneurs in Ghana started their businesses after getting family support. Meanwhile, research by Adda (2014) on female entrepreneurs in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia discovered that 'family values' is one factor that encourages the family to work together and creates advantages for women in their businesses; the spouses, children and other relatives to get involved in the businesses and support self-employed women. This favourable result was highlighted by a woman entrepreneur, *Pee* Sumpit running a street food business in Hat Yai for more than six years who stated:

> *"My husband encouraged me all the way and my family always showed me how proud they were for me and for what I have achieved. I wouldn't be standing here in my own business if it weren't for them."*

However, as revealed in the qualitative interviews, family support as a process did not always work so smoothly as expressed by the resulting data. This is due to the fact that working in a public space often presents a problem for women in a patriarchal society. This can include their families objecting them working in an open public space due to the potential stigma women vendors may face. Women working outside their home, especially in the market selling food, were considered unacceptable in many families, particularly in Indonesian families. In the beginning, the families of many vendors opposed the idea of women starting this business, and women vendors had to fiercely argue for their choice. Once the vendors had convinced their families, they could rely on even increasing family support because their family members gained insight that the new business was caring for their income. For example, a woman street food vendor with more than eight years of experience in business mentions:

> *"Without the support of my husband, I would not be where I am today. I think it is very important to get family support when starting a business. It was difficult to persuade my family that street vending was my only option because they know that the nature of this work usually involves male customers and they worry that I may become involved in a relationship with them. I am there to vend and make money to help my family finances."*

One of the well-established vendors involved in the street food business for a little more than seven years explained:

"When I expressed the request to open a street food business, there were doubts and disapproval from my husband. As time goes by, in the end, my husband and children were my big supporters financially and morally. I owe my business success to them."

2. Working Conditions of Street Food Vendors

2.1. Average Working Hours

The life of a woman as a street food vendor is fraught with hardship. Along with the very tough working conditions that come with the territory, women street food vendors have another important duty – being a homemaker. In addition to irregular earnings, women street food vendors often face very poor working conditions as they work excessively long hours per day. The survey found that in most cases, women street food vendors work between eight to fourteen hours a day in their business, including preparation of food and sales, every day of the year, which is well beyond the government regulations pertaining to the maximum number of working hours per day.

Though most of the food they sell is cooked on time, vendors need to carry out many preparatory tasks beforehand~~,~~ such as visiting the markets to buy vegetables and later sorting, cleaning and chopping the vegetables, preparing cooking sauces and cleaning the stalls. Hence, the number of working hours increase as the preparation activities time ranges from one to four hours a day. In most cases, the working hours of the vendors depend on the target customers, the season, the type of food sold, the location of the business and their general health. For example, a vendor that operates at stations or in the central business districts runs her business in a 24-hour style. During Ramadan i.e. the fasting period, for example in Indonesia, the majority of vendors will not start their business in the morning, but they will open their stall after 4 pm.

The street food vendors' day often begin as early as 4 am in the morning. They complete all the household work, prepare breakfast and then visit the market to buy the goods. Those involved selling breakfast food should reach their stall by 6 am. These vendors work for five hours at the stall, return home to prepare lunch for their family, clean the house, freshen up and take a short break. The majority of vendors who provide supper will begin their activities from 4 pm to 12 am midnight and some even end as late as 2 am.

Moreover, there are no weekends and holidays in the minds of street food vendors, but many uncertain factors may affect their business. Weather, regular holidays, poor health, national events all lead to fewer customers. Sometimes they suffer the confiscation of their goods and stalls which means that they cannot work the following days. Therefore, in order to ensure their income, the street food vendors seize every opportunity to be able to set up stalls and work extremely long hours without rest. These working conditions can clearly be illustrated with the help of the following case study and excerpts from one of the women vendors' interviews, Mbak Harifah.

"As a street food vendor, I and my mother had to get up at 2:00 am every day to prepare for our sales. We start our days with cleaning, chopping the vegetables, cooking rice, boiling eggs, and chicken. Sometimes I prepared the items for sale at 10:00 pm if I had to fry onions. I left home around 8:00 and returned at 12:00. After I returned, my mother replaced me. Every day, I only slept 4 or 5 hours. Sometimes, I didn't have time to communicate with my children."

The following account by Ibu Harti in Tangerang, of her working day, exemplifies the working conditions under which street vendors operate:

"I wake up before the crack of dawn and go to the local market. I buy chicken, beef, fish and the appropriate fresh vegetables and other ingredients to go with it. I will stock as much food as I think I can reasonably sell. I wheel my food cart to the desired location and begin preparing the day's meals as customers begin to order. At the beginning of trading, I did it myself. But now my husband and an employee help me to prepare these items for sale and wheel the food chart. I am at my "warung makan" for 9 hours and I start serving food in the afternoon around 16:00 pm until the last customer has left."

A woman street vendor in Hat Yai, Pee Supranee exposed similar working conditions to her counterpart in Tangerang.

"I get up as early as 2:00 am, then go to the market near my house. When coming home, I start to make preparation for the street vending. I spend two and a half hours washing, cutting, and cooking of foods. Then I fully stock my stall with the source, water, utensils, and

packaging bags. After that, I load up all the food and ride my vending trike to the vending site near the Prince of Songkla University. I usually begin my business at 06:00 am and end at 11:00 am. I keep operating my business at the same time in the same place. Sometimes, the sales are not good and there are still some food items left at the regular leaving time. At such time, I will give the food to my neighbors or people who need it because the leftover food couldn't be sold for the next day. However, I preferred to work longer than just throw them away. After arriving at home, I need to clean the cooking equipment and other food containers, check the profit and do some housework."

Like other street food vendors in Hat Yai, Pee Supranee usually works for six days a week, unless it rains heavily. To summarize, Supranee sleeps about five hours a night and works at least 13 hours a day. Moreover, she stands during her working hours. When asked if she felt tired and sleepy, Supranee smiled and said that she has adapted to the working conditions after years of working as a street food vendor.

2.2. Employment of Wage Labour

Street food vendors are mostly micro-entrepreneurs, who provide employment not only for themselves but also for other people who are unemployed. As shown in Table 5-9, vendors in Hat Yai city have more helpers than their counterparts in Tangerang. Currently, 31.8% of Hat Yai's vendors employ paid workers to work for them. In Tangerang, only 10.0% of the respondents, reported employing a helper when they started their own business, which has increased to 12.5% at present. In Hat Yai, this is presumably due to busier locations and a large-scale business so that they may generate high sales and hire paid workers.

Table 5-9. The labour arrangements and wage (in percentage)

Variables	When started the business		At present	
	Tangerang	Hat Yai	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Are there family members who are working in this business?	n = 200	n = 91[9]	n = 200	n = 91[4]
No	44.5	51.6	44.0	51.6
Yes	55.5	48.4	56.0	48.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Are there employees in their business?	n = 200	n = 91	n = 200	n = 91
No	90.0	73.6	87.5	68.2
Yes	10.0	26.4	12.5	31.8
Total	100.0	1000	100.0	100.0
How much is the mean monthly wage per employee?	(in Rupiah) n = 19	(in Baht) n = 16	(in Rupiah) n = 24	(in Baht) n = 27
Mean	1,263,157 ($90.2)	8,234 ($274.5)	1,410,000 ($100.7)	8,629 ($275.6)

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Table 5-9 reports the average monthly income earned by the paid employee engaged in the street food sector in Tangerang and Hat Yai. The daily income of street food vendors in Tangerang is lower than the street food vendors' in Hat Yai. On average, the paid workers in Hat Yai earn 8,629 baht per month (approximately $275.6). While, paid employees in Tangerang earn Rp 1,410,000 per month (around $100.7). Paid employees tend to do most of their work themselves, from purchasing goods in the wholesale market, transportation to the workplace, advertising the stall on the street or on the food cart, to selling the food.

[9] 5 vendors in Hat Yai did not answer this question.

At present, the average monthly income of paid workers from the street food sector in Hat Yai is, in fact, higher than the city's monthly minimum wage. The Central Wage Committee (2018) in Thailand assigned the minimum wage for Songkla province, including Hat Yai city around 330 baht per day. On the contrary, paid employees in Tangerang, according to the survey received a significantly lower wage than the city's minimum wage. As stated by the Banten Governor's Decree (2018), the minimum wage in Tangerang city is Rp 3,582,000 per month (approximately $255.8), which means that the paid workers in the street food sector receive a wage which is less than half of the minimum wage in Tangerang city. To summarise, cross-country comparison revealed that paid workers in the street food sector in Hat Yai are earning higher wages than those in Tangerang.

Although vendors employ paid workers, there is no correlation between the family size and the number of paid workers, both in Hat Yai and Tangerang (Table 5-10). Many of vendors in these urban centers operate with unpaid contributing family members. During busy seasons, including festival days and vacations, the vendors will get more help from unpaid family members, such as their children who are on their school holidays. In few cases, a paid employee will be hired by vendors if they need people to help them.

Table 5-10. Correlation between family size and the number of paid workers in Tangerang and Hat Yai

		The number of paid workers	
		Tangerang	Hat Yai
Family size	Pearson Correlation	-0.067	0.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.346	0.636
	N	200	89

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

In accordance with the Minimum Wage Act, the employer is obliged to pay wages on a regular and timely basis, at least once a month. The wage period may be fixed on an hourly, daily, weekly or monthly basis. The employer is under obligation to pay wages in cash on a working day before the expiry of the 7th day after the last day of the wage period. Unfortunately, the majority of paid workers in Tangerang do not have an employment contract with the vendors. The contract is only based on verbal agreements and principles of trust, which makes it difficult for employees to claim their rights during disputes over wages and other social benefits. The absence of an employment contract is common in the informal sector, such as street food vending. In the vendors' defence, if they were to pay wages in accordance with the minimum wage, their business would be less competitive. When asked the reason why the vendors gave low wages to their employees, most of them chose to remain silent on the matter and did not want to answer any follow-up questions.

Apparently, many of the employees only want to learn and acquire knowledge of setting up and running the food stalls from the vendors and after that, they leave. In addition, the paid employees labour only for a few hours, more specifically to help the vendor sell the food. One participant, Mbak Wati, narrated the following experience.

> *"…I and my husband employed two workers to manage the business, paying them Rp 1,500,000 each per month. Unfortunately, since the beginning of this year, our employees went out and did not return to work. It is not easy now to find employees who want to work with us for a long time. Some of them just want to learn from us. After they fully understand how to run the business, they will leave. We've changed employees several times. Always like that. One of the advantages of operating your own business is hiring family members. Thereof, I decided to help my husband running the business when the employees went out…".*

2.3. Commuting between Residence and Workplace

The mode of commuting between residence and workplace work differs considerably. As seen in Table 5-11, a high proportion of the vendors, both Tangerang (42.5%) and Hat Yai (55.2%) travelled using their own motorcycle to their place of work. More than 20.0% of the vendors in Tangerang walked by foot to their workplace and only 4.2% in Hat Yai, while nearly one-third of the total vendors in Hat Yai (33.3%) used their own car to reach their workplace. In contrast, only 5.0% of the vendors in Tangerang travelled by car.

Table 5-11. Mode of transportation used to ferry products to trading site (in percentage)

Transportation used	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Public transport	12.5	2.1
My own motorcycle	42.5	55.2
My own car	5.0	33.3
Walking	26.0	4.2
Others	14.0	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

During the study, most of the vendors in Tangerang reported that their commute takes 30 minutes or more to their place of work. Therefore, they preferred to use their own motorcycle as it allowed them more independence and flexibility and travelling by motorcycle was cheaper than the public transport. The vendors make most of their trips on the motorcycle for long-distance journeys. In this context, the motorcycle is a solution for easy daily mobility for vendors as it is much cheaper to use than a taxi or to own a car and it is also much faster than walking. The survey also reported that many of the vendors lived within a short distance from their place of work (under ten minutes). Consequently, they choose to reach their workplace on foot. *Angkot* and *ojek* are public transport commonly used by the vendors in Tangerang. This is a preferred mode of public transport for two reasons - firstly, for vendors who cannot ride a motorbike or drive a car and secondly, for vendors who feel more comfortable and safer on public transport than driving by themselves. Very few persons reported to travel by their own car or to transport their equipment. The respondents cited that security was not a concern when transporting food for their business.

Unlike the vendors in Tangerang, the majority of the vendors in Hat Yai either use a motorcycle or travel by car from their home to the vending workplace. In the study sample, the majority of the vendors' place of work is located further than 2 km of their respective homes. Only a few vendors live at a distance within 0-2 km from their workplace. Many of the vendors stated that they usually drive up to 5 km a day from their residence. Some of them drive with their goods on the motorbike or in their car but the food carts were left near their workplace.

2.4. The Vendors' Attitude towards their Customers - and Vice Versa

To increase sales, one of the strategies that vendors use is to encourage customer loyalty. The vendors assume that the ability to retain loyal customers will be decisive for success and failure or their business. Many vendors interviewed indicated that customer relationship is a key to their business. A personal approach might be used as marketing strategy by vendors to manage their customers. Some vendors explained, they make an effort with a personable and persuasive attitude by being friendly and polite, in attempt to make customers feel privileged and important.

Furthermore, many vendors reported, their relationships with customers go far beyond a mere commercial attitude. During the interviews, the female vendors were asked about their customers' attitudes towards them in their workplace. Most of them replied that the customers' attitudes towards them were co-operative (Table 5-12), in Tangerang considerably more (70.5%) than in Hat Yai (49.0%).

Table 5-12. Attitude the vendors' customers (in percentage)

Attitude the vendors' customers	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
Co-operative	70.5	49.0
Neutral	28.0	50.0
Adverse	1.5	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Reversely, most of the women street food vendors are very happy with the attitudes of their customers. According to the vendors, many customers treat them as a friend. They have regular communication which takes place at the workplace when the customers come to buy food. In addition, customer relations between the women vendors and their customers were remarkable as they could even confide in each other about various problems. One interviewee in Hat Yai, who operates from her food cart in the campus area of Prince of Songkla University, gave an example of a good relationship with her customers:

“I have always been called "mami" (= mother) by some of my customers, especially students. They feel so familiar with me. They did not hesitate to share their problems, including personal problems. I have been considered as a “mother” by some of them. I also considered them no longer as customers but like my family. This made them always come and come again to my food cart.”

One vendor’s statement in Tangerang, however, shows a slightly higher degree of reservation:

“I have never perceived the difficulty in running the business. In spite of the fact that I am a woman, I am in all respected by my customers as well as other vendors. I vigorously respect others; I hope the same thing. If only a verbal joke, for me it does not matter.”

3. Degree of Social Protection

3.1. General

Another challenge facing the street food vendors is the lack of social protection for the informal economy. In both Tangerang and Hat Yai, there is almost no access to social security for street food vendors, despite the ILO conventions and UN instruments clearly stating that social security is a basic human right. Social security was first officially recognised as a human right in 1989 by the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2000) which stressed the need and protection of workers against sickness, medical care, maternity benefits, employment injury, inability and survivor's benefits, old age pension etc. (ILO, 2000). It was subsequently accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations whilst also implementing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which states that every member of the society has a right to social security.

According to the estimates of International Labour Organisation (ILO), half of the global population has no social security coverage and only one-quarter of the population has adequate social security coverage (Ginneken, 2003).

In Indonesia, the Employee Social Security System (BPJS Employment) has been created to provide universal social security for Indonesian workers, such as a pension scheme, old-age benefits, workplace injury benefits and death benefits. In 2015, based on the National Labour Force Survey (known as *Sakernas*) data, the total number of workers in Indonesia reached 122,3 million people and approximately 95.0% (114 million) were classified as employed. However, only around 23 million Indonesian workers are covered by the BPJS Employment. This scheme therefore faces many challenges, including the treatment of unregistered informal workers. Out of the employed workers, about 70,9 million are assigned to the informal sector. Hitherto, only 1,7 million informal workers are registered as a member of the BPJS employee social security scheme (BPJS Employment, 2017). In line with these findings, Van der Loop and Andadari (2010) in their research about social security for informal workers in Indonesia found that about 80.0% of the interviewed informal workers did not have social security whatsoever and 90.0% of the informal workers stated that in the event of poor health or unplanned incidences, their families will take care of them. The survey also discovered that 60.0% of the total informal workers were aware of schemes for social security implemented by BPJS Employment.

It is challenging to ask informal workers to participate in social security schemes even though they are aware of the benefits of the schemes. The main reason is that many of them lack fixed contracts and often without a fixed amount of salary, which makes their participation problematic. Although the government might be able to assist them in the registration stage, their long-term membership remains uncertain. Like many informal workers, the majority of the food vendors interviewed stated they did not have the social security or welfare benefits like pension, work accident insurance or life insurance benefits,

As one street food vendor in Tangerang, Mba Widi noted, "*I have been registered as a BPJS employment participant when I worked at PT. Mattel Indonesia and PT. Yamaha Music Indonesia, but when I left out, I have not registered anymore because I did not pay membership contributions. Now, I don't have any social security schemes*." Another street food vendor described her challenges by saying, *"I have never had a social security scheme. I don't understand about the program and how to register it."*

Like in Indonesia, the social security program in Thailand does not protect all informal sector workers. In 2015, there were 38,3 million working-age people in Thailand, with approximately 21,4 million (55.9%) employed in the informal sector (National Statistical Office of Thailand, 2015). Although these worker groups are very important to the Thai economy, the majority are, unfortunately, excluded from the social security scheme (Nilvarangkul et al., 2016).

3.2. Health

Health care protection is undeniably important for every citizen, especially for informal workers, as their profession is full of insecurity and uncertainty. Because of the location of their workplace at crowded places, on sidewalks or on the roadside (see following Chapter), accidents are most likely to occur at any time. Furthermore, as the women are exposed to poor hygiene and bad weather conditions, vendors tend to fall more often sick than other citizens. When vendors or their family members fall sick, their productivity is seriously affected, resulting in lost income and possible descent into poverty. Thus, assistance with meeting the costs of healthcare is necessary throughout the community, particularly for the poor and vulnerable.

For women street food vendors, their health is their wealth; if they fall ill, they lose their income, and in events of chronic illnesses they are doomed to incur their financial ruin. The vendors also find that illness among their children or families is a major source of expenditure. As stated by one of the respondents, Ibu Noh, 62, who has been a vendor for 25 years by selling Indonesian salad opposite the Buddhi Dharma university in Tangerang:

"I will tell you this, vending is just making money for consumption of one day and tomorrow I have to come and do the same thing…normally I get net income Rp 50.000 a day…it's too little but I have no option where would I get money for water, electricity, and all other things that require cash. I pray I don't get ill. I don't know where I should go if I get ill. Who will pay

for my treatment? I don't have a health insurance. I am afraid to think about it, I am getting older."

In 2014 the government of Indonesia has officially launched the National Health Insurance (JKN) program, which is managed by the Health Services and Social Security Agency (BPJS Health). The program was and the agency is tasked with providing national health insurance for all Indonesians, with a primary focus on low-income groups and workers. Unfortunately, informal workers, in particular, are yet to be covered adequately. In March 2019, the official BPJS Health website released the number of participants reaching 218 million people, which has exceeded 82.5% of the total population of Indonesia (BPJS Health, 2019).

Although the National Health Insurance program is mandatory for all Indonesian residents, at present, a substantial number of informal workers do not have health insurance. A recent data by BPJS health shows that only 30,4 million (44.7%) informal workers were registered as JKN program participants, and about 55.3% of those workers lacked health insurance (BPJS Health, 2019). Among our respondents in Tangerang 49.5% of the respondents (Table 5-13) were not covered by this scheme.

There are various reasons for the lack of health protection for vulnerable street food vendors in Tangerang. It is not uncommon that many informal workers have a negative perception on the effectiveness of health centres and therefore, prefer to visit private practices. One major reason for this common view is that health centres are severely underfunded because the government subsidies have been mostly directed to public hospitals (Sparrow et al., 2013 as cited by Kartika, 2015). As a result, patients receive poor services and/or pay high user fees.

The amount of premiums is another factor that prevents the vendors from registering for the health insurance scheme. According to various surveys, BPJS Health premiums are higher than the amount that informal workers are willing to contribute. A study by Handayani et al. (2013) in a district of Hulu Sungai Selatan, Borneo found that majority of informal workers are only willing to pay IDR 5,000 ($0.4) per month, which is a quarter of the lowest premium set by BPJS (IDR 25,500 or around $1.8). Van der Loop and Andadari (2010) study for informal workers on various districts in Indonesia also revealed that 26.0% of workers cannot afford to pay the premium, whereas 40.0% of the sample are only willing to pay less than IDR 10,000 ($0.7). Furthermore, only 11.0% of informal workers are willing to pay above IDR 20,000 ($1.4) who are most likely to fall into the highest income quintile of informal workers.

Table 5-13. Access to public/private medical services in the research areas

Access to public/private medical services	Tangerang (n=198[10])		Hat Yai (n=94[11])	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
When vendors started the business	47 (23.7%)	151 (76.3%)	20 (21.3%)	74 (78.7%)
At present	101 (50.5%)	97 (49.5%)	33 (35.0%)	61 (65.0%)

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Similarly to the Indonesian government, the Government of Thailand in 2001 introduced a universal coverage scheme with the aim of ensuring equitable health care access, for even the poorest citizens. For a flat user fee of 30 Baht per consultation, or free for those falling into exemption categories, every scheme participant has access to registered health services. The number of vendors in Hat Yai who have now access to public/private medical services have increased compared against the time before joining the business, however, compared against Tangerang the gains were fairly modest.

In line with the findings from Nilvarangkul et al. (2016) in Khon Kaen, Thailand, this study shows that the majority of the respondents in Hat Yai, as seen in Table 5-13 do not have access to public or private medical services as they were not registered as health insurance participants. This can be explained by various factors. The health service is not easily accessible as it requires one to have a registed house in a specific area to apply for the 30 baht-for-all

[10] Two vendors in Tangerang did not answer the question in Table 5-13.
[11] Two vendors in Hat Yai did not answer the question in Table 5-13.

health schemes. There is also no subsidy from the government for a voluntary insurance scheme to support informal labour. Furthermore, many respondents explained that they are not satisfied with the health care service they received through the 30-baht scheme. Like the Indonesian JKN, this scheme only covers health problems in a narrow sense excluding accident insurance or child care.

Additionally, in Thailand, vendors can make use of an alternative facility. Informal sector workers can now access free health care by visiting the primary care health centers which are spread throughout all sub-districts in Thailand. However, although informal sector workers have free access to these primary health centers, none provide specific health services for work-related illness/injuries, or education, or health promotion to reduce work-related illness/accident risk (Nilvarangkul et al., 2016).

Street food vendor, Pee Pauan, 64 years old recounts their experience with a primary care unit:

"I used to go to the primary care unit (PCU) nearby my home when I got ill. It was free. Since I do not have a medical insurance scheme, so I decided to go to PCU. In PCU, of course, there are many people! Wait in the queue. The service, itself, was good but very slow. I spent a whole day in the PCU."

Attempts to extend the coverage the social security programs, for the informal workers and their families remain one of the main challenges in both countries.

4. Summary

Street food vending, an integral part of informal sector has been reported to be one of the important urban activities of many developing countries and appears to be an important category of economic street activities. Many street food vendors are women. These women street food vendors are micro-entrepreneurs rather than dependent workers, providing employment not only for themselves but also for others. This study reveals that street food vendors are not merely a temporary source of income as most of the vendors interviewed have been in vending for a long time and are very well established. A very small portion of women vendors have come to their respective markets in the last two years. Albeit, the remaining vendors had joined the business at least five years ago. Family support is central to the operation of most street food vendors, and the study found that the women street food vendors received support either from their family members or their friends or relatives.

The daily life of women street food vendors is characterised by very poor working conditions, where they usually work from early in the morning to late at night. The time spent by women vendors for different activities, including selling time and preparing time ranged from 8 - 14 hours daily. The vendors prefer to use either a motorcycle or car from their home to the vending place to transport their goods. Vendors in Tangerang had more helpers from their family members than vendors in Hat Yai. Conversely, nearly a third of vendors in Hat Yai have help from paid workers, while only fewer vendors in Tangerang hired paid workers due to they engaged non-paid family members in the business. Additionally, paid employees in Tangerang earn lower wages than their counterpart in Hat Yai.

The Indonesian government launched the universal healthcare for Indonesian workers both in the formal and informal sector in 2014, but unfortunately the study found that nearly half (49.5%) of vendors in Tangerang were not covered by the health insurance systems. Like in Indonesia, the health insurance program in Thailand does not protect all informal sector workers; only 35% of the vendors in Hat Yai have access to health insurance systems.

CHAPTER VI

Access to Basic Resources: Startup-Capital, Location, Facilities

In addition to poor working conditions, the street food vendors face numerous other challenges that affect the level of their success. During the survey period, the vendors were asked what limiting factors and types of difficulties they faced during the start-up and operation of their businesses. The final results obtained from the survey on these questions are presented in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1. The difficulties the vendors faced when their started the business (in percentage)

Variables	Tangerang n=200	Hat Yai n=96
Capital + credit	40.1	33.7
Harassment by police	2.5	10.5
Eviction by private shop guardians	0.0	7.0
Lack of working place	24.6	19.4
High price of commodities	13.9	11.2
To gain the customers	18.9	14.3
Others	0.0	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Complaints about a "high price of commodities" and references to difficulties of gaining customers are normal grievances of businesspeople. They lack any degree of specificity, consequently they can be discarded in this study. However, as specific complaints two items deserve being highlighted: the problem of money and that of space.

1. Initial Working Capital

Before starting a street food business, all new vendors must first obtain the required start-up capital. Start-up capital, also known as working capital, is the funding that helps entrepreneurs (vendors) pay for equipment, rent, supplies, and so forth during the first year of operation. According to Myrick (2018) to open a food business, there are three types of funding, namely seed capital, start-up capital and expansion capital. Seed capital is the initial funding used to begin creating a business, such as for planning and research when they start the business. Then, expansion capital is used when the business is ready to and expand. However, most new street food entrepreneurs need only initial working capital as many of them would have never used seed capital.

The biggest question when a vendor starts their business is from what and where exactly are they going to trade? Do they want a stall, a cart, a tent or a table? Where will they buy or lease it from? One of the biggest costs for a street food business occurs on the type of display itself. The exact amount of initial working capital of street food business will mostly be spent on the type of display. In addition, the amount of costs in the different categories can vary across type of food items prepared by vendors.

In the present study, most of the respondents are basically street food vendors who are considered as informal vendors and most of them are from a poor economic background. The reported startup capital requirements for most of the women's street food business in Tangerang, as shown in Table 6-2, was relatively small. It ranged from one million ($71.4) to ten million rupiahs ($714.3), and rarely exceeded Rp 15 million ($1,071.4), with average initial working costs of Rp 6,57 million ($469.3). The majority of vendors in Hat Yai invested less than 50,000 THB ($1,666.7) during startups, and the average costs were 40,620 THB ($1,354) in the initial phase. These results are consistent with the findings from Kusakabe (2006) on street vendors in Thailand where street vendors would need at least USD 1,000-2,000 as starting capital.

Table 6-2. Initial working business capital in Tangerang and Hat Yai

Statistic calculation	Initial working capital					
	Food cart		Kitchen supplies		Daily stock	
	Tangerang (in $)	Hat Yai (in $)	Tangerang (in $)	Hat Yai (in $)	Tangerang (in $)	Hat Yai (in $)
Mean	303	939	121	298	45	75
Std. Deviation	361	1,239	157	394	42	48

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Before the vendors considered engaging in this business, they would need to focus on a cart (or kiosk) that meets their needs. Vendors should decide how much they will spend to buy or to make food cart and how they will finance the food cart cost. Findings revealed that of all the initial working capital, the biggest expenditure for Tangerang and Hat Yai vendor participants occurred in purchasing or making the cart. One of the participants, Ibu Wati, the street food vendor of an experience of about ten years, selling snacks stated:

> *"I recalled that the initial working capital that I used to start the business was Rp 3.5 million (($250.0) to buy a food chart and Rp 3,0 million ($214.3) for buying daily stock and kitchen supplies."*

Another vendor, Ibu Ida, a South Sumatera native, a woman in her mid-40s who has been selling 'soto tangkar' for two years expressed:

> *"I spent so much money on this food cart. I bought the cart used from the old owner around five million rupiahs ($357.2). While for the other initial costs there just weren't too much."*

Pee Supranee, a street food vendor in Hat Yai highlighted that the cost of purchasing a food cart is typically three times higher than other initial costs when new entrants want to start a street food business.

> *"I paid 15,000 THB ($500.0) for purchasing the food cart. The other major start-up expense was kitchen supplies and daily stock. I estimated the total cost at up to 6,000 THB ($200.0). Many vendors might be tempting to cut kitchen supplies expenses by using the same equipment that they used for cooking at home, but if something happens due to poor hygiene, no one is going to buy food from them if customers think there's a risk they might get sick. Therefore, I did not do it. I bought new kitchen supplies when I started the business."*

A food cart can be purchased. However, building an own food cart enables the vendor to be more creative with the design and save money. In this study, most women vendors explained that members of their family designed and built a food cart for them. One vendor from Tangerang, Ibu Harifah, described how her family supported the availability of the equipment of food cart.

> *"Inspired by the success of my brother, I decided to start street food business selling soto lamongan around in the middle of 1999 as a way out to start working independently. How to start the business, I still remember that my brother made the food chart for me."*

Another vendor in Tangerang, Ibu Lina who started running her business in early 1995 added:

> *"My husband fully supported my desire to have my own business. My husband gave Rp 500,000 ($35.7) as the initial working capital. The money was used to buy daily stocks and kitchen supplies. The food cart was made by my husband himself."*

In spite of a great deal of practical support on the spot, 'economic barriers' turned out to be the primary hindrances people face to successfully enter informal trading, such as the street food business. The interviews revealed that one of the important requirements in starting the business was access to credit. Several studies have shown that small players like women street food vendors in developing countries experience difficulties when seeking financial help. Janaki and Jeyakumar (2017) found that women hawkers in Tuticorin district, India, face problems due to lack of capital and low income. This is because vendors are ineligible for formal financial services due to their lack of education and their small-scale business (Sclama and Aguiari, 2017).

Unfortunately, banks or formal financial institutions notice that lending to street food vendors is not attractive due to high administrative costs, lack of deposits and low revenues (Serrano-Cinca and Gutierrez-Nieto, 2014). In addition, the results of the study from Adusei (2015) showed that women petty traders in Upper West Region of Ghana often faced difficulties in accessing financing from organized banking services as they lack documents, tenure or legal rights over their place or business and evidence of their trades. In this study street food vendors further raised an issue with the lack of credit facilities as the financial institutions did not give the loan to people who – as migrants – did not possess an identification card of the city and to people with no collateral security. Although they usually demonstrate a high payment capacity, because of the absence of collateral and firm domicile status, formal financial institutions usually reject them. Many vendors stated that they failed to obtain a loan from established formal financial institutions because they did not meet the requirements. Only 4.2% (Hat Yai) respectively 3.5% (Tangerang) had borrowed money from banks.

In order to survive, vendors borrow money from various other sources including moneylenders, and they pay a high amount of interests to the sources from where they borrow money (Malik, 2017). In the present study, this experience was often confirmed when vendors were asked to elaborate on the nature of difficulties associated with finances. The lack of capital to start the business forces vendors to take loans from a local lender (as opposed to a bank) at high-interest rates. High-interest rates are typically charged to vendors who borrow from moneylenders. As stated by a vendor in Tangerang, Ibu Cawi, 49 years old:

"When I started the business, I borrowed a portion of working capital from moneylenders. I have to set aside my sales to be paid to the moneylender. I have to repay the responsibilities day to day. Moneylender every day came and took money in the kiosk. The interest was very high, but I had no choice. My husband at that time did not have the money nor did my children. Finally, I decided to borrow money from the moneylender. Even now, there is sometimes no initial capital to pay for the purchase, so I take loans from moneylenders. When my sales weren't doin' too good, I didn't pay installments to the moneylender. I experienced it several times. They understood it. I really want to borrow money from the bank with a lower interest. But is it possible? It seems people like me will never be given a loan by a bank."

The problems were not limited to the initial period of business start-up:

"Financial problems which I faced in my life are like if some emergency takes place, like a few months ago, I ran out of working capital when my youngest son got married, then I have to take money on credit from moneylenders on the high interest. After taking money on credit I worked and then returned it after 2-4 months. I tried to apply for a microfinance loan but could not get it. Economically, I am less empowered. I don't have collateral and my business is too small."

In line with the literature, during the biographical interviews, twenty-one participants shared their experiences with similar financial problems when conducting their business, and the shortage of funds being the biggest hindrance to their livelihoods.

However, a respondent in Hat Yai, Pee Pauan, from Isan province recounted different experiences:

"The main problem that I face for running this business is working capital. At present, I only have a little working capital, around 400 Baht ($13.3). The working capital that I need to about 1,000 ($33.3) to 2,000 Baht ($55.6). I have never received a working capital loan from the formal financial. It's almost impossible. I borrowed money from my friend, which I should return within two months I am truly grateful if there are someone is willing to provide capital assistance without high-interest rates for me."

Ibu Wati from Tangerang reported*: "My husband gave me the money; he had borrowed from his older brother."*

In fact, as insinuated in the beginning of this chapter, one of the most common sources of funding for vendors are networks, established by family, relatives and friends. The researcher know that husbands and brothers produced the first food carts and vendors could also have recourse to their financial means. Friends, relatives, and family are a great source of funding since they generally know and trust the vendors and are easier to convince than strangers. However, 21.5% of the food vendors in Tangerang generated their start-up capital from their husband, whilst 13.0% of respondents borrowed from friends, 6.5% received assistance from parents and borrowed from banks. In Hat Yai, out of the total 96 respondents, 19.8% borrowed money from their parents and remaining vendors (15.6%) took money from their husband, as did Ibu Linda and Ibu Harifah quoted above.

There are clear advantages to approaching family or friends, rather than the conventional sources of funding such as loans. Family, relatives and friends may be more flexible than other lenders. They may offer loans without security or agree to a longer repayment period and are less likely to need a detailed business plan. One vendor in Hat Yai, Pee Supranee, 39 years old explained:

"When I'd like to open the business, I didn't have enough money to fulfill all working capital that it needed. I requested help from my friend to borrow funds to finance my business. She agreed. I still remember it well, the amount that I lent from her, which was around 15,000 Baht ($500.0). I asked when I should return back the money. She said don't have to worry, you can return the money if you already have it. I don't need it now."

However, the rate of financial support coming from family members and familiar persons was considerably lower than their mental support (see Chapter V, Table 5-6). Surprisingly, but fairly in line with literature findings (see Introduction), a majority of vendors in Tangerang (52.5%) and Hat Yai (51.0%), used their own money as working capital (Table 6-3). The high percentage of street food vendors using their own savings as start-up funds can be explained by the fact that street food vending is a small-scale business which does not require high operating costs. As expressed by Mbak Widi, a 32 years old female vendor running a food cart over one year:

"After a few years working for others, I decided I was ready to open my own business as a street food vendor. I opened the business because I know everyone needs to eat. Even though it was my first experience as an owner, however, I have to confidence that I'll survive in this business. I started the business using my own saving. The initial working capital, I used to buy a food cart, kitchen supplies, and daily stocks. I asked people to make a food cart and I paid them around Rp 3 million ($214.3). For daily stock, I only spent about Rp 200 thousand ($14.3) a day when I started selling."

In the beginning, the savings originated from their previous jobs (see Chapter V), which underscores the importance of this experience. As a result of economic success, when the vendors' incomes increased rapidly and when their turnover became fairly high, they could even more invest from their own savings. One respondent, Ibu Ria, 46 years old who has run her street food business for more than 15 years in Tangerang stated:

"I quitted my job as a maid and decided to start my own business about 15 years ago. I talked to my husband about the idea, and he agreed with my decision. I've always wanted to have my own business, and I think I have a solid idea for a business. I really loved cooking and I felt confident that I'd succeed in this business. I knew that one of the important things to start the business is working capital. Without any venture funding or loans would be tricky but not impossible. I'd accepted that the only way to fund my passion would be to use my savings. At that time, I couldn't ask for money from my husband because he didn't have it either. ... Since I started my own business, I have never borrowed money for my business. Now, the business has been continued by my second son, I occasionally help him."

Table 6-3. The sources of capital to start the business (in percentage)

The sources of capital	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
Borrowing from Banks	3.5	4.2
Relatives	13.0	7.3
Borrowing from friends	1.5	0.0
Husband	21.5	15.6
Savings	52.5	51.0
Parents	6.5	19.8
Spouse	0.0	2.1
Moneylenders	1.5	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

From the chi-square analysis, as shown in the Table 6-4, the marital status of the vendors is statistically significant ($p<0.01$) with the source of startup capital to start the business in both Tangerang and Hat Yai cities, at the 99% confidence level. In Tangerang the role of relatives is more important than in Hat Yai, which is certainly due to the more traditional composition of households. The higher role of husbands in Tangerang has to with the higher marriage rate among Tangerang vendors. The decisive role of parents in Hat Yai reminds of the fact that Hat Yai vendors are on average younger than their Tangerang counterparts. It may also be connected with the short distance migration of vendors in Hat Yai, which helped upholding former family ties.

Table 6-4. Chi-square between marital status and source of startup capital in the study locations

		Marital Status	
		Tangerang	Hat Yai
Source of startup capital	Pearson Correlation	61.74	33.87
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00**	0.027**
	N of valid cases	200	96

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

A cross tabulation analysis between marital status and the source of capital to start the business in Table 6-5 and Table 6-6 shows the percentage of self-financing and the use of credit in general is quite similar in the two cities, the sources of credit however, displays certain dissimilarities, which can be ascribed to the demographic differences.

Table 6-5. Cross tabulation between marital status and the sources of capital to start the business in Tangerang (n=200)

The sources of capital to start the business	Marital status							Total
	Single	Married	Engaged	Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Living together as partners	
Borrowing from banks	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.5%
Relatives	1.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.0%	13.0%
Borrowing from friends	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%
Husband	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.0%	21.5%
Savings	2.0%	47.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%	1.0%	0.0%	52.5%
Parents	2.0%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.5%
Spouse	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Moneylenders	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%
Total	5.0%	87.5%	0.0%	1.0%	4.0%	2.5%	0.0%	100.0%

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Table 6-6. Cross tabulation between marital status and the sources of capital to start the business in Hat Yai (n=96)

The sources of capital to start the business	Marital status							Total
	Single	Married	Engaged	Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Living together as partners	
Borrowing from banks	1.0%	2.1%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%
Relatives	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	7.3%
Borrowing from friends	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Husband	0.0%	15.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	15.6%
Savings	11.5%	32.3%	0.0%	1.0%	6.3%	1.0%	0.0%	51.0%
Parents	8.3%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.0%	19.8%
Spouse	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%
Moneylenders	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	20.8%	66.7%	0.0%	2.0%	7.6%	3.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Even though the working capital in the sector is low, the street food business is highly competitive, and the source of competitive advantage tends to wane quickly. Existing competitors are most likely to react strongly against new entrants, particularly when the business is characterized by slow growth. Vendors who possess resources and skills are able to grow in this business by overcoming challenges and barriers more easily than others, as conveyed by Ibu Wartiyem, one of the Tangerang's vendors:

> *"If you want to succeed in the street food business, you must be prepared to work hard and have a skill. You have to struggle a bit. After a few years, you will have a better life, work less, earn a bit more. You can see how your finances are getting better all the time."*

2. Location

2.1. Economic Aspects

The main determining factor for the location of street traders is not necessarily the distance between home and work but the location, which is mainly dependent upon a space with the greatest concentration of people and other economic activities (Ayeh et al., 2011). Only a few (4.5% in Tangerang; 1.0% in Hat Yai) place themselves in front of their house, as seen in Table 6-7. Although the survey found that the majority of street food vendors in Tangerang travelled for more than 30 minutes to reach their workplace, most of these vendors operated daily from the same place.

Most of the vendors choose the sidewalks and streets as these locations as they have a high frequency of potential customers. Access to customers for most vendors was the main reason for choosing the locations. Vendors require space that will allow ease of visitors to the stalls and thus, the visibility will increase the sales. Yankson's study of Accra, Ghana (2000) stated that customer attraction, availability of access roads, and plots allocated by the municipal authority were the factor that most influenced site selection. As noted by Cohen (2000), location is the 'be-all and end-all' of street food vending.

Table 6-7. The location of street food vendors' trading activities (in percentage)

The location	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
Street side	27.5	18.8
Sidewalks	18.0	16.7
In front of a store	17.5	14.6
Empty lot	7.5	12.5
Government market store	3.5	24.0
Parking lots	13.5	8.3
In front of their house	4.5	1.0
Others	8.0	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

The results of Suharto's study (2004) in the Bandung Metropolitan Region in Indonesia show that although street vendors were widespread in many different places, their locations always reflected their reliance on economic activities either located on or affected by the street. A narrative of one of the interviewed women street food vendors, Ibu Ria (Figure 6-1), who runs her business on the sidewalk near crowded transport junctions illustrates these findings:

"I have sold street food for more than 20 years, but I have been here five years ago. I settled in this workplace spontaneously without any official allocation. This place is very strategic, it's never quiet even at night. As you can see, the time was 11 pm, there were still many customers seeking the food. This area is the place for workers to get food at night. If there are no customers, I won't stay here. I'd moved elsewhere since a long time ago. In here, I have never had to fight for space with other vendors because all the vendors who trade here have their own space. I commuted everyday with my son from our house by motorcycle. I and my son rode into the workplace from my house about 20 minutes. With the help by my son, I cooked and served up tasty fried rice and fried noodles to hungry workers each day by around 6 pm and finished on till 1 am in the night. When my customers come for dinner, I know them, and I know without asking what they like and what they want. It's a small thing, but believe me, it makes your customers feel comfortable, and it's why they keep coming back. I will not move anywhere else but sell in here because this is where our crowd is, and I will continue to stay as long as there is demand."

Figure 6-1. A street food vendor, Ibu Ria, prepared the food helped by her son
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

Most vendors select locations with strong, steady pedestrian flows, for example, in front of offices, residences and commercial companies, street corners and intersections, at the bus terminal and the train station are the preferred locations for most vendors. Others locate themselves along main roads and streets, however, they are mostly situated in the back alleys where traffic is less intense and there is a high possibility of encountering pedestrians as potential customers. Additionally, shopping centres or corners where vendors can be seen by pedestrians and motorists (Mitullah, 2003) belong to the favourite places. Mbak Harifah (Figure 6-2) who sells soto Lamongan at a street side on the main road in Tangerang stated:
The business was getting better when we moved to the new place. I got a strategical place on the high pedestrian footfalls and had potential customers, including office employees and shoppers.

Figure 6-2. A street food vendor, Mbak Harifah, sat next to her food cart
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

Some, however, are compelled to operate from a less favourite location as their current spaces were the only spaces available for them. From their side, the vendors avoid selling in places in close proximity to landowners who offer similar products. For instance, one of the food franchises which is located in the Kelapa Dua street, Tangerang asked vendors to not sell food in front of their building. In view of these obstacles, it is not surprising that the majority of vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai do not have a permanent place to sell their food (Table 6-7). Thus, they cannot retain regular customers. In the instance where vendors are forced to relocate, then location becomes a key constraint. This is because, they lose relationships with their customers and may have to operate from locations that limit access to potential customers, reducing distribution and sales.

The luckier ones are those who can operate on sidewalks and roadside around shopping or market areas, such as Tangerang city mall (Figure 6-3), Bale Kota mall, Pasar Lama market in Tangerang or Lee Garden Plaza, Diana shopping mall, Kim Yong market in Hat Yai (Figure 6-4). Vendors usually operate from the early morning until noon in the market areas, while in the shopping centers, vendors sell from noon until late at night. The first and most obvious reason why vendors trade at shopping and marketplaces is these are frequented by shopping visitors.

Additionally, the employees working in these malls and smaller shops also need food facilities. The employees may frequent the food stalls if they cannot afford to eat in their own work environment because of the prices or they might wish a variety of food not offered inside.

Figure 6-3. A street food vendor selling “sop ceker” at night in the sidewalk near Tangcity Mall,Tangerang
Source: Photographed by researcher assistant, 2018

Figure 6-4. A food vendor selling Moo Ping (pork satay) on street side near Kim Yong market, Hat Yai
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

Several additional challenges were identified relating to the location of sale. The challenge most commonly identified by women was unstable and unfriendly weather conditions. Street food vendors proved to be at their most vulnerable to the uneasy weather conditions that usually prevail in Indonesia as well as in Thailand, particularly during the rainy season. Many food vendors lack a shelter, cover or umbrella since the spaces occupied by vendors are open spaces, as seen in Figure 6-5. For the female vendors who often trade in the open air find these spaces inadequate. Observation in the fieldwork found that the majority of the female street food vendors operated in the open, in the absence of shade to cover their products or themselves. Many vendors reported that they did not run their business during the rainy season and heavy storms. Street food vendor, Mbak Widi, 32 years old who sells mixed rice (*nasi campur*) by standing on the side of the main road Kelapa Dua, Tangerang, confirmed her income drops by about half during the wet season:

> *"When it is raining, I cannot sell anything. The wet season is a miserable time. It was uncomfortable and unprofitable. My income drops by about half in the rainy season. In the dry season, I can make about Rp 500.000 (about $33.3) a day, but in the raining season, I can only earn about Rp 200.0000 (about $13.3) a day. Without proper shelter to protect my*

food carts from the rain, my products sometimes spoil. In the rainy season, I often stayed at home because many customers tend to stay indoors and cook for themselves."

Figure 6-5. Widi's food carts - without proper shelter to protect the food carts and consumers during the rainy season.
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

Pee Pauan, 64-year-old seller of *Som Tam* (Thai green papaya) in Hat Yai revealed a similar opinion related to the location of sale in the rainy season:

"On a good day, I can earn 600 THB ($18.2). On a rainy day, it is nothing. I'm truly grateful if I can earn 300 THB ($9.1) a day during that season. In fact, I lose because I have to throw away the ingredients. Customers are not too many during the rainy season. This workplace is not suitable when the rainy season is coming. I often give up when heavy rain arrives."

2.2. Legal Aspects

2.2.1. Starting a Business - Finding a Favourite Place

To determine how the vendors found the place they are currently using for their business, whether they received external help to obtain their workplace location, Table 6-8 shows that a quarter of the sample in Hat Yai and 12.5% vendors in Tangerang considered family (parents, brother, and relatives) to be an important contact that helped them gain access to a workplace in the market. Moreover, a considerable number of vendors in Hat Yai (20.8%) obtained their stall through inheritance. The significance of family networks in Hat Yai can be associated with the special migration pattern (see chapter IV), i.e. the proximity of the host city to the region of origin. For Tangerang it is characteristic, that 21.0% of the vendors obtained their workplace from "informal leaders" while only 2.5% vendors reported their workplace was offered by the authorities. This topic will be dealt with in the next sub-chapter.

Table 6-8. How did the vendors obtain the location to sell (in percentage)

How did the vendors obtain the location to sell	Tangerang n = 200	Hat Yai n = 96
From informal leaders	21.0	17.7
Given from family	12.5	25.0
Saw an empty space and used	49.0	31.3
From the government	2.5	20.8
Others	15.0	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

However, regardless of a considerable degree of variations, in the beginning the majority of the respondents in both Tangerang and Hat Yai immediately occupied an empty space in the street. "Normally" a vendor claims her space by occupying it continuously. This result is consistent with Alebachew's findings in Addis Ababa city (2017) that the greatest challenges facing street vendors are to find a location for the working place and the right to trading space. Most of the spaces in Hyderabad, India occupied by vendors have not been legalised and therefore, not been recognised since the spaces were not available for trade and were not allocated by the local authorities (Begari, 2017). In cases where the vendors are allowed to operate, the spaces are considered temporary and eviction occurs at the will of urban authorities (Alebachew, 2017). In this study, concerning the security of the vendors' current locations, the situations in the two cities have been found to differ considerably.

2.2.2. Squeezed between Landowners, Local Authorities and "Informal Leaders": The Current Situation

2.2.2.1. Tangerang

Even if most of the vendors started as squatters, the overwhelming majority in Tangerang have to pay various taxes and fees – among which the rent for space/table, tax and so-called security fees are the most prominent. The vendors pay fees and levies to stay on the pavements or vacant lots and to maintain their locations. The study notes that the majority of taxes and fees are paid to three sources - officers from the city administration, land or building owners and thugs.

As the study revealed, many vendors operate their business in front of buildings or houses. The vendors who occupy the pavement next to a house or a building can run their business, as long as the owner grants permission for their land to be used by vendors. In most of the cases a fee is paid to the owners of the houses/buildings to use their space and the fee rate has to be mutually accepted between the vendors and the landowners. Some vendors also pay money to local shopkeepers to store their food carts since they do not have access to a safe space. There is no regulation or criteria in determining the rate. In general, the landowner will request the higher fees to the vendors if their building/house is located in a strategic location. During the in-depth interviews with the participants, it was found that many house/building owners strongly understood that their house/building is strategically located and therefore, wished for a higher fee, even when the vendor used the space on the far side of the pavement from the house.

Ms. Wati, 31, who rents the space in front of one of the houses, said:

"I pay Rp 300,000 ($21.4) a month to rent this space to the landowner. The landowner provides water and light. Before I leave, I wash down my food cart so that it's clean and I put the food cart near the house of the landowner after I finish the business."

One of the respondents during the in-depth interview, Ibu Murni in Tangerang, who has been a street food vendor since 2011 indicated that a place with more profit attracts her. The location where she currently trades is right in front of the traditional market (Kelapa Dua market, Figure 6-6).

"Before you start this business, consider precisely where your business will be located. I found this location after I searched in many places. A good location will generate more profit. For this space, I paid Rp 400,000 ($28.5) per month in the beginning I started the business. Nowadays, I have to pay more (Rp 500,000 or $35.7). But it's still fine for me. The other vendors should pay Rp 750,000 ($53.6) per month. I get a special price from the landowner because I know him well."

Figure 6-6. Bu Murni in front of her food stall and her customer
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

Based on a mutual agreement signed by both parties (vendors and private landowners) vendors can use the sites for a stated period of time. This can be renewed upon expiry until the landowner decides to terminate the contract.

When the contracts are recalled, a period of insecurity may ensue. This is supported by the participant, Mbak Harifah, who asserted that:

> *"...when I started a business, I did not have the permanent location. I moved from one place to another. After two years, around mid-2001, I was given the permanent place in Bintaro sector 7 (South Jakarta) by a local businessperson. Unfortunately, after four years traded in that location, I should move away and find another location. By early 2010, for no apparent reason, the shopkeeper requested to move out from his land. At that time, I was confused about the location for my business. With my brother's help, I searched for a new location. Finally, we found the empty place that was not too far from the previous place. Notwithstanding, the new location was not strategic so there were not many customers coming as before..."*

During the fieldworks, it was found that in some strategic locations, the street food vendors did not pay fees and levies to the regular owners but to the so-called "local leaders", which can indeed be named local thugs. The thugs pretend to be 'owners' of a strategic location within the public space, particularly on the sidewalks or vacant lots. So, the use of such a location is subject to their consent. The respondents stated that they have been continuously disturbed by thugs to pay the fees and levies and out of fear, they concede. If vendors fail to pay fees and levies, the thugs come, they ask for payment of fees (they call it "biaya keamanan") again, and when the vendors cannot pay the fees, they ask the vendors to move out.

The so-called market committees turned out to be another recipient of fees and taxes. The market commissions are semi-official boards composed of a number of people from the community development council (*Lembaga Musyawarah Kelurahan*). They are closely associated with the public order agency officers and the local thugs as well. As there is no legal justification for a market committee to levy fees and taxes, the fees bear the name of a "security charge" or a "cleaning fee". The study found the monthly "security fees" rates for the vendors ranged between Rp 50,000 ($3.5) and Rp. 100,000 ($7.1), depending on the place. Of the few women vendors who reported paying a "cleaning fee", most paid between Rp 60,000 ($4.3) or less per month. However, many vendors complained that even though they pay a "cleaning fee", the space is not cleaned and they themselves have to make efforts to keep the space clean.

As a rent for the space the vendors in Tangerang pay between Rp 100,000 ($7.1) and Rp 500,000 ($35.7) per month to the market associations or the thugs, depending on the location and the size of the stall. According to one of the vendors, Ibu Ria, the rates have increased in the last years.

> *"I have been paying illegal levies to a market association. Previously I had to pay Rp 150,000 ($10.7) a month and it was increased to Rp 180,000 ($12.8) last year. These payments are such as protection money payments. By paying the contributions, I feel safe to trade here."*

The vendors are completely aware that the fees are illegal and that the market committees are closely aligned to local thugs, as complained by Ibu Harti.

"I should pay a variety of fees and levies. I pay a form of rent through daily fees levied in exchange for use of public space to a chairperson in charge of the market. I also pay cleaning charges and security charges to the thugs. I pay Rp 500,000 ($35.7) a month to rent space to a group that calls itself Kelapa Dua Market Association. The Kelapa Dua market vendor association represents the interests of all vendors in Kelapa Dua market and they are responsible for the overall management of that Kelapa Dua's area (e.g., allocation of space, cleanliness, etc.). I have been paying illegal levies, which are claimed to be security and cleaning fee to so-called preman (the thugs) who regularly trawl the market since I first set up my warung. I pay Rp 100,000 ($7.1) a month."

Of all the vendors surveyed, the majority understand that even though they pay these bribes, it does not guarantee any protection against civil authorities taking action against them, such as eviction of the vendor or confiscation of goods sold. The thugs do not help against the authorities' actions, and reversely, the authorities do not help against the thugs. Instead after an eviction they take the initiative to assign the working space to new-coming traders.

Many vendors stated that the local authorities should be aware of such illegal levies but in most cases, they never touch the thugs. Rather than receiving assistance and protection from the local government, the vendors are exploited and evicted. Ibu Rusmini is a 58-year-old woman who sells the snacks in front of a school shared the government's impartiality with them.

"...the government should protect its citizens. But what happened. I was evicted this morning. Many of the goods were taken by the police municipality. Even though it was only a few days ago, I gave my vote in the election. I chose the elected mayor in the hope that he could pay attention to our livelihoods, but what they did..."

Vendors have the natural propensity to assemble at special places because the customers find it convenient to purchase from them and here, they find a 'natural market' for their foods (Bhowmik, 2005). Hence, if these places are allotted to the vendors along with proper regulations in the form of space demarcations and so forth, then vending will not be a problem. However, the key issue is that the local governments are not willing to understand the main economic rationale. They simply do not consider informal trading as an important factor in the economy. Accordingly, most of the spaces occupied by vendors – regardless if they are paying rents or not - are considered illegal by local authorities since they have not been set aside for trade.

The interview with Mbak Harifah reveals that the space question consists of a set of multidimensional, often intertwined issues: Already mentioned Harifah living in a cottage in Tangerang is a hard-working businesswoman, feeds a family, pays the bills and educates her children. She has no help from anyone and no husband to lean on. Before starting her own business, she helped her husband who was a street food vendor. When they divorced, Harifah started her own business. Harifah said she moved to her present workplace four years ago after 15 years running her business in Jakarta. She moved because her last place was evicted. The new place was obtained from her customer's information.

> *"When I was confused to find a new location, one of my customers informed me that in her area there is an empty place for selling. I then asked my brother to conduct a survey in that whole area. The customer also informed that there is no one selling soto lamongan in the area."*

After surveying several places, her brother finally found the location. *"The location where I vend now is a vacant space and hence, I found it the right place for me to start."* The land (actually) belongs to the government. Last year, Harifah heard from local residents that her place will be evicted by the government for road expansion. Before this location is dismantled by the government, she will still use this location for her business. Harifah pays a rent of Rp 200,000 ($14.2) per month to the neighborhood association (Ketua RT) for having permission to vend on their location. Frankly, Ketua RT is not a landowner, but all the street vendors in this area are required to pay a rent to it. Almost Rp 100,000 ($7.1) out of Harifah pocket is given away to local thugs per month. This explains the probable role played by such institutions in a life of street food vendors. Harifah also spends Rp 200,000 ($14.2) per month to leave the cart in one of the residents' houses and Rp 400,000 ($28.5) to the one who pushes the cart back and forth.

Since most of the vendors are not legally recognized, some of them choose a place where they are able to hide from local authorities when they come to arrest them or to confiscate their products. Many street food vendors were likely to trade at a place which was not far from their home, in order to avoid eviction from the city authorities. By trading near the area, they live in, the vendors can easily spare from city authorities because the vendors may argue that they are citizens in the area and have the right to sell in their area. In addition, some vendors received support from local leaders to vend on their location. Again, for many food vendors in the streets, it appeared that trading near the house is one of the best choices compared on the street side or sidewalks. One respondent, Ibu Wartiyem reported:

"I have been here for two years ago. Previously, I traded in front of the house. I then asked permission to RT (neighborhood association) to trade near the entrance of the residence. The RT leader allowed me to occupy the workspace, and I paid the rent for working place Rp 50.000 ($3.6) a month."

Concerning the benefits of trading near at home rather than on the streets (Figure 6-7), another vendor, Ibu Lina, 51 years old, the owner of food stall "Nasi Uduk" said:

"…I never pay the rent. My auntie is the owner of business premises this place. I'm not required to pay the rent. In spite of that, sometimes, I gave money to the kiosk tenant to help them for paying the electricity. But it is very rare. I don't need to pay for other charges, such as security and cleaning. I have never received any tax charges for my business. No one has come yet to ask me for paying the taxes."

Figure 6-7. Lina's food cart is located in front of her aunt's house.
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

This study reveals that the lack of publicly allotted vending space is at the core of most of the problems. This includes harassment by formal shops and housing societies and ensuing evictions by local authorities or – instead – the burden of bribes. Even if sometimes the local authorities of Tangerang prepared a vending space for vendors, unfortunately, the working place was not occupied by vendors, but taken by acquaintances or relatives of officials and formal business operators. This is due to the lack of transparency in the distribution of the working places and the high costs required to be paid by vendors.

2.2.2.2. Hat Yai

In Hat Yai, the survey indicated that most of the street food vendors still operate from the streets and sidewalks, at 18.8% and 16.7%, respectively. Approximately 14.6% of the vendors are located in front of a store whilst only 1.0% chose to locate their stall near their place of residence (Table 6-7). Like in Tangerang, in most cases, the fees were paid to the shop owners from whose frontage the street food vendor was operating. To do this, the vendors establish their own individual rental agreements with landowners, negotiate the usage of these spaces, and compensate owners before they set up a food cart/stall. Monthly, the vendors pay an average of about 2,500 ($83.3) to 4,000 THB ($133.3) in fees and levies. Those costs collected by private owners normally include electricity and water charges. For example, one street food vendor in the bus terminal of Hat Yai, *Pee* Umi Kasoem, a Thai deep-fried chicken seller, explained:

> *"I have to pay the house owner 8,000 baht for vending one month, including public utilities (water and electricity). I share the fees with my cousin. I trade here in the morning from 5:30 till noon. In the afternoon until late night, my cousin takes over space. I am so lucky that I can trade here (in front of the bus terminal). Some vendors are even charged more for vending here."*

However, different from Tangerang, about 24.0% of the total street food vendors operate in a government market store (Table 6-7), in Hat Yai, the district administration declares which zones are open for business and which are not. This means that street food vendors have to operate in designated areas, at designated times. Next, the local authority decides which vendors can use how much of the space and at what time of the day. Each area of business, for example at Sri Trang food market and Kim Yong market where the fieldwork was carried out, has its own schedules, as well as a limited number of slots. Sri Trang market is situated near the Prince Songkla University, which offers a morning and an evening shift to vendors, and this who want to sell the entire day have to pay double the fee. Kim Yong market, located in Supasarnrangsan Road, operates by allowing wet market to trade during the early morning hours, whilst street food vendors operate in the evening.

Due to the fact that the Sri Tang market is managed by the local government, the traders are requested to pay monthly rentals. The rental fee is relatively low compared to the fee for renting space owned by a private landlord. The vendors paid the district administration around 1,000 THB ($33.3) to rent the space. The fee amount is at the discretion of the district officials, but the money goes to the district administration. There are hundreds of vendors in the market managing their businesses selling almost the same thing - Thai foods. These vendors are divided into two groups. The first group of vendors open their food cart from 05:00 am to 10:00 am. The second group of vendors sell their products in the evening, from 5:00 pm until late at night. When asked whether there has been a conflict over space between the two groups of vendors, almost all vendors collectively agreed that conflicts over space rarely occur because vendors know each other well, having worked alongside each other for a long time.

Unlike the market in Sri Trang where the whole area is managed by the district, in Kim Yong market, there are many spaces arranged privately since the demand for space in this area is very high. Kim Yong market is located in a strategic area - as a central business district and popular tourist spot. The market opens every day from early in the morning to the afternoon. Kim Yong market is a prime destination for food lovers, seeking authentic Thai cuisine to Chinese and Malay dishes. Unsurprisingly, a lot of street food vendors who open their stalls in Kim Yong market either rent the space provided by local governments or pay to private owners.

In many locations in Kim Yong market (Figure 6-8), for instance, in front of the local shopping mall (Lee Garden Plaza), vendors pay market price for their stall/cart. The price of each stall depends on its size and location in the market. There is a gap between the fee set by the local administration and the market rent. The rent is significantly higher than the fee. Some respondents said that they pay rent around 8,000 ($266.7) to 15,000 THB ($500.0) monthly – ten times more than the registered vendor's fee. Those who pay the fee to private owner do not register with the district but face no problems from the city administration, probably because the owner has already negotiated with them. Such arrangements are not official but are universally recognized.

Figure 6-8. Kim Yong market: The market with the most products
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

The transition from chaotic allotment into a more regulated system has started in the early 2000s. The local government in Hat Yai was putting up a formal market infrastructure across the city so that street vendors should be able to trade in an orderly, safe and good environment, including Sritrang market, Santisuk market and the Klonghae floating market. Places in the markets were “offered” to street vendors who previously had sold on the side of the road or sidewalk. This step seems to have been free from an atmosphere of disregard and corruption, that has been typical for the authorities’ activities elsewhere, for instance in Tangerang. However, interviews with several vendors in the government market store revealed that this step did not evolve without frictions, as it was not based on mutual agreements. Instead, the municipality of Hat Yai relocated the street vendors, including vendors operating from the side of the streets to the commercial centres. Many vendors said that in the beginning they did not want to move because they were afraid that the customers would not visit their stall. Many of those who were forced to move said that initially, their income declined when they moved to a new place. They slowly gained new customers and their income slightly increased. At present, they feel comfortable and safe trading on the market provided by the local government, as seen in the Sritrang market (Figure 6-9).

Figure 6-9. Activities in the morning of street food vendors at Sritrang market, Hat Yai
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

3. Access to Facilities

Vendors have varying reasons for their choice of a trading location. Access to basic services in the street markets is not their primary incentive, but does play a significant role, once a place has been fixed. Many vendors experience several problems with services and infrastructure such as water, electricity, toilet facilities and waste removal. In the survey, it was found that 43.0% of the total vendors in Tangerang had free access to water at their place of work, 44.0% had free access to a toilet while only 12.0% stated that they had free access to electricity (Table 6-9). More than one third (37.0%) of the vendors reportedly had free access to rubbish removal. In Hat Yai, the majority (72.9%) of the vendors had free access to a toilet, 67.7% had free access to garbage collection and more than half (57.3%) of the vendors had free access to running water. Another 16.7% vendors reported that they had free access to electricity.

Table 6-9. Access to the basic services (in percentage)

Access	Tangerang	Hat Yai
Clean water	n = 200	n = 96
Free access	43.0	57.3
Paid access	49.5	32.3
Not required	7.5	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Toilet	n = 200	n = 96
Free access	44.0	72.9
Paid access	11.0	22.9
Not required	45.0	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Electricity	n = 200	n = 96
Free access	12.0	16.7
Paid access	67.0	74.0
Not required	21.0	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Garbage collection	n = 200	n = 96
Free access	37.0	67.7
Paid access	55.0	26.0
Not required	8.0	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Vendors without a proper workplace were able to pay for access to facilities such as water, toilets, electricity and garbage collection. Many vendors used public toilets in the locality. In addition, they buy drinking water for which they pay daily. Those who have their place of accommodation nearby, visit their homes for drinking water and to use the toilet. For electricity facility, vendors either use lights operated through batteries or depend on street lights. Depending on their location of workplace, quite a few of the vendors were using a rented electricity connection.

When asked which access facilities are the most desirable from the local government, many of the vendors stated that their number one request would be of the provision of electricity and water supply. At present, the majority of vendors do not have direct electricity access for lighting at night. Since many vendors start their business in the evening (from 5 pm until 12 am midnight), electricity is essential for the street food vendors. The vendors manage their demand for electricity by borrowing from the nearby shops and/or rechargeable light. Majority of the vendors receive electricity supply from the nearest big shop by paying a small fee per month to the owner of the shop. A small chargeable light is now a popular source of electricity and is widely used by vendors, particularly those conducting business at night.

Many vendors reported that they required water for the daily operation of their business. This water is primarily used for cooking, cleaning and drinking by watering down flavored syrups for beverage sold to the public. Despite the high demand, most vendors transport their own water to the site. Since most of them commute on the motorcycle, the transportation of water is very difficult. Unsurprisingly, a small amount of water was available in very small pails or a few gallons at most of the vending sites, as shown in Figure 6-10. This water is used sparingly throughout the day for drinking while dishwater is constantly reused and changed only once during the day. The implications on health are obvious and the demand for municipal response in these urban centres is imperative.

Figure 6-10. A simple dishwater uses for cleaning the equipment by Tangerang's vendor
Source: Photographed by the author, 2018

The easier accessibility of toilets in Hat Yai may be associated with the government's activities in locating the vendors. However, major hygienic problems are faced by the vendors in Tangerang as well as in Hat Yai. Local governments in both cities should immediately take action to find solutions for these problems that affect the health of a huge number of vendors and consumers. On the other side, vendors should be informed about and sensitized for hygienic issues. They will have to accept that resources securing hygiene and hence health for their customers cannot be obtained for free.

4. The Financial Impact of Fees and Charges

Among the vendors who answered the question regarding the fees, taxes and levies for the use of the space, nearly 93.0% of street food vendors in Hat Yai make payments for access to public space for trading, while over four-fifths of Tangerang's street food vendors in the sample pay for selling space (Table 6-10). A little less than 8.0% of vendors in Hat Yai stated that they do not need to pay any fee due as they are the owner of such space. Unlike Hat Yai, the majority of vendors in Tangerang who did nothing to access vending space declared that they operate their business from a space owned by their family.

Table 6-10. Payment of fees, taxes or levies for space in Tangerang and Hat Yai (in percentage)

Payment of fees, taxes or levies	Tangerang n=200	Hat Yai n=96
Yes	87.0	92.7
No	13.0	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Payment for the space is just one facet in the ensemble of fees and charges described above. Table 6-10 shows the percentage of vendors that pay varying types of fees, taxes and levies to operate their business in Tangerang and Hat Yai. Most importantly, the percentage of vendors in Hat Yai that pay rent for space (76.0%) was much higher than their counterparts in Tangerang (53.5%), as seen in Table 6-11. On the contrary, the street food vendors in Tangerang were more likely to pay “cleaning charges” and other “public” charges than their counterparts in Hat Yai. Moreover, twice as many of the respondents in Hat Yai (14.6%) paid a municipal tax compared to 7.0% of traders in Tangerang. Not surprisingly, illegal retribution is more prevalent in Tangerang where around 15.5% of the total traders paid these charges compared to only 4.2% in Hat Yai. The percentage increases sharply, when contributions like “cleaning charges” and “security charges” are included, which during the in-depth interviews with the respondents in the majority of cases turned out to be disguised names for illegal levies.

Table 6-11. Types of the payment for fees, taxes, and levies in Hat Yai and Tangerang

Type of fees, taxes and levies	Tangerang		Hat Yai	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Rent for space	107	53.5%	73	76.0%
Municipal tax	14	7.0%	14	14.6%
Cleaning charges	99	49.5%	15	15.6%
Security charge	78	39.0%	29	30.2%
Electricity & water	96	48.0%	35	36.5%
Association/union	5	2.5%	17	17.7%
Illegal charge	31	15.5%	4	4.2%
Others	12	6.0%	0	0.0%

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; Multiples answer is possible

In compensation, in Tangerang, many traders who run their business on vacant lots or pavements tend not to pay the taxes to the local government.

Table 6-12. Mean monthly payment for fees, taxes, and levies in Tangerang

Type of fees, levies and taxes	Amount (Rp)	Percentage of the total
Rent for space	413,450	66.6%
Municipal tax	9,375	1.5%
Cleaning charges	26,835	4.3%
Security charges	51,920	8.4%
Electricity and water charges	96,078	15.5%
Union fees	1,483	0.2%
Illegal charges	16,158	2.6%
Others	5,700	0.9%
Total average fees, levies and taxes	620,998 ($44.4)	100.0%

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Table 6-13. Mean monthly payment for fees, taxes, and levies in Hat Yai

Type of fees, levies and taxes	Amount (Baht)	Percentage of the total
Rent for space	2,819	86.4%
Municipal tax	61	1.9%
Cleaning charges	15	0.4%
Security charges	81	2.5%
Electricity and water charges	267	8.2%
Union fees	18	0.5%
Illegal charges	4	0.1%
Others	-	0.0%
Total average fees, levies and taxes	3,264 ($108.8)	100.0%

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

To sum up, Hat Yai traders pay twice as much as their counterpart in Tangerang for fees, taxes, and levies. However, rent and electricity and water charges in Hat Yai are two times more expensive than in Tangerang. Furthermore, according to the present study (see Chapter VII), the average daily income of food vending activities in Hat Yai was two times ($45,24 per day or $1,131 per month) higher than their counterparts' in Tangerang ($21,52 per day or $538.0 per month). In this respect, the share made up by taxes and fees is fairly similar in the two locations, 9.6% of the average total net income per month in Hat Yai, 8.2% in Tangerang, respectively. The difference may be the price for a higher degree of security in Hat Yai.

5. Summary

Lack of financial resources, lack of secure and stable business locations to conduct their business, in addition to geographic concentration of street food vendors were the key factors complained by the interviewees. To obtain loans, support of family members and friends was again (see previous chapter) crucial to enable the women to start a street food business. Surprisingly however, this study found out that more than half of the vendors had an initial capital, which originated from their own savings.

Concerning the vending location, the study found that nearly half of the vendors in Tangerang locate on pavements and pedestrian paths. This is due to the fact, that when starting their business, the majority of the respondents in both Tangerang and Hat Yai immediately occupied an empty space in the street. In a majority of cases these locations have not been legalised since the spaces were not available for trade and were not allocated by the local authorities.

Especially in Tangerang many spaces are considered temporary and eviction occurs at the will of urban authorities. Local neighbourhood committees fill the gap and offer “protection” in exchange for a “fee” to a local thug. No wonder, that the majority of vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai do not have a permanent place to sell their food. However, in Hat Yai, a ray of hope is associated with the activities of the local authorities. Unlike Tangerang, nearly a quarter of vendors in Hat Yai operate their business in a recently established government market store, while 35.5% of them still run the business on the street side and sidewalks.

Across the two cities, access to infrastructures, such as access to toilets, garbage collection, electricity and running water was considered to be one of the pressing problems because many of the vendors depend on electricity and water to prepare cooked foods. However, from the observations, most street food vendors are relatively satisfied with infrastructure conditions. This satisfaction, however, reflects a considerable unawareness of basic hygiene issues.

During the in-depth interviews, participants were asked to identify the challenges that affect their trade. In sum, the key constraints faced by vendors are the lack of social security and stability in addition to very little access to credit. Moreover, the absence of secure allotted space for vending was identified to be the paramount issue.

CHAPTER VII

Socio-Economic and Livelihood Conditions of Women Street Food Vendors

Similar to other Asian countries, many people in Indonesia and Thailand migrate to cities and urban areas in search of better opportunities and jobs. Not all individuals, however, who migrate to towns can equally reap the benefits by gaining a stable employment. In contrast, to survive, many people find themselves engaged in the informal economy by, for example, food vending on the side of the street. Street food vending plays a tremendous role in supporting a large number of households and providing livelihood opportunities for people irrespective of gender and age. It also provides an outlet to people seeking seasonal employment. Chandra et al. (2015) examined the condition of women street vendors in Delhi and stated that encouraging and organizing street vending activity can and will go a long way in reducing urban poverty. Since women street food vendors have been emerging as a major part in this sector activity in the urban areas, therefore street food vending is a way for them to earn a livelihood and make their way out of poverty. The purpose of this chapter is to exclusively discuss the impact of street food vending to the socio-economic lives and household livelihood conditions of women street food vendors in different areas of Tangerang, Indonesia and Hat Yai, Thailand.

1. Income Levels of Street Food Vendors

1.1. Average Earnings of Street Food Vendors

Previous research in various developing countries has shown that, like any other informal sector, street food vending is an important source of income for a household, in spite of its legal insecurity. Mitullah (2003) in his research in Kenya, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa found that the street vending activities provide many opportunities for urban residents, including a source of income and employment. Findings reported by

Hermawati and Runiawati (2017) in Bandung, Indonesia also expressed that the profession of the street vendor is not only a means to earn a livelihood/to meet basic needs, but it is also as a strategy and an opportunity for the owners to develop a business of capital and goods.

It is difficult to assess the earnings of street food traders accurately. They vary from day to day and from month to month. Furthermore, the earning of street food vendors depends on various factors such as the type of merchandise sold, the place from where they operate, the volume of trade and terms of trade. However, the overwhelming majority of the respondents in the two cities (184 in Tangerang and 78 in Hat Yai) ware able and willing to give exact information about the average net income they obtained from their business. On the basis of these specifications it has been calculated that enterprises operating in Tangerang had an average net income of Rp 305,839 per day ($21,5) with a median of Rp 200,000 per day ($14,3), while the daily average net income from food vending activities in Hat Yai was 1,440 baht ($45,2) with a median of 1,000 baht ($33,3). In both cities street food vendors operated on average 25 days per month. The sum for fees and taxes (see Chapter VI) is not contained in the net income.

In Indonesia the population is classified into the three categories based on their incomes. These are high-class group, middle-class and low-class groups of income. The World Bank, Indonesia Bureau of Statistic, The Economist Intelligence Unit cited by The Deloitte Southeast Asia (2015) classified the consumer income in Indonesia as a social class proxy into four levels, namely, 1. Higher income (more than IDR 120 million per annum); 2. Upper middle income (IDR 60-120 million per annum); 3. Lower middle income (IDR 36-60 million per annum); and 4. Lower income (lower than IDR 36 million per annum).

According to the field findings (Table 7-1), more than half (52.7%) of the families of street food vendors in Tangerang fall within the lower middle-income group. More important, only 5% belong to the lowest group.

Table 7-1. Income classification of street food vendors in Tangerang (in percentage)

		Types of income	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	< Rp 125,000	Lower income	5.4	5.4
	Rp 125,000 - Rp 200,000	Lower middle income	52.7	58.1
	Rp 200,001 - Rp 350,000	Upper middle income	17.7	75.8
	> Rp 350,000	Higher income	24.2	100.0
Total			100.0	

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; n=184

In Hat Yai, as seen in Table 7-2, the majority of participants are more likely to have even upper-middle socio-economic status. This dissimilarity is mainly due to the general differences between the two countries, for in 2011, The World Bank (2011) improved the income categorization of Thailand from a lower-middle income economy to an upper-middle income economy due to the increasing average income and the decrease of poverty in the population.

Table 7-2. Income classification of street food vendors in Hat Yai (in percentage)

		Types of income	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
Valid	<330 THB	Lower income	2.7	2.7
	330 THB - 450 THB	Lower middle income	5.3	8.0
	451 THB - 800 THB	Upper middle income	62.7	70.7
	> 800 THB	Higher income	29.3	100.0
Total			100.0	

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; n=78 respondents

As this category, especially for Indonesia, due to inflation and devaluation processes, are fairly volatile, an additional standard of comparison has to be set. In Tangerang based on the Governor of Banten's Decree, the 2019 minimum wage has been set at Rp 3,841,368 ($274,4) per month, on a 25-days-basis $10,98 accordingly. Consequently, the differences between street food vendors' average earnings and formal sector living standards are significant, with more than two-thirds of the vendors earning at least two times more than the official minimum wage earned by formal sector workers (Table 7-3). The same scenario has been found in Hat Yai city where the majority (88.4%) of street food vendors earn better than the income received by the lowest rank of the formal workers (Table 7-4). The new minimum wage in Hat Yai based on The Thailand's Central Wage Committee (2018) is 330 Thai Baht ($9,9} per day, on a 25-days-basis accordingly $247,5.

However, in both cities, the differences between the arithmetical average and the median (the median being considerably lower than the arithmetical average) indicate substantial differences within the vendors' group. Although the income of a majority of vendors is located fairly above the minimum wage line, the present study indicated that the street food sectors in both study locations have a strongly disproportionate income distribution. In the literature, a comparable spread in the group of the vendors is sometimes noted (Setia; 2008; Kusakabe 2006; Fixy, 2004), however, a detailed examination is mostly missing. As a first step, in this study, the Gini-coefficient (Table 7-3 and Table 7-4) as the primary tool to analyse social inequality is being used. The range of this coefficient goes from zero to one, with zero indicating perfect equality and one perfect inequality. Normally, a Gini coefficient below 0.2 indicates an equitable income distribution, 0.2-0.3 a fairly equitable; 0.4 symbolizes the international inequality threshold alert line.

The Gini coefficient based on the vendors' net incomes in Hat Yai stood at 0.363, briefly below the alert line. These results almost exactly conform with Thailand's national income inequality value of 0.365 on the Gini index (The World Bank, 2019b). In Tangerang, the Gini coefficient based on the net income of the vendors is placed at 0.442, a figure higher than the national Gini coefficient (0.381). In the case of Tangerang, the relatively high Gini coefficient may be attributed to differences in working experience (specifically, the duration in running the business) and working capital.

Table 7-3. Gini coefficient of the street food vendors in Tangerang

No	Group of income	Number of vendors	Average income per capita/daily	% cumulative of vendors (Xk)	Total income	% cumulative of income (Yk)	Xk-Xk-1	Yk+Yk-1	(Xk-Xk-1)*(Yk+Yk-1) (Score)
1	< $5.0	8	3,660	0.043	29,280	0.007	0.043	0.007	0.000
2	$5 - $9,9	46	7,050	0.293	324,300	0.088	0.250	0.095	0.024
3	$10 - $14,9	54	12,760	0.587	689,040	0.260	0.293	0.348	0.102
4	$15 - $19,9	8	18,080	0.630	144,640	0.296	0.043	0.555	0.024
5	$20 - $24,9	25	21,430	0.766	535,750	0.429	0.136	0.725	0.098
6	$25 - $29,9	7	27,550	0.804	192,850	0.477	0.038	0.906	0.034
7	$30 - $34,9	0	-	0.804	-	0.477	-	0.954	-
8	$35 - $39,9	13	35,710	0.875	464,230	0.593	0.071	1.070	0.076
9	>$40	23	71,120	1.000	1,635,760	1.000	0.125	1.593	0.199
	Total	184			4,015,850				0.558
								Gini coefficient	**0.442**

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; n=184 respondents

For the Tangerang sample three clusters are discernible, a larger one around the minimum wage line (No 2 + 3; 100 vendors), a smaller one in the upper segment above the triple of the minimum wage sum (No 8 + 9; 36 vendors), a narrow “middle class” (No 4 – 6) of 40 vendors and a misery group of eight vendors. The majority of the upper-class vendors have a permanent stall, part of them employ paid workers. Conversely, most of the traders with profits around the minimum wage are mobile in the sense that they move from place to place by carrying their food on push carts or in baskets on their heads. The majority of them do not have any other source of income.

Table 7-4. Gini coefficient of the street food vendors in Hat Yai

No	Group of income	Number of vendors	Average income per capita/daily	% cumulative of vendors (Xk)	Total income	% cumulative of income (Yk)	Xk-Xk-1	Yk+Yk-1	(Xk-Xk-1)*(Yk+Yk-1) (Score)
1	< $5.0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	$5 - $9,9	10	9,927	0.128	99,272	0.021	0.128	0.021	0.003
3	$10 - $14,9	1	13,236	0.141	13,236	0.023	0.013	0.044	0.001
4	$15 - $19,9	13	17,054	0.308	221,707	0.069	0.167	0.093	0.015
5	$20 - $,4,9	0	-	0.308	-	0.069	-	0.139	-
6	$25 - $29,9	7	26,473	0.397	185,308	0.108	0.090	0.177	0.016
7	$30 - $34,9	9	33,091	0.513	297,816	0.170	0.115	0.278	0.032
8	$35 - $39,9	0	-	0.513	-	0.170	-	0.340	-
9	>$40	38	105,190	1.000	3,997,220	1.000	0.487	1.170	0.570
	Total	78			4,814,560				0.637
								Gini coefficient	**0.363**

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; n=78 respondents

In the Hat Yai sample a misery group is completely absent; the “minimum wage group” (24 vendors) is smaller than in Tangerang, as it is the “middle class” (16 vendors), while the prosperity group (38 vendors) is the most extensive. Comparable to Tangerang, almost all the vendors belonging to the minimum wage class in Hat Yai offer foods to the public without having a permanent built-up structure. They use a temporary stall for running their activities for instance putting tables on sites that they have occupied on a temporary basis. By contrast, the upper-class members can rely on fixed stalls such as kiosks; some hire paid employees. The majority belong to the group of licensed vendors in a government market store.

1.2. Income Determinants in the Street Food Business

The overall data collected in this study allow a comprehensive approach to determine the factors responsible for the substantial income spreads within the vendors' group in each city. Because of the differences between the two countries, the test has to be conducted separately for each city. The linear regression model turned out to be the best tool to analyze the factors affecting the incomes of the street food vendors both in Tangerang and in Hat Yai. The model focuses on how the street food vendors' earnings have been affected by the changes in various explanatory variables.

As observed by the author, the income from the vendor business on the streets seems to depend very much on the traders' experience, knowledge and marketing skills. Reversely, limited skills and low levels of marketing knowledge make minimal profits for many street traders, which is in line with the literature for several African countries (Mitullah, 2003). However, according to the literature (see Introduction) and the vendors' narratives, further variables have been added. Among the overall data generated by the questionnaire, eight variables have been isolated as potential explanatory factors: Besides the duration in running the business (years) and the education level of respondents as two proxies for the business skills already mentioned, the amounts of initial investment have been selected as their influence has been highlighted in the literature. Furthermore, demographic factors are added as the complexes "family" and "religion" play a major role in the literature (see Introduction) and the qualitative narratives of the interviewees. Accordingly, the influence of the marital status, the number of children and household members and the religious affiliation is also being tested.

Table 7-5. Income determinants of street food vendors in Hat Yai

Independent variables	Coefficient	P-values
Age	-.212	.068
Marital status	-.100	.392
Education levels	.266	.021*
Number of children	-.233	.054
Household members	-.090	.444
Religion	.116	.321
Initial working capital	.259	.042*
The duration in running the business	-.199	.087

*Significant at the 0.05 level; Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

The results from the linear regression model in Table 7-5 indicate that the educational level and initial working capital affected the earned incomes of street food vendors in Hat Yai as it was a significant factor at 5%, indicating a positive relationship between the two variables.

In the literature, education is said to be one of the crucial factors influencing the daily earnings of an informal worker in the street vending business in Telagana, India (Begari, 2017). Ayadurai (2004) stated that greater success of women entrepreneurs in Srilanka's informal sector was consistently associated with the level of education of entrepreneurs. It was asserted that education builds the entrepreneurial, managerial and technical skills of entrepreneurs which are all imperative for successful enterprises. Remi et al. (2010) found that the educational background of the vendor may affect business performance in Osun State, Nigeria. In this view, formal education facilitates one's appreciation of innovative business management concepts, undertake effective planning and make well-informed decisions that will lead to an improved business performance. This is certainly due to the fact, that educated vendor are more aware of opportunities and different avenues of income. The interviews confirmed these findings. The experiences of 42-year-old Pee Warapong, one of the street food vendors in Hat Yai, illustrates how influential education was in the development of her street food business.

> *"At the first time, my mother asked me to help her after I graduated from college in Malaysia. However, I have no interest in my mother's suggestion. I wanted to be an employee in a company. I thought it's cool … and I can at least learn some skills and practice my knowledge. That might be helpful and bring me some other chance in the future. But after working a few years, I decided to go back to Songkhla and help my mother. My mother has a small kiosk assisted by one employee. I've developed the business through my work experience and knowledge. I practice many concepts to expand the business. In a highly competitive market, I should have many strategies to stay in this business."*

Additionally, for Hat Yai the coefficient of the investment variable is positive which confirms that an increase in initial investment creates a stable substance for the income in the following years. This is in line with the findings by Adhikari in Bangladesh (2017). Research in Padang, West Sumatera by Harahap (2017) additionally showed, that the income increases not only with the grade of education but also with the rate of initial investments (Adhikari, 2011). In this study, this is confirmed the vendors' narratives: An elderly vendor, Ibu Mariana, 53 years old narrated the importance of start-up capital in determining a street food business' well-being:

> *"I started the vending at this site three years ago. Previously, I was a mobile food vendor for around 20 years and the income was not sufficient to sustain my family. It was very difficult to have money in my hand. Besides, I was so tired of selling the food without having a permanently built structure. In the end, I decided to trade permanently in this place. With a startup capital of 600 thousand rupiah ($43), I started this business. … Slowly, my business began to develop, and consumers started coming to my food stall. Now at least I can use my money as for my need and my family. Finically, this street food business is far better than my previous work as a mobile food vendor."*

Initial working capital costs are one of the factors which may give an additional reason for the income disparities at the two study locations. As discussed before, vendors in Hat Yai spent more money when they started the business compared to vendors in Tangerang. By contrast, the independent variable 'number of children' was significant at 5% with a negative relationship suggesting that vendors who have fewer children might have more time to take care of their business and earned a higher income.

Table 7-6 shows that the amount of initial capital plays a significant role in raising the sales revenue of the street food business in Tangerang as well, even if the investments were on average lower than in Hat Yai. The coefficient of “duration of business”/ “experience in business” is also positive and significant at the 5% level, which means that vendors that are more experienced in this business, have higher incomes.

Table 7-6. Income determinants of street food vendors in Tangerang

Independent variables	Coefficient	P-values
Age	-.120	.103
Marital status	-.044	.550
Education levels	.066	.369
Number of children	-.099	.179
Household members	-.079	.284
Religion	.020	.790
Initial working capital	.298	.000**
The duration in running the business	.182	.013*

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level; **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level
Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

On a similar note, Muzaffar et al. (2009) collected data on street food vendors in Dhaka city, Bangladesh and found that business experience does have a significant impact on business performance. The results in Table 7-6 reveal that the coefficient of education levels is positive but, unlike in Hat Yai, not significant at a 5% level. Therefore, it can be concluded that the level of education does not significantly affect the sales revenue generated by street food vendors in Tangerang. It suggests that the duration of conducting business in this sector is more important than formal education in generating higher income for street food vendors in Tangerang.

This reflects the different role education plays in the two countries. The education system in Thailand is much more developed and accessible for a larger share of its population than its counterpart in Indonesia. An analysis by the ASEAN (2018) showed that the percentage of population aged 15 years and over who can both read and write with understanding a short simple statement on his/her everyday life in Thailand was 97.0% compared to 95.4% in

Indonesia. Net enrolment rate in primary and secondary education in Thailand (98.0%) was also higher than Indonesia (96.8%). According to The World Bank (2018) the percentage of Indonesians over the age of 25 that had attained at least a bachelor's degree in 2016 was just under 9.0% compared to Thailand which jumped from 19.0% in the early 1990s to 47.7% in 2011 (ASEAN State of Education Report, 2013).

Formally, for Tangerang, business experience can be perceived as a proxy for lacking grades of formal education. To a certain degree, street business is the Tangerang vendors' university. However, the question remains: Would Tangerang vendors be more successful if their formal education would reach the Hat Yai level? As this question is counter-factual, an answer, based on empirical data is impossible. Reversely, this comparison may reveal the limited scope of the Thai education system. It did not prevent educated people from seeking employment in the informal sector with its basic weaknesses: insecurity, poor hygiene and a never-ending workday. However, it may have enabled them to do a more successful job than a majority of their Indonesian counterparts and to become members of the upper-middle income class.

1.3. A Success Story? Initial and Current Income

With reference to Table 7-7, it is clear that most of the participants in Tangerang (51.1%) stated that their daily income when starting the business was lower than at present. The majority of participants noted that their vending has now grown, and the business is operating well, while only a few vendors responded that their vending business is performing badly. Nevertheless, street food vending activities have been a powerful engine of economic growth and wealth creation in their households. For Hat Yai the findings are not unequivocal. Only one-fourth of the total respondents in Hat Yai (24.0%) stated that they earn a higher daily income at present than at the beginning of their business, while 10.7% stated that their daily income was getting worse.

Table 7-7. Net income when vendors started the business compared to current income (in percentage)

Amount of net income when the business started compared to current situation	Tangerang n = 186[12]	Hat Yai n = 75[13]
Equal	34.9	65.3
Higher	14.0	10.7
Lower	51.1	24.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

2. Gaining a Family Livelihood: Contributions of the Street Food Business

2.1. The Use of the Money Earned: An Overview

In general, the participants in Tangerang and Hat Yai explained that the daily income generated from business activities was used to directly finance their and their families' daily lives (Table 7-8). The income generated from street food vending enabled them to pay house rents, household utilities, school fees and buy adequate school equipment and uniforms for those vendors who have children at schooling age. All in all, it can be concluded that the income generated from street food vending activities helped the operators to improve their socio-economic well-being.

Table 7-8. Utilisation of the daily income (in percentage)

Utilisation of the money	Tangerang n=200	Hat Yai n=96
Business expansion	10.7	15.7
Save the money in monetary terms	12.3	21.2
Family support	36.0	35.4
For own purposes	26.1	22.2
Save the money for social protection purposes	12.8	5.1
Others	2.1	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; This is a multiple response question

[12] 14 out of 200 respondents in Tangerang did not answer the question.
[13] 21 out of 96 respondents in Hat Yai did not answer the question.

One of the participants, Ibu Harifah, aged 40, expressed the importance of the contribution of income to her family, primarily to finance the education of her children.

"...I have to continue this business until I cannot afford it anymore. I would like to invest my earnings in providing good education to my children. I fully understand this work is not easy, but I have to keep doing it."

Pee Supranee, 39, a street vendor who operates her food cart on the sidewalk near the Prince Songkla University mentioned that the daily income earned from the trading was used to meet the needs of her family.

"I earn from selling Khao Neow Moo Ping (grilled pork with sticky rice), khao phat (Thai fried rice), and Pad Kee Mao (drunken noodles). I can't sell enough foods to break even because I should share this place with another vendor. I start my trading in the early morning till noon around 11:00 am. I make about 2,500 baht ($83,3) a day, but sometimes, I get less when the semester break is coming. Even so, I am grateful that the earned income that I have enough to sustain my family. Since a few years ago, I have been the sole breadwinners of the family. Both of my parents became ill and stopped working."

These views are consistent with Chukuezi (2010) who reported that the majority of street food vendors in Nigeria stated that the income from street food vending was sufficient to provide for the entirety of their family needs. These findings also correlate with those of Muyanja et al. (2011) who have shown that the income generated by food vending in Uganda contributes to the total family income as well as to the satisfaction of additional financial needs.

2.2. The Livelihood Approach: A Tool to Measure Economic Success

Furthermore, most of the narratives show, that some of them have increased their financial capital substantially and have been going to invest in other sectors i.e. establishing permanent shops. Others have built their own house and many of them have invested in education for their children. In order to approach these issues in detail, this chapter will have a closer look at the use of the money earned and will provide an understanding of street food vending as an opportunity for a livelihood to urban poor. The livelihood approach highlights five salient categories of household capitals known as “assets pentagon” (physical, financial, social, human and natural capital) (Ellis, 2000).

Natural capital is a primary source that creates livelihoods in society, mainly in rural areas. It comprises the land, water and biological resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival (Ellis, 2000). The utilisation of natural capital is less significant to the urban poor, which suggests that an increasing number of households in urban areas have become less dependent on activities such as subsistence farming and instead rely on purchasing what they need (Rakodi and Llyod-Jones, 2002). Therefore, this research did not discuss natural capital as the contribution of these assets is not large and is even non-existent to street food vendors. The access to water, electricity and space, however, has been discussed in the previous chapter. Human capital, as related to the vendors themselves (especially the education and health issue), has been discussed in the demography and the labour chapters. As related to their children, their education would be a crucial factor for the human capital approach. However, information on this item is sparse and would in the majority of cases be premature, because of the low age of most children.

Accordingly, this chapter focusses on physical, financial and social capital. It is designed to present the vendors’ livelihood situations when they started the business and at present, in order to assess elements of progress, achieved in the time in-between. This study thus provides an understanding of the importance of the street food sector and how it provides livelihoods alternatives for the urban poor and pleads that it will be considered as an employment provider sector rather than an illegal or insignificant sphere.

2.2.1. Physical Capital and Housing

Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to pursue the vendors' livelihoods. Six physical assets are identified as important indicators of the households' physical wealth in goods - television devices, refrigerators, mobile phones, motorcycles, cars and house/residence. Mobile phones have a functional value as assets in that they enable social relationships with family and friends and are used to listen to music, but they are also forms of physical capital which are 'easy to sell' if cash is needed urgently. Besides entertainment, television can also be used to transmit information over a wider population. Motorcycles or cars are used to transport people and goods to marketplaces, public buildings or other short/long distances. The house is the basic infrastructure that people need to live in with their family. The fundamental reason for having a *refrigerator* is to keep *food* cold and perishable raw materials for preparation the next day (Alimi, 2016).

To enable an easier comparison of the total physical assets between households, the six assets are accumulated in a total asset value score. This is done as each asset has a significant relationship with household welfare. For each asset that the household possesses, one point was given. Therefore, the highest possible score is six and the lowest is zero. The mean score of all households in Tangerang and Hat Yai before starting the business and at present, as shown in Table 7-9, are 3.64 and 4.58, respectively. At present, all households in Hat Yai own mobile phones resulting in the highest score on physical assets compared to 90.0% of the households in Tangerang. The percentage of car ownership in Hat Yai (61.0%) was nearly four times higher than their counterparts in Tangerang (16.0%). Interestingly, the percentage of home ownership of traders in Tangerang (60.0%) was higher than traders in Hat Yai (51.0%). This shows that many traders in Tangerang might choose to invest the majority of their money into housing rather than buying other assets, such as a new car.

Table 7-9. Household value assets in the research areas

Asset	Tangerang (n=197)[14]			Hat Yai (n=87)[4]			Total	
	Before	After	↑↓	Before	After	↑↓	Before	After
TV device	155	192	19.3%	85	86	1.2%	240	278
Refrigerator	131	172	23.8%	85	86	1.2%	216	258
Motorcycle	128	172	25.6%	82	84	2.4%	210	256
Car	13	28	53.6%	47	53	11.3%	60	81
Mobile phone	128	177	27.7%	64	87	26.4%	192	264
Housing	78	119	34.5%	37	44	15.9%	115	163
Mean score	3.21	4.37	26.5%	4.60	5.06	9.1%	3.64	4.58

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Finally, the presence of six different physical assets in the household gives some indication of a household's. Having a television device, a refrigerator, a mobile phone, a house, a motorbike or a car household adds one point to the total value asset score. The indication of ownership of physical assets in the household illustrates the level of welfare of the street food vendors in the research locations, from the very poor households with the lowest score to the very good households with the highest score. In conclusion, physical capital before and after running a street food business has increased in the location of studies, especially in Tangerang. But overall, the welfare level of traders in Hat Yai is more prosperous compared to its counterparts in Tangerang, as they started from a much higher level.

2.2.2. Financial Capital

According to the Department for International Development (DFID, 1999) guidelines, financial capital refers to the capital resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. To put it simply, financial capital is more likely to be savings and income, which can be converted into other assets (Ellis, 2000).

[14] 3 respondents in Tangerang and 9 respondents in Hat Yai did not inform about their household value assets.

2.2.2.1. Savings

Saving is one of the most important tools to sustain the livelihoods of people. All people, regardless of where they live, can benefit from a range of savings to enable them to tackle difficult conditions like food insecurity and a sudden economic crisis. When street vendors were asked what happens when they are unable to earn enough to cover their daily expenses, the majority of respondents said that when such a situation occurs, they use their savings as expressed by one of the participants, Ibu Wartiyem, a native from Wonogiri, Central Java, 49 years old:

> *"I make enough for my daily use. My major problem is rain. It makes trading very uncomfortable and only a few customers come to my food cart. On those days, the earned incomes were too small. So, I must take money from the savings."*

Collins et al. (2009), in their research in Bangladesh, South Africa, and India found that many poor people save money at home, save in kind or purchase assets such as jewellery, which can be sold in times of need. Poor people also make use of individual informal financial service providers. These can range from friends, relatives or neighbours who provide each other with fairly informal loans, with or without interest, depending on the nature of the relationship. There are also individuals who provide savings services, collecting regular deposits from clients and keeping them safe until the client wants to access them.

According to the findings of this study, more than half of the actual respondents in Hat Yai and Tangerang saved a portion of their income at present and when they started running their street food business (Table 7-10). The figure in the table 7-10 shows that the average monthly saving of vendors when joining the business of the vendors was equal and lower in both Hat Yai and Tangerang. However, due to the low number of respondents, especially for Hat Yai, the results are lacking statistical validity.

Table 7-10. Monthly savings (start of the business compared to current situation, in percentage)

Amount of savings when the business started compared to current situation	Tangerang	Hat Yai
	n = 109[15]	n = 35
Equal	45.9	62.9
Higher	12.8	5.7
Lower	41.3	31.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

During the interviews, some of the vendors stated that they not only saved their money in bank accounts, but also through informal and semi-informal cooperative financial service providers, which is in line with the literature mentioned above. When asked why they were interested in saving money via informal and semi-formal financial providers, most of them said the advantages of saving money through these services allowed flexible monetary contributions and periods of payments. The provision of flexible financial terms by these informal and semi-informal financial services serve as a primary reason for some vendors who prefer saving money through such services, rather than making use of the services offered by banks.

During the biographical interview with a vendor, Ibu Murni, a savings and credit cooperative staff was visiting the vendor. She stated that she had joined the savings and credit cooperative as a strategy to overcome obstacles when she faced a lack of money.

"That ended in 2015, I decided to join a savings and credit cooperative group. Every day, the savings cooperative officer came to my food cart and he asked for the amount of money that I wanted to save. I saved depending on the amount of money I had at that time. I saved between Rp 100,000 ($7,2) to Rp 150,000 ($10,7) a day. Two years passed since I joined the savings cooperative, my business has grown into something bigger. Since joining the cooperative things have improved; I get loans."

[15] 91 respondents in Tangerang and 61 respondents in Hat Yai did not answer the question. Maybe they did not have savings currently or at the beginning of their career, respectively. Mind the answer of the 64-years-old *Pee* Noh (see below).

It is therefore clear that street food vendors make use of different methods to save their money and use different sources to gain access to money. The use of a various strategies, including the informal financial services also suggest that access to formal institutions, such as banks, is not easy for some traders. Street food traders, therefore, make use of alternative sources in order to save and gain access to financial capital.

From Table 7-11, out of the actual respondents in Tangerang, nearly 44.0% reported saving less than Rp 1,000,000 ($70,0) a month. These results reveal that the daily expenses were lower than the income earned, leaving a small surplus which was saved for times of need or for further investment. The findings also revealed that a small percentage of vendors saved more than the considerable sum of Rp 5,000,000 ($350,0) per month.

Table 7-11. Monthly saving of the street food vendors in Tangerang

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	< Rp 1,000,000 ($71,4)	47	23.5	43.1	43.1
	Rp 1,000,001 - Rp 2,500,000 ($71,4 - $ $178,5)	32	16.0	29.4	72.5
	Rp 2,500,001 - Rp 5,000,000 ($178,5 - $357,2)	20	10.0	18.3	90.8
	> Rp 5,000,000 ($357,2)	10	5.0	9.2	100.0
	Total	109	54.5	100.0	
Missing	System	91	45.5		
Total		200	100.0		

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; n=109 respondents

Table 7-12. Monthly saving of the street food vendors in Hat Yai

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	< 2,200 THB ($73,3)	4	4.2	11.4	11.4
	2,200 - 5,500 THB ($73,3 - $183,3)	16	16.7	45.7	57.1
	5,501 - 11,000 THB ($183,3 - $ 366,7)	8	8.3	22.9	80.0
	> 11,000 THB ($366,7)	7	7.3	20.0	100.0
	Total	35	36.5	100.0	
Missing	System	61	63.5		
Total		96	100.0		

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; n= 35 respondents

Table 7-12 shows the savings status of the actual respondents in Hat Yai per month. The majority of the vendors' savings range between 2,200 ($73,3) to 5,500 baht ($183,3) and about 11.4% vendors save less than 2,200 baht ($73,3) per month. Some study participants, however, reported that they did not save any earnings due to the small profit margins and economic hardship. One elderly vendor, *Pee* Noh, 64 years old explained that "*I use the earned incomes to maintain a living livelihood my family, so I have no savings at the end of the month*". *Pee* Noh believes that she is leading a miserable life. "*Sometimes, I was unable to maintain family expenses with the income I earned from the trading. If I ran out of money, I forced to borrow money from my friends to cover my family expenses*". Similar accounts and stories in Hat Yai were, however, rare.

2.2.2.2. Remittances

The aim of this section is to scrutinize and analyze the frequency, amount of remittances and recipients of migrant's remittances. In addition, the difference in the amount of remittances sent at the time of starting a business and at present is also analysed. The results in Table 7-13 show that nearly half of the proportion of women migrant street food vendors in Tangerang send cash remittances in the proportions of 48.0% and 46.5% when they started the business and at present, respectively. While only around one fifth (19.1%) of the women migrant street food vendors in Hat Yai send remittances to their hometown when they started the business and at present.

Table 7-13. Remittances to the previous place of residence (in percentage)

Variables	Tangerang n = 200		Hat Yai n = 94[16]	
	When started the business	At present	When Started the business	At present
Do you send remittances to your previous place of residence or your relatives?	n = 200	n = 200	n = 94	n = 94
Yes	48.0	46.5	19.1	19.1
No	52.0	53.5	80.9	80.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

The sharp difference between the two cities in the proportion of female street food vendors who send remittances may be due to the distance between the place of origin and the vendors' residence. In fact, most of the vendors in Hat Yai city are from the rural areas nearby their workplace, such as Songkhla city. The distance between Hat Yai and Songkhla is only around 30 kilometres, which can be travelled by car in half an hour. Due to this close distance, many of women migrants in Hat Yai chose to go home to give remittances directly to their parents and their relatives. On the other hand, the majority of migrant women in Tangerang came from areas-far from where they live now. They do not have time to come and provide the remittances to their families at their place of origin.

As a final point, they use various informal and formal channels to send remittances to their families and households, including the use of formal banks, in the case when the recipients have a bank account. In case they have not, friends and relatives are charged with the money transfer. This finding is in line with the results by The World Bank Development Economics Department & Africa Region (2007) for Ghana. They added that this way is not without risk,

[16] 2 respondents in Hat Yai did not answer the question.

as in some cases the relatives run away with the remittances. The experience faced by Ibu Ria from Pemalang, Central Java, a 46-year-old female migrant reveals an analogous problem:

> *"I used to send the remittance through my elder brother, but my parents were not getting the full amount of what was meant to be them. This continued for about a few months, so I became annoyed and stopped remitting through him."*

Table 7-14 presents the recipients of female street food migrants' remittances in the study areas. Even though many of the migrants of the present study made an individual decision to migrate, they still maintain a relationship with their families and remit what they can. This shows the existence of continued rural-urban interaction between migrants and their families, who remain in their home areas. From the analysis, the main recipients of remittances in Tangerang and Hat Yai were the parents of women migrants, 53.8% and 53.1% respectively, followed by women migrants' children (26.4% and 25%, respectively). Only 19.8% of women migrants in Tangerang and and 21.9% in Hat Yai remit to relatives.

Table 7-14. Recipients of migrants' remittances (in percentage)

Recipients of migrants' remittances	Tangerang n = 96[17]	Hat Yai n = 18[6]
Parents	53.8	53.1
Children	26.4	25.0
Relatives	19.8	21.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

As expected, the present evidence shows that most female migrants in Tangerang and Hat Yai still have an emotional connection to their place of origin by entrusting a part of their income to their parents, both for daily needs and other necessities. More than half of the respondents in Tangerang have been sending money from their place of destinations since they started their business. As in shown in Table 7-15, 60.8% of women migrants are likely to send money monthly; around 10.2% of people at home (place of origin) receive money three times per year from the women migrants and 7.2% two times a year. While the majority (77.8%) of

[17] More than half (104) vendors in Tangerang and more than four-fifths (81.2%) vendors in Hat Yai said that they did not send remittances to their place of origin.

women migrants in Hat Yai send their remittances home once a month and about 16.7% of women migrants remit money six times a year. None of the women migrants in Hat Yai sends money more than twelve times per year. The amount of money sent to home varies among individuals.

Table 7-15. Frequency of remittances (in percentage)

Frequency of remittances	Tangerang n = 96[6]	Hat Yai n = 18[6]
> 12 times a year	5.2	0.0
Monthly	60.8	77.8
6 times a year	6.2	16.7
4 times a year	5.2	0.0
3 times a year	10.2	5.5
2 times a year	7.2	0.0
Once time a year	5.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

In relation to remittances in Tangerang at the beginning of the food vending business and at present can be divided into three groups – (i) between 100,000 ($7,2) to 499,999 Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) ($35,7) per transfer, (ii) from 500,000 ($35,7) to 999,999 IDR ($71,4) per transfer, and (iii) over one million IDR ($71,4) per transfer. The majority fall into group 1. As indicated in Table 7-16, the average amount of remittances per transfer at present is higher than when the women migrants started the business, which accounts for the fact, that in the course of the time the vendors' ties to their place and family of origin stayed firm. Some of the respondents, as revealed in the narratives, had left their children in their place of origin (or sent them back), where they attended schools while the vendors' parents were taking care of them.

Table 7-16. The amount of remittances by vendors in Tangerang (in percentage)

The amount of remittances sent per transfer in Indonesian Rupiah (IDR)	When the vendors started the business n = 93[18]	At present n = 96
100,000 – 499,999 ($7,2 - $35,7)	58.1	62.5
500,000 – 999,999 ($35,7 - $ 71,4)	8.6	3.1
> 1,000,000 ($71,4)	33.3	34.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Mean ± SD	800,250 ($57,2) ± 668,250 ($47,7)	839,850 ($60,0) ± 696,300 ($49,7)

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

With respect to the amount of remittances sent, nearly forty per cent (38.9%) of the women street food vendors in Hat Yai said that they sent between 1,000 ($33,3) to 2,999 ($100,0) THB per transfer as remittance when they started the business and at present. On the other hand, the majority (44.4%) of the vendors in Hat Yai remitted 2,500 ($83,3) to 4,999 ($166,7) Thai Baht per transfer when they started the business and only 16.7% sent remittances over 5,000 ($166,7) Thai Baht per transfer (Table 7-17). At present, one-third of the vendors in Hat Yai frequently send 5,000 ($166,7) and above Thai Baht per transfer. The average amount of remittances of Hat Yai vendors when they started the business was 4,080 ($136,0) Thai Baht, with a standard deviation of 3,170 ($105,7) Thai Baht. At present, the mean amount of remittances is 4,195 ($139,8) THB, with a standard deviation of 3,168 ($105,6) THB. It can be concluded that the average amount of remittances when the vendors started the business was lower than remittances sent at present, which – as in Tangerang - testifies the stability of original family ties.

[18] 3 out of 96 respondents in Tangerang who sent remittances to their place of origin did not answer the question about the amount of remittances when they started the business.

Table 7-17. The amount of remittances by vendors in Hat Yai (in percentage)

The amount of remittances sent per transfer in Thai Baht (THB)	When the vendors started the business n = 18[19]	At present n = 18
1,000 – 2,499 ($33,3 - $83,3)	38.9	38.9
2,500 – 4,999 ($83,3 - $166,7)	44.4	27.8
> 5,000 ($166,7)	16.7	33.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Mean ± SD	4,080 ($136,0) ± 3,170 ($105,7)	4,200 ($140,0) ± 3,170 ($105,7)

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

As shown in Tables 7-18 and 7-19, the difference in the amount of remittance per transfer at present and when the vendors started the business in Hat Yai and Tangerang is statistically significant using chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V tests (p<0.05). These findings show that the establishment of street food businesses conducted by female migrants significantly increased annual remittances received at the place of origin.

Table 7-18. Chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V tests the amount of remittances of the Tangerang's vendors when they started the business and at present

Tests	Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	744.725[a]	.000
Phi	2.893	.000
Cramer's V	.747	.000
Contingency Coefficient	.945	.000
N of Valid Cases	89	

[a]270 cells (99.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

[19] 78 vendors in Hat Yai did not send remittances to their place of origin.

Table 7-19. Chi-square, χ^2, ϕ and Cramer's V tests the amount of remittances of the Hat Yai's vendors when they started the business and at present

Tests	Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	135.600[a]	.000
Phi	2.745	.000
Cramer's V	.970	.000
Contingency Coefficient	.940	.000
N of Valid Cases	18	

[a]81 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .06.

In the biographical interviews, the respondents stated that to a certain extent the remittances were used their parents' daily living needs. One vendor in Tangerang, Ibu Harti mother with four children stated:

"Frequently, I sent Rp 1,0 million ($7,.4) to Rp 2,0 million ($142,8) a month to my parents. However, since my parents passed away in the last year, I no longer sent money often to my village."

However, most of the actual respondents said, they send remittances destined for the education of their children, which provides a flash-like glance at the human-capital-issue, mentioned above. For instance, Ibu Harifah, 40 years old, single mother with two children responded as follows:

"I regularly send Rp 2,5 million ($178,6) to my family in the village. I do not have an account at the bank. I give the money to my brother every month, then my brother sends it to his mother-in-law after that is given to my mother. My mother uses the remittances for my children's schooling and their living expenses."

One vendor in Hat Yai, Pee Kasnawati 53-year-old commented as below:

"...I send money home at regular intervals for the benefit of my extended family back home, many of whom I am sponsoring through school..."

2.2.3. Social Capital: Women's Role as the Main Breadwinners

Social assets play an important role in the livelihood of households. They denote the relationship of individuals with the society to which they belong. Human capital will be enhanced, when this relationship is based on trust and mutual appreciation (Khatiwada et al., 2017; Ellis, 2000). Even though social capital represents an intangible asset, it is to a certain extent based on material conditions. This study observed, how, based on the successful performance of new roles, women's reputation in their social context has gradually been growing, albeit not without frictions and contradictions.

In many instances, women have even become the main breadwinner in the family, in a substantial number of cases even the sole breadwinner. To find out, in how many households the latter was the case, it is necessary to recall Table 3-6. In Tangerang 12.5% of the households were female headed because of the absence of husbands (single, divorced, widows), in Hat Yai it was 33.4%. The interviews reveal that many street food vendors have been forced to enter non-traditional roles as family breadwinners since their male partners were no longer present. A street food vendor, Ibu Ida 35 years old with three children, original from South Sumatera presented the story of her widowhood which forced her to take charge of her family:

> *"Since my husband was no longer around, now, I have been the only one fending for the family. None of my husband family members is interested in our welfare. I sought whatever job was available to me because I had to look after my children. In the beginning, I had no idea which job I could take on. After few months, my sister who lives in Tangerang called me to come here. She got a job for me in the factory. Working in the factory became my first job after my husband was not around anymore. But it didn't last long because of insufficient income. I have to provide food and other needs for my children. This is the major issue giving me concern. In the end, I decided to become a street food vendor. With my expertise, I ventured to start a business selling "Soto Tangkar".*

Insecurity about their husbands' employment was another main incentive for women's activities in the informal economy (Sukka, 2014). This study found that many women became breadwinners when their husbands lost their jobs or got retrenched. For instance, a street food vendor, Ibu Murni who sells breakfast street food near one of the markets in Tangerang (aged 55 years) and mother of three said:

"I have become the breadwinner for the past six years when my husband lost his job six years ago. My husband owned a motorbike workshop, but six years ago, the workshop was closed because it was no longer profitable. Since then, my husband does not work anymore. Then I tried to start the street food business, even though at first, I did not have the skills and experience of how to cook. At that time, I only think about how I could support and finance my family."

Similarly, another 53-years-old trader with three children in Hat Yai, revealed that her small business contributes significantly to the wellbeing of her family:

"This business has existed for eight years. Before I opened this business, I was an employee at a clinic in Bangkok. First starting the business, I started and run by myself. My husband worked as a worker in one of the private companies. When there was an economic crisis in 2007, he was retrenched. Then, I asked him for help trading in our kiosk. It might look like a small business, but it has sustained our lives. With this business, I enabled to finance the education of my children."

Physical disability of their spouses was also one of the reasons that attributed to the increase in the number of breadwinners in the study area. In this respect, one of the respondents in Hat Yai, *Pee* Pauan, aged 64 years affirmed:

"I decided to continue to work in the selling "Som Tam", because there is no other choice. If I stop working no one will take care of our lives. I have to come here every morning and walk back in the evening to provide for my family. Sometimes my husband accompanied in his wheelchair. In this old age, I have to fight as a breadwinner for the family. I told you that I have three children, but none of them can support our lives."

In general, for whatever reasons, out of 200 women street food vendors of Tangerang city, 53 identified that their husband was unemployed, in Hat Yai it was 9.

Adding the single households (12.5% of 200 in Tangerang and 33.4% of 96 in Hat Yai) to married households with unemployed husbands (26.5% of 200 in Tangerang and 9.4% of 96 in Hat Yai), would result in the conclusion that in Tangerang 39.0% of the women were the sole breadwinners, while in Hat Yai it was 42.8%. Without their efforts, the families would not have survived.

According to the interviews, among those husbands who have a job, the majority are mostly engaged in the informal sector with an insecure income, thereby earning a wage that fails to sustain the life of the family. The occupational distribution of the male household members shows that a majority of them are engaged as casual wage labourers such as construction worker, security guard, petty trader and other activities. In the beginning, in the questionnaire, a question about the husband's income was included. However, almost all the respondents did not answer this question. Consequently, this question was withdrawn. Notwithstanding, the conclusion may be appropriate that even in cases when husbands were employed the women vendors were the main breadwinners and the burden of family upkeep was heavily lying on their shoulders.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to exactly specify how many women are the main breadwinner in these cases. To approach the answer on an indirect way, a correlation of economic household patterns and business success according to the findings above can be displayed.

Table 7-20: The income distribution (cf. Table 7-3) of economic household patterns in Tangerang

	Misery	Around the minimum wage	Middle class	Far above the minimum wage	Total
Married + employed husbands	4.7% (5)	49.5% (53)	21.5% (23)	24.3% (26)	107
Married + unemployed	3.8% (2)	66.0% (35)	17.0% (9)	13.2% (7)	53
Singles	4.2% (1)	50.0% (12)	37.5% (9)	8.3% (2)	24
Total	8	100	40	36	184

Table 7-21: The income distribution (cf. Table 7-4) of economic household patterns in Hat Yai

	Around the minimum wage	Middle class	Far above the minimum wage	Total
Married + employed husbands	39.5% (15)	13.0% (5)	47.0% (18)	38
Married + unemployed	22.2% (2)	22.2% (2)	55.5% (5)	9
Singles	22.6% (7)	29% (9)	48.4% (15)	31
Total	24	16	38	78

The conclusion may be justified, that at least in the highest income groups the women vendors are the main breadwinners even when their husbands are employed. Consequently, the overwhelming majority of the women vendors of Tangerang and Hat Yai have become the backbone of their families. While it is not new for the vendors to be involved in some economic activities, the participants in the fieldwork indicate that the pressure on women to secure livelihood is far stronger today, and reports from nearly all respondents narrate the trend of increasing numbers of women entering into the informal sector and temporary wage employment.

By contrast, traditionally, the Thai and Indonesian family structure is defined by family hierarchy based on gender, generation and age (Kuwinpant, 2002; Mangundjaya, 2013). Husbands are said to have authority over their wives. How would they react, when, as in the cases of most street vendors, women assumed the role of a breadwinner? To assess the immaterial impact of their new role performance, the street food vendors were asked two questions. The first question is addressing the views of their husbands and family members towards the vendors' activities. The vendors claimed that their families and communities at large have a positive outlook towards women working to contribute to the family income and the attitudes of husbands and family members towards the vendors are generally co-operative, in both Tangerang (88.0%) and Hat Yai (67.7%), as shown in Table 7-22.

Table 7-22. Attitude of the vendors' families and husband (in percentage)

The attitude (%)	Tangerang	Hat Yai
	n=200	n=96
Co-operative	88.0	67.7
Neutral	9.5	30.2
Adverse	2.5	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

By the second question they were requested to indicate the social interaction and relationship they had among their family and their community at large (Table 7-23). The majority of vendors mentioned that their reputation has increased sharply in the eyes of the families and communities since they started to trade the street food business. The vendors claimed that their families and communities at large have a positive outlook towards women working to contribute to the family income.

Table 7-23. Perception of the vendors' social interactions in the research areas

Variables	Tangerang	Hat Yai
The business has increased vendors social integration and reputation among their family	n = 200	n = 96
Yes	80.0	80.2
No	20.0	19.8
Total	100.0	100.0
The business has increased vendors social integration and reputation in their community at large	n = 200	n = 96
Yes	75.0	81.3
No	25.0	18.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Interestingly, during the interviews, most vendors reported that the attitude of their husbands and other family members towards them has changed for the better, but several interviewees inferred that their role in the family has not changed much. Some stated that within the community the appreciation of women working outside the family to earn an essential income is dependent on the condition, that their responsibilities as housewives and mothers have been carried out.

In line with the results of the research conducted, Evertsson and Nermo (2004) found that even though women have increased their participation in paid employment considerably over the past 30 years, men have not increased their participation in housework to the same extent. Women still perform the majority of the household responsibilities role in the family. Employment turns out to be an additional but not a primary role for women. This issue will be focussed in the next chapter.

3. Summary

In the study areas, the average daily income of women street food vendors in Tangerang was at least two times higher than the official minimum wage earned by public sector workers. While in Hat Yai, the average income earned by vendors was three times higher than the minimum salary for Thai people. However, in both cities, the group of vendors is far from being socially uniform. Based on personal income, most women street food vendors in Tangerang fall into the lower-middle income group (52.7%). In Hat Yai, the majority (62.7%) of the vendors belong to the upper-middle income group.

The linear regression model showed that two independent variables such as education and initial working capital were positively correlated to the daily income of street food vendors in Hat Yai, one, the number of children, was negatively correlated. Five other variables such as the age, marital status, family size, religion, and business experience do not play a significant role. In Tangerang, the amount of initial working capital and business experience had a highly significant impact bringing positive change in the income earned by the vendors.

The livelihood analysis revealed that vendors in the study areas – especially in Tangerang – at present, have significantly improved their physical, social and financial capital assets ~~as~~ compared to when they started the street food business. It has been found that most of the capital assets have increased in terms of access to assets after engaging in street food vending. Based on these findings, it is clear that the livelihood of the vendors in Tangerang currently operating in the street food sector has improved from poor to good. In Hat Yai this change to the better was less visible, as the vendors in this city started their business from a higher material level. The findings for the monthly savings have to be treated with caution, as in both cities only half of the total respondents provided useful information. Nearly half of the vendors in Tangerang send cash remittances to their place of origin, while in Hat Yai, due to the proximity of their birthplaces, one fifth (19.1%) send remittances.

Finally, the study highlighted that the street food vendors in Hat Yai and Tangerang contribute significantly to the household's capacity to cope with basic needs. 39% of the vendors in Tangerang and 42,8% of the vendors in Hat Yai were the sole breadwinners, an additional number have become the main breadwinners due to low and volatile incomes of their husbands. Accordingly, in terms of social capital, the study found out, that equally in the two cities, the vendors' reputation has sharply increased in the eyes of the families and communities since they started to trade the street food business.

CHAPTER VIII

Gender (In)equality: Household Division of Labour in the Family

The street food sector has acquired great significance over the years as a source of employment and livelihoods for an increasing number of people. As seen in the previous chapter, in Tangerang as well as in Hat Yai, on average women vendors earn enough money from this business to meet their families' expenses. Ironically, in spite of the growing involvement of women in the labour market, families and communities, as mentioned in the previous chapter, are still expecting that, even in single-income households, women should spend more time on household chores, despite working the same hours as men or even more. In other words, the division of roles within a family is being expected to remain unequal for women. These expectations have been researched extensively in recent years, but there has been a lack of focus on the reality of housework allocation and gender in(equality) in the families, especially in those households whose members are participants of informal economies. Therefore, this chapter examines the gendered distribution of housework and childcare in Tangerang and Hat Yai, particularly in the street vendors' households.

1. Types of Family Structures

The phrase 'family' can be defined differently, but families in Southeast Asia are generally categorized into four types which include single, nuclear, extended and other families (Hsu, 2008). As the main objective of this chapter is to explore gender division of household labour between married couples or co-inhabitants, this section analyzes nuclear and extended families of the women vendors. A nuclear family is defined by traditional family structure which consists of two elders i.e. parents and their children. It is often referred to as the 'immediate family'. Extended family structure consists of two or three generations of relations living in the same home. This family includes many relatives living together and working towards common goals, such as raising the children and keeping up with the household duties. Many extended families include grandparents, husbands of sisters and wives of brothers, aunts, uncles, nieces and nephews (Bilton et. al., 1996).

Table 8-1. Distribution of nuclear and extended families in Tangerang and Hat Yai (in %)

Type of family	Tangerang n=200	Hat Yai n=96
Single family	5.5	16.7
Nuclear family	80.5	52.2
Extended family	13.5	21.7
Other family	0.5	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

In Tangerang, the study shows that nuclear family households comprise up to 80.0% of all families. This variety is also the most common family type in Hat Yai (52.2%) (Table 8-1). Compared to Tangerang (13.5%), Hat Yai is the home to more extended families (21.7%). This suggests that there are more Thai couples living with their parents or parents-in-law than Indonesian couples. The results have indicated that more women in Tangerang leave their parents' home in the village, particularly at the time of marriage or when entering the labour market. In Hat Yai, many women do not necessarily leave their parents, even after marriage because Songkhla city as the most vendors' place of origin, is only 36 minutes away by car to Hat Yai. This allows the vendors' parents to commute frequently from their home to the place of their daughters' business.

2. Division of Household Chores

One of the most fundamental issues in society is the persistence of gender inequality, which is further enhanced by gendered division of domestic work. Traditional societies in Asia display a strict attitude towards the division of labour – men are the breadwinners and women are housewives (Yeung, 2013). Similarly, Indonesian and Thai cultural norms dictate that household chores and childcare are the domains of women whilst economic responsibility falls upon men. Traditionally, Thai fathers have been expected to assume the role of leader, protector and provider for the family, whereas Thai mothers are expected to be housewives who are also responsible for child rearing (Yoddumnern-Attig, 1992). Culturally, in Indonesia, the gender ideology depicts women with more significant roles in housework activities, such as serving their husbands, raising children and managing households, while men are more dominant in economic or productive activities (Eddyono et al., 2016; Herawati et al., 2019).

In general, the unequal distribution of domestic work is confirmed by the data of this study locations. Table 8-2 and Table 8-3 indicate the percentage of division of labour among women street food vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai for each of the household activities, including shopping, preparing meals, washing, cleaning, repairing clothing, taking care of and raising children. These duties are often done in the scope of the nuclear family and by other family members, who do not have an important role in financial contribution to family.

Table 8-2. Management of different household responsibilities in Tangerang (in percentage, n=190[20])

Responsibility by	Child care	Cooking	Washing	Cleaning	Grocery shopping
Yourself (vendor)	81.6	90.5	84.7	81.1	80.5
Husband	39.5	14.2	16	23.2	35.5
Any member in house	5.8	3.2	4.2	6.3	3.2
Daughter/son	2.1	4.2	13.7	17.4	6.3
Mother	79	1.1	1.6	2.1	1.6
Sister	0.5	0.5	1.6	1.6	1.6
Other	5.8	4.7	5.3	3.2	1.6

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; multiple answer is possible

[20] Single vendors (10 respondents) were excluded from this question. Multiples answers are possible.

Table 8-3. Management of different household responsibilities in Hat Yai (in percentage, n=74[21])

Responsibility by	Child care	Cooking	Washing	Cleaning	Grocery shopping
Yourself (vendor)	94.1	93.2	89.2	89.2	89.2
Husband	64.7	39.2	48.6	52.7	51.4
Any member in house	2.7	5.4	10.8	9.5	1.4
Daughter/son	1.4	1.4	4.1	2.7	2.7
Mother	4.1	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sister	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; multiple answer is possible

2.1. Nuclear Families

The data in Table 8-2 shows that women street food vendors in Tangerang are performing the majority of the household chores, despite them working outside the home. Household chores include cooking (90.5%), washing (84.7%), child care (81.6%), cleaning (81.1%) and grocery shopping (80.5%). Men (husbands) lend their wives a helping hand but the rate of men carrying out these chores themselves is very low, for example, only 14.2% assist in cooking, 35.5% buy foodstuff, 16.0% help with laundry or washing clothes and 39.5% contribute to child care. Similar to the household responsibilities of women street food vendors in Tangerang, household chores division among dual earner couples in Hat Yai is segregated by gender (Table 8-3). However, male participation reaches a considerably higher degree than in Tangerang.

In Tangerang, wives perform the routine and the more mundane and time-consuming household chores such as laundry, cooking and washing dishes, while their husbands carry out chores which require less time and are more enjoyable such as childcare and grocery shopping. One vendor aged 46 years, Ibu Ria, a mother of four children confirms: *"My husband helps me take care of our children, such as playing or doing activities with the kids*

[21] Single vendors (22 respondents) were excluded from this question. Multiple answers are possible.

when I do some laundry or clean of the house. He did that responsibility when he was at home." In Hat Yai, however, the husbands' under-performance in washing and cleaning is less visible.

Before the presented results (Table 8-2 and Table 8-3), it is clear that women street food vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai perform more household chores than their male partners, regardless of their working hours and the income they earn outside the household. These findings are in line with previous studies conducted in many Asian countries. For instance, in Japan, husbands' participation in vendors' households has been low and has not increased much during recent years. The division of housework is rigidly gendered as wives undertake the vast majority of housework, even when they work outside the household (Zuo and Bian, 2005; Iwai and Yasuda, 2011; Rengo-Rials, 2009 as cited by Fuwa, 2015). Fuwa found that the majority of married women in China performed two-thirds of the housework. Husbands' contribution to housework in Korea is also minimal by spending a mere 4.5 hours on housework per week, while their wives contributed 15.7 hours per week. Similarly, women in Taiwan report that they perform 72.0% of housework, while their husbands contribute only 28.0% (Hu and Kamo, 2007). Luke et al. (2014) conducted a study on Indian women breadwinners working on tea plantations and found that when husbands earned less than wives, men participated to a lesser extent in domestic chores. This is also consistent with Hook (2006); Knudsen and Warness (2008); and Claffey and Mickelson (2009), that reported that North American women are responsible for about two thirds of routine household tasks with cooking and cleaning being two of the most time-consuming tasks.

Interestingly, although most women street food vendors perform the majority of the housework, many women in Tangerang and Hat Yai perceive their share of housework to be fair, even when they assume a disproportionately larger share of work than their husbands. Open disagreement over housework between husbands and wives rarely occurs. This suggests that culturally prescribed roles of men as breadwinners and women as housekeepers influence wives' judgments on their own and their husbands' responsibility for housework. Ibu Wati, for instance, admitted that she was responsible for household chores and child care at home and she feels that the responsibility is not a problem for her:

"As a wife and mother, I have to be able to take care of all household works. I therefore take care of the children, see to their homework, their extramural activities, I cook every day and see to the dishes in the evenings.When the house help is not around, I clean the house with the help of my children. I do all household works and trading from morning to night nonstop. I cannot expect husband's help for domestic works. He works outside the city. He comes home once a week. Although he was at home, he did not do household works. I never forced him to help me."

By contrast, the Hat Yai vendor Pee Kasnawati reported that her husband is aware that she is the backbone of the family in earning money for the family. Highlighting the ideal of an "equal partnership" this Muslim wife explained in detail:

"My husband and I take turns in cooking, grocery shopping, cleaning the house and other houseworks. When I'm busy, he takes over all household duties. When he is busy, I do likewise. We have an equal partnership. Even though I help him to make money for our family, I am still aware of my position as a wive and housewive. I have never felt unfairly treated by him in matters of household work."

In order to find out if there are any predictable patterns of husbands' participation and non-participation, correlations with basic demographic data were tested. In the literature, some of them, especially education, religion and sometimes ethnicity are assumed to play a decisive role. Because of the differences in the ethnic and religious composition, the tests were conducted for each city separately.

Table 8-4. Correlation between religion, ethnic affiliation, age, education level, number of children with household works responsibility of vendors and their husband in Hat Yai

Variables		Shopping responsibility by		Childcare responsibility by		Cooking responsibility by		Washing responsibility by		Cleaning responsibility by	
		Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband
Education	Pearson Correlation	.142	.109	.206	.285	.110	-.032	.103	.442	.065	.074
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.229	.357	.092	.018**	.353	.784	.382	.000**	.585	.532
	N	74	74	68	68	74	74	74	74	74	74
Ethnic Affiliation	Pearson Correlation	-.029	-.146	-.027	.072	.141	-.220	.183	-.051	.077	-.028
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.809	.216	.825	.562	.230	.060	.119	.663	.514	.810
	N	74	74	68	68	74	74	74	74	74	74
Number of children	Pearson Correlation	.040	.143	.164	-.036	-.035	.005	-.158	-.164	-.092	-.083
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.733	.223	.180	.769	.765	.969	.178	.163	.435	.480
	N	74	74	68	68	74	74	74	74	74	74
Religion	Pearson Correlation	-.087	-.188	.068	-.115	-.012	-.056	-.087	-.090	-.177	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.459	.108	.581	.348	.919	.638	.459	.444	.131	.721
	N	74	74	68	68	74	74	74	74	74	74
Age	Pearson Correlation	.182	-.130	.069	.084	.018	.026	.043	-.074	-.015	-.096
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.120	.269	.575	.496	.876	.825	.715	.532	.900	.415
	N	74	74	68	68	74	74	74	74	74	74

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Table 8-5. Correlation between religion, ethnic affiliation, age, education level, number of children with household works responsibility of vendors and their husband in Tangerang

Variables		Shopping responsibility by		Childcare responsibility by		Cooking responsibility by		Washing responsibility by		Cleaning responsibility by	
		Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband	Vendor	Husband
Education	Pearson Correlation	-.110	.041	-.040	.134	-.111	.007	-.069	-.063	-.054	-.035
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.131	.571	.582	.066	.127	.928	.345	.387	.456	.633
	N	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190
Ethnic Affiliation	Pearson Correlation	.021	.102	.022	.016	.062	.052	.096	.115	.070	.059
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.770	.161	.767	.824	.396	.475	.187	.115	.337	.417
	N	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190
Number of children	Pearson Correlation	.000	-.020	.025	-.189	-.009	-.206	.014	-.003	.018	.053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.995	.785	.734	.009**	.900	.004**	.848	.966	.808	.464
	N	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190
Religion	Pearson Correlation	-.040	.116	-.072	-.004	-.084	-.004	.037	-.010	.014	.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.584	.110	.327	.961	.249	.953	.610	.889	.843	.958
	N	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190
Age	Pearson Correlation	-.058	-.087	.055	-.071	-.004	-.110	-.047	-.045	.010	.040
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.430	.233	.453	.333	.953	.131	.520	.539	.893	.588
	N	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	190

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

Table 8-4 shows that in Hat Yai, most demographic features, with the exception of the education level, do not correlate with the distribution of domestic works among wives and husbands. The correlation between the education level of the vendors (wives) and childcare and washing responsibilities of the husbands' gave Pearson Correlation Coefficient (r) values of 0.285 and 0.442, respectively, which indicates a moderate positive association between the variables. Also, the *P* value of the association were 0.018 and 0.000, thus indicating a highly significant result. This positive correlation suggests that the vendors are able to discuss sharing the duties of domestic work with their husbands, especially childcare and washing. Not surprisingly, the Hat Yai vendor Pee Kasnawati, quoted above, holds a university degree.

According to UNFPA (2015), today, the family structure in Thailand is changing - the average number of children in families has declined and the number of people living alone is increasing. With more women holding a university degree, this advantage may offer greater efforts to support gender equality within families, in particular for sharing domestic work between men and women. These findings are In line with previous studies in Vietnam (Teerawichitchainan, 2013), Lusaka's Libala, Zambia (Mutinta, 2015), Japan, South Korea, and the United States (Tsuya et al., 2000), which found that educated women might be able to negotiate with their partners to accomplish an equally shared workload.

From the bivariate analysis, as seen in the Table 8-5, the husbands' participation in the domestic works in Tangerang did not display any correlation with the demographic variables except of the number of children, which for Hat Yai is not significant. The Pearson's r for the correlation between the number of children and household responsibility of child care and cooking of husband's vendors in Tangerang in our observations are 0.09 and 0.04 ($p < .001$ for a two-tailed test). It was found that when the number of children in the household increases, the frequency of the fathers' participation in childcare work and cooking chores decreases.

These findings are supported by Presser (2003) and Killewald (2011), who reported that in the United States households with one or more young children, the division of domestic labour is particularly unequal. When there are older children in the household, especially girls, families with many children due to the culture in Indonesia, traditionally impart some of the burden of childcare of younger siblings upon the older siblings. In this study, it was seen that the more children the vendors have, the participation of husbands in childcare and cooking was reduced, especially when there are older children present to carry out household work. However, even if there are adolescent girls in the family, many respondents reported that a large share of the day-to-day parenting responsibilities still falls upon wives because they have to teach the children how to perform household chores as they would be required to do the same when they get married. Ibu Ria, a mother to four children, is completely aware of this fatal shift: *When it's a weekday, I almost do all the household works and childcare. When there are older children, like my first son, who can take care of his younger siblings, my husband slightly decreases his participation in domestic labor."*

In Table 8-6, Chi-square statistic was used to examine the relationship between the vendors' husband's employment status (employment – unemployment) and their participation in domestic works. Not surprisingly, the results show that unemployed husbands in Tangerang (53) and Hat Yai (9) tend to feel a greater degree of household responsibility than husbands who have a job. However, Table 8-6 presents that in Tangerang nothing but a higher inclination to participate in childcare and cooking is statistically significant ($p < .050$), while in Hat Yai unemployed husbands are even willing to do more "unpleasant" works like washing and cleaning.

Table 8-6. Chi-square tests of husbands who have a job and husbands who are unemployed in their participation in household chores by study areas

Household chores		Study location	
		Tangerang	Hat Yai
Child care	Value	4.810	8.430
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.028**	0.004**
Cooking	Value	6.800	1.070
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.009**	0.300
Washing	Value	0.270	4.430
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.606	0.035**
Cleaning	Value	0.100	9.480
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.749	0.002**
Shopping grocery	Value	0.080	8.530
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.782	0.003**

Note, **. Significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

2.2. Extended Families

The advantages of living with an extended family consists in a support network within the household and the availability of help with various household chores. One of the benefits of living with an extended family for the women street food vendors in Tangerang is that some of the housework responsibilities will be fulfilled by the extended family members instead. The increasing number of extended family members will affect the division of responsibilities of domestic work. The addition of relatives or other family members will also change the management of household responsibilities.

Table 8-7 itemizes major household tasks performed by the members of extended families. For instance, in Tangerang, the respondents confirm that extended family members participate in childcare (14.2%) and cleaning (10.0%). Whereas, during the interviews in Hat Yai, the respondents reported that washing (10.8%) and cleaning the house (9.5%) were generally considered as the most common household tasks completed by extended family members, such as mothers, husbands of sisters and wives of brothers, aunts, uncles, nieces and nephews.

Table 8-7. Management of different household responsibilities of extended families excluding wife and husband in the study locations (in percentage)

Household chores	Study location	
	Tangerang (n=27)	Hat Yai (n=21)
Child care	14.2	6.8
Cooking	4.8	6.8
Washing	7.4	10.8
Cleaning	10.0	9.5
Shopping grocery	6.4	1.4

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation; multiples answer is possible (cannot be summed due to this is multiple answer)

Living with an extended family saves on childcare support and eliminates the concerns of women when they work outside the household because a family member is supervising their children. A 31-year-old woman street food vendor reported: "*If I was very busy, I would ask my sister to take care of my sons and help put them sleep. Sometimes I asked her to buy me some food for my sons if I didn't have time to cook*". Another benefit of living with an extended family is the reduction of household chores such as washing the clothes and grocery shopping, which the vendors would not have the time to complete otherwise. Without the presence of extended family members, some of the work would be postponed to weekends when vendors would have enough time to complete their household chores. One vendor in Hat Yai described her housework:

"I usually did laundry once on weekends. If I was busy, my sister would help me to wash the clothes. She also helped us to clean up our house. She cleaned the kitchen and wiped the tables, chairs, and some cabinets on weekends."

In Table 8-8 the percent distribution of household chores participation of the vendors' husbands in extended families in Hat Yai and Tangerang is presented. In both study areas, the study shows that the probability of male participation decreased to its lowest level. In Tangerang, ultimately, the proportion of domestic work responsibilities of the vendors' husbands was virtually zero in shopping, washing and cleaning chores.

One of the respondents, Ibu Cawi, 49 years old with four children all of them married, is completely aware of this fatal association and gives an explanation:

"My daughter-in-law stops my husband from performing household chores because there are a lot of people at home and she cannot just sit watching him perform household chores. It is disrespectful, she said."

Table 8-8. Husband's participation in household chores in extended families (how many in HY and Ta) in the study locations (in percentage)

Study location	Husband involvement in household chores									
	Childcare		Cooking		Washing		Cleaning		Shopping	
	Not involved	Involved	Not involved	Involved	Not involved	Involved	Not involved	Involved	Not involved	Involved
Hat Yai	52.4	47.6	66.7	33.3	61.9	38.1	61.9	38.1	71.4	28.6
Tangerang	92.6	7.4	92.6	7.4	96.3	3.7	100.0	0.0	96.3	3.7

Source: Field work conducted 2017-2018; own compilation

3. Methodological Reservations

Although the methods employed in this chapter are in complete accordance with those proposed in the literature, readers will recall that the research questions asked wives to report whether husbands ever "helped" in their households. The researcher did not do the cross-check with the husbands. Furthermore, to possibly counter-balance husbands' meagre involvement in household chores, attention should be re-attracted to the helpful role husbands played in the business startup process. In Tangerang with a marriage rate of 87,5 % exactly 58,6 % of the vendors claimed they got assistance from their husbands, while in Hat Yai with a marriage rate of 66,7 % it was 44,2 % (see Chapter V, Table 5-6). 21,5 % of the women in Tangerang and 15,6% in Hat Yai received money from their husbands to start their business (see Chapter VI, Table 6-3).

Referring to their current business, most of the women reported that they have gained enough self-confidence to run their business without anyone's help. However, many vendors stated as well, that their husbands continued to provide support. Husband were often reported to help in subordinate business activities, such as transporting equipment, pushing food carts to the sales location, and cleaning up the location. According to the interviews, this is mainly done by husbands who are unemployed. Unfortunately, systematic information about husbands' support in the current business was not obtained, since these questions were not included in the questionnaire. At least, this study found out (cf. Tables 7-20 and 7-21) that there is no significant difference in the economic performance of vendors with employed and unemployed husbands. So, on average the contribution of the latter to the economic business success may be deemed marginal.

4. Summary

The study shows that the participation of men in household chores is slightly increasing in both Hat Yai and Tangerang, but women still continue to perform most of the household work. Women street food vendors worked more than their husbands to complete all household chores while their husbands' level of involvement was very low, especially in routine chores such as washing and cleaning. The results are perhaps not surprising due to the traditional cultures of Indonesian and Thai people that view housework as the primary responsibility of women.

However, the study revealed that in Hat Yai, the education levels of wives are an important factor that may encourage husbands' involvement in household labour, particularly in childcare. Not surprisingly, in both cities, unemployed husbands tend to do more domestic work than husbands with a job. In Hat Yai these husbands were inclined to be engaged in even less enjoyable work such as cleaning and washing. In Tangerang, extended families and a growing number of children were found to be a barrier to sharing housework and parenting responsibilities equally with husbands. In these family types the distribution of labour for shopping, cleaning and washing was least balanced.

The overall conclusion drawn for the management of housework responsibilities in Tangerang and Hat Yai is that women are still more involved in carrying out domestic works and childcare than their male partners, no matter if they have an endless working day and their income generated from a job outside the household qualifies them as the main or even the sole breadwinner.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion and Recommendations

1. Hypotheses and Conclusions

This study investigates the role of women migrant street food vendors as breadwinners for their families in their capacity to improve family livelihood. Tangerang in Indonesia (Banten province) and Hat Yai in Thailand were selected as study locations because in these two cities the numbers of street food vendors have been rapidly increasing since the last economic crisis in 2007. The rising numbers of street vendors can be qualified as an ambivalent component of a long-lasting economic recovery, characteristic for both cities after the deep crisis. This study has been based on the responses to a common questionnaire given by the study groups in the two cities and on in-depth interviews with 20 street food vendors selected according to special criteria (see chapter II). Accordingly, in this study the "triangulation" research approach was adapted in which survey questionnaires, personal interviews (biography interviews) and observations of the researcher were used to collect data. In both study sites, street food business is an important source of income for families. As the study confirmed, this business contributes to the local and national economy, creates jobs, reduces unemployment rates and offers convenience for customers to get food at affordable prices.

This study was conceived to analyse street food business with respect to the assumption, that street food vending as an essential part of the informal economies has a certain capacity to solve economic problems in a special group of persons representing a global trend in Less Developed Countries (LDSs): the flow of rural-urban migration. One of the reasons to select Hat Yai and Tangerang as study locations, was the attraction, they have wielded on rural dwellers because of the economic prosperity in both cities. Nowadays many migrant street food vendors from different parts of the two countries – Indonesia and Thailand – are gaining a living in these locations. The selection of respondents was based on the criteria that (i) women migrants lived and worked as street food vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai cities and that (ii) they conducted their business as self-employed persons. To conceptualize the study aims, ten hypotheses were formulated in accordance with widespread studies on the street food business in various parts of the world.

Hypothesis one: Economic factors are the main inducement for women street food vendors‘ migration.

This hypothesis has in general been supported by this study. More than 50.0% of the street vendors in Hat Yai and Tangerang stated that they left their regions of origin because of economic factors. Poverty and the inability to earn enough to support a herself/himself or a family have been the main reasons behind the movement of migrants from their place of origin (villages) to their destination (urban areas). On both study sites, interviewees complained that labour demand in rural areas was confined to the agricultural sector. The wages paid were too low to sustain a family and job insecurity was deemed high in this sector. The vendors in the study sites who sought economic opportunities found that the street food sector was an attractive alternative to pursue.

However, for most of the respondents, engagement in the street food business was not their first option. Some succeeded in finding a job in the formal sector, others (especially young migrants in Thailand) started their professional career as a housemaid, some of the migrants (especially in Tangerang) found their first job in other street vending sectors. A smaller group of vendors revealed that Hat Yai and Tangerang respectively was not the first station in their migration biography. A strong minority, 27.5% and 15.8% of women street food vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai, respectively, reported that in the beginning they simply followed their husbands, and they developed their own career plans only later. This may imply that economic reasons were crucial even in this case. However, these cases, as mostly neglected in previous studies, deserve further examination.

Hypothesis two: Women street food vendors are poorly educated and sometimes even illiterate.

This hypothesis has only partially been supported by this study. Admittedly, most of respondents have been poorly educated and most of them were lacking special skills when they entered street food business. However, cases of illiteracy are completely absent. Admittedly, for people in the main working age (21-50 years) as it is the majority of the vendors who do not have certain skills, a job in the formal sector seems to be almost unattainable. This problem has become predominantly visible in the Tangerang sample. However, the majority of street food vendors in Tangerang found a way to cope with the shortcomings of their low standard in formal education. Those who do not have high formal education often only rely on previous work experience or learning by doing.

Most important, the study revealed large differences in education levels between street vendors in the study sites ($p < 0.01$). When comparing the study locations, women street food vendors in Hat Yai showed a higher level of education than their counterpart in Tangerang ($p < 0.01$). The study found that 65.0% of the total street vendors in Tangerang have lower secondary education, while 60.0% of traders in Hat Yai have high secondary education or even college/university. This shows that in Thailand people with higher education did not consider themselves to good for pursuing a business in the street food sector. These findings are not completely in line with previous studies emphasizing the vendors' low standard in formal education or even illiteracy. Furthermore, the findings of this study are not irrelevant for the recommendation of strategies aimed at the improvement of people's situation in the street food business.

Hypothesis three: Street food vendors regard their business not as a temporary makeshift, but as a long-term breadwinning strategy.

This hypothesis has fully been endorsed by this study. The street food sector offers temporary and long-term survival strategies for the persons and families involved. The study found that most vendors in both areas have been in the street business for more than nine years. These results indicate that street vendor business activities are no longer a side job. However, a certain ambiguity remains: On the one hand, the long duration of being a street vendor may underline that street vendors can provide sufficient income for their families, on the other hand, it indicates that (at the moment) there are no better jobs available. Apparently, however, most of the vendors are not searching for an alternative employment. In the biographies of some of the vendors the reverse story was told. When asked for the reasons why they opted for the street food business as their main occupation they reported that they quitted their formal jobs and chose the business, because the appreciated the flexibility, the independence and the income enjoyed in this business.

Hypothesis four: As an inherent part of the informal economy, street food business is exposed to various elements of uncertainty and insecurity.

This hypothesis has fully been confirmed by this study. The main problem faced by the vendors is related to location. Concerning the vending location, the study found that nearly half of the vendors in Tangerang locate on pavements and pedestrian paths. In a majority of cases these locations have not been legalised since the spaces were not available for trade and were not allocated by the local authorities. Especially in Tangerang many spaces are considered temporary and eviction occurs at the will of urban authorities. Local neighbourhood committees fill the gap and offer “protection” in exchange for a “fee” to a local thug. However, unlike Tangerang, 24.0% of Hat Yai’s vendors operate their business in government market stores and they pay monthly rental fees to the local government.

Across the two cities, access to infrastructures, such as access to toilets, garbage collection, electricity and running water was considered to be one of the pressing problems because the vendors depend on electricity and water to prepare cooked foods. However, from the observations, most street food vendors are relatively satisfied with infrastructure conditions. This satisfaction, however, reflects a considerable unawareness of basic hygiene issues.

Hypothesis five: A lack of access to loans is the major obstacle in the start-up process.

In accordance to hypothesis five, this study found out that many of the vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai failed to get loans from formal banking institutions. Street food vendors experienced difficulties in applying for loans to formal banking institutions due to several factors, such as high interest rates; complex application procedures; inability to meet collateral requirements; and / or inadequate financial records. As a result, only 4.2% of the vendors in Hat Yai and 3.5% of the vendors in Tangerang managed to gain loans from banks. However, most of the vendors found alternative ways of reacting to this uncomfortable situation (see following hypothesis). In line with the literature, it was found, that many vendors used their savings as a startup capital. Insofar, hypothesis five may have been falsified, as the lack of financial resources did not really stop the vendors from starting their business. However, two major reservations have to be made: this study because of its special layout did not reveal how many startup attempts may have failed in the very beginning because of a lack of capital. Furthermore, as revealed in chapter VII (see hypothesis eight), the lack of initial working capital due to a lack of access to formal banking institutions can have a strong long-term impact on the actual performance of the street food business.

Hypothesis six: Family support is pivotal for the decision to migrate, the start-up process and the continuation of the business.

This hypothesis has been fully approved by this study. When the vendors migrated to Tangerang or Hat Yai, many of them relied on support by families and friends in the process of migration. Family support to vendors continued to flow when they decided to become entrepreneurs as street food vendors. 70.4% of the vendors in Tangerang and 62.4% of the vendors in Hat Yai's confirmed to have got support from their family members such as their husbands, children and parents when they started the street food business. This support included providing information and ideas how to run the business, how to find financial resources and an adequate business location. Several husbands produced the first cart, when their wives started their business. The support provided by family members can be considered as a continuous encouragement for vendors to run their business. Accordingly, family support has been a special item highlighted by previous studies. Moreover, in this study the vendors' friends have also been identified as a source of inspiration, motivation and material support when the women started the business. 18.3% of Hat Yai's vendors, but only 9,3% of the Tangerang vendors received this kind of support. As this group found less attention in previous studies, further research should be encouraged.

Hypothesis seven: The income gained from street food business is on average above the national Minimum Wages set in the formal economies.

This hypothesis has generally been approved by this study. In line with previous studies, most respondents knew exactly how much they earned on average and they did not hesitate to inform the researcher about their income. On this basis it has been calculated that enterprises operating in Tangerang had an average net income of Rp 305,839 per day ($21,5) with a median of Rp 200,000 per day ($14,3), while the daily average net income from food vending activities in Hat Yai was 1,440 baht ($45,2) with a median of 1,000 baht ($33,3). The inequality of the average income between vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai presents the unequal level of welfare among vendors in the study sites to be discussed in the following subchapter 2 (similarities and differences).

In both cities street food vendors operated on average 25 days per month. In Tangerang based on the Governor's of Banten Decree, the 2019 minimum wage has been set at Rp 3,841,368 ($274,4) per month, on a 25-days-basis $10,98 accordingly. The average value as well as the median are fairly above this mark. The same scenario has been found in Hat Yai city where both values are considerably above the minimum wage based on Thailand's Central Wage Committee (2018), which amounts to 330 Thai Baht ($9,9} per day, on a 25-days-basis accordingly $247,5. In other study areas, however, especially in some African countries, street food vendors earn up to ten times above the minimum wage.

Although the income of a majority of vendors is located fairly above the minimum wage line, the present study indicated that the street food sectors in both study locations have a strongly disproportionate income distribution. In the literature, a comparable spread in the group of the vendors is sometimes noted, however, a detailed examination is mostly missing. In this study, the Gini coefficient was used to measure the amount of the disparities. On this scale, vendors in Tangerang city have an income disparity of 0.442, while Hat Yai stands at 0.363. The level of income disparity in Hat Yai is close to the average income disparity value of Thailand's Gini index in 2018, which was 0.365, while the level of income disparity of street food vendors in Tangerang is higher than the average value of Indonesia's Gini index which is placed at 0.381. This may have considerable consequences for future practical strategies (see below).

Despite the income differences between the study sites, however, two third of Tangerang's vendors earn an income above the regional minimum wage. In Hat Yai, even 88.5% of the vendors have a net income above the minimum wage. Unlike the business owners, paid employees in Tangerang, according to the survey, receive a significantly lower wage than the city's minimum wage. Paid employees in Tangerang earn Rp 1,410,000 per month ($100.7). While, presently, their counterpart in Hat Yai earn 8,629 baht per month (approximately $275.6), which is almost exactly the city's monthly minimum wage.

Hypothesis eight: The daily net income of the vendors is affected by age, marital status, education level, number of children, religion, initial working capital and the duration of running the business.

This hypothesis has only partially been supported by this study. As opposed to findings in previous studies, most demographic data showed no measurable influence. For Hat Yai, linear regression model analysis revealed that only two variables, education level and initial working capital, have a significant influence on the vendors' income. In the case of the Tangerang street food vendors with lower formal education standards, initial working capital and work experience are the factors that influence their income.

In both cities, with a larger initial capital, street food vendors can sell a variety of foods which makes consumers more interested in buying and enhance the vendors' income. This finding retrospectively underscores the importance of credit accessibility in the initial phases of the business (hypothesis five). The results for the sample of the Hat Yai vendors justify the conclusion that the street food vendors with a higher level of education use to have more effective strategies in managing, producing and marketing their products. In Tangerang, business experience turned out to act as a kind of proxy for the factor education as it positively affects management abilities. The regression coefficient shows that the duration of business performance has a significant effect on the income of Tangerang food vendors. As observed by the researcher, the vendors who have run their business for a long time are more familiar with the taste and the behaviour of their consumers, which in turn will help increase their income.

Hypothesis nine: The income earned in the business has a major impact on the livelihood improvement of the vendors‘ families and enables the families to accumulate money for savings and remittances.

The study showed that the vendors greatly help to improve family finances and welfare which is completely in line with the results of previous studies. This can be seen by the increase in asset ownership of Tangerang and Hat Yai vendor households, although the study revealed a marked difference between the two cities. Regarding the ability of the street food vendors to save money this study did not come to unequivocal conclusions, because in Tangerang the number of responses to this question was slightly above the half of the sample, while in Hat Yai it was even below. The propensity to send remittances was higher in Tangerang (nearly half of the respondents). By contrast, in Hat Yai in the majority of cases because of the proximity of birthplaces and actual residences the postal transfer of money was not necessary.

Hypothesis ten: According to their role as a breadwinner, the women’s position in families and neighbourhoods has fundamentally changed.

This hypothesis has only partially been confirmed by this study. Basically, in all households’ women acted as a substantial breadwinner. 39% of the street food vendors in Tangerang and 42.8% in Hat Yai are even positioned as the sole breadwinners for their children, husbands and sometimes extended family members living together with vendors in the same house. In

Tangerang 12.5% of the households were female headed because of the absence of husbands (single, divorced, widows), in Hat Yai it was 33.4%. Furthermore, 9.4% of the Hat Yai vendors and 26.5% of the Tangerang vendors have to cope with their husbands' unemployment. For the double-headed households is was impossible to determine the exact share of the women's contribution to the household income. Almost all respondents both in Tangerang and Hat Yai did not provide a response when asked about the income of their husbands. However, according to the interviews, among those husbands who have a job, the majority are mostly engaged in the informal sector with an insecure and low income. The conclusion seems to be justified that most of them are earning a wage that fails to sustain the life of the family.

In the startup process, the majority of the women in the street food business experienced almost no obstacles from their husbands, families (see hypothesis six) or the surrounding community. Since they began running their street food business, their reputation has increased sharply in the eyes of families and communities. Currently, the contribution of women in the street food business activities receives appreciation from their families, neighbours, and customers. They are completely aware that women street food vendors have been able to improve family income and welfare. Accordingly, hypothesis ten seems to be completely approved by the findings of this study.

However, a topic almost completely neglected by previous studies on the street food business, sheds less comfortable light on this issue. Taking the involvement of wives and husbands in domestic works as a reality-test for the attitudes expressed, the results are disillusioning. Women street food vendors use to work more than their husbands to complete all household chores while their husbands' level of involvement is very low, especially in routine chores such as washing and cleaning. However, the study revealed that in Hat Yai, the education levels of wives are an important factor that may encourage husbands' involvement in household labour, particularly in childcare. Not surprisingly, in both cities, unemployed husbands tend to do a little bit more domestic work than husbands with a job. Concerning hypothesis ten as a whole, this study comes to an ambivalent conclusion: In theory, the women's appreciation by families and neighbourhoods has fundamentally improved, in practice, however, the household burdens are still heavily lying on the women's shoulders.

2. Hat Yai and Tangerang: Similarities and Differences

Unsurprisingly, the street food sectors in Hat Yai and Tangerang, according to the underlying samples, share a set of basic characteristics. The women vendors are constrained to perform a never-ending working day and face a high degree of uncertainty and insecurity. In the startup process of their business they did not have access to formal bank loans. As migrants, they have left their homes predominantly for economic reasons. As entrepreneurs they have started a business that can no longer be regarded as a makeshift occupation, but as a long-term option to improve family income and welfare. Accordingly, on average, in both cities they earn net incomes fairly above the minimum wage threshold in the formal economies of the two countries which enables a substantial number of them to accumulate money to be saved and/or to be sent home to the area of origin (remittances). As essential breadwinners, women street food vendors enjoy acknowledgement and reputation in families, neighbourhoods and among customers of the two cities. However, they are still held responsible to fulfill the lion's share of exhausting and tiring domestic works.

However, a closer look reveals substantial differences. In Hat Yai the vendors' revenues are twice as much as the revenues in Tangerang. Additionally, while in Tangerang, two third of the vendors earn an income above the regional minimum wage, in Hat Yai it is 88.5%. In Hat Yai even the paid workers earn slightly above the minimum wage, while in Tangerang they earn markedly below. In Tangerang, however, the startup of the street food business contributed much more to the improvement of family livelihoods and the enhancement of saving sums, while in Hat Yai the gains were limited. By contrast, the husbands' contributions to the household chores were noticeably higher in Hat Yai than in Tangerang, especially when the husbands were unemployed. One of the striking dissimilarities was a policy of licensing practised by the local authorities in Hat Yai. 24.0% of the total street food vendors in the sample very given the chance to operate in a government market store, which has greatly contributed to an enhancement of certainty and security.

Can these dissimilarities be related to the basic differences of the two countries as highlighted in the introduction chapter? It would be plausible to associate the higher income level of the Hat Yai vendors with a generally higher income level in Thailand compared to Indonesia, as it is known that the higher incomes correspond to an increased cost of living. Furthermore, it would not be unlikely to roughly relate the higher degree of prosperity displayed in the Hat Yai sample (with nearly ninety percent of the vendors above the minimum wage) to the successes in the tourism business Thailand (including Hat Yasi) is enjoying.

Beyond such plausible, albeit rough estimates, the data generated by the questionnaire can help to give further and more exact allocations. Hypothesis eight offers one suitable vantage point. In both cities one economic factor significantly determined ongoing income success or failure: the amount of startup working capital. The latter was noticeably higher in Hat Yai than in Tangerang. That the Hat Yai vendors started from a higher level than their Tangerang counterparts, had a negative impact on additional livelihood gains reaped for the duration of their business (see above). However, higher sums of initial working capital were found to be associated with ongoing higher business revenues.

Beyond this, among the factors, influencing the economic performance of the vendors, demographic data are the most prominent. In the Hat Yai sample, for instance, economic performance is significantly correlated with the degree of education. Therefore, the assumption is justified that the differences to the Tangerang sample can be associated with the basic differences in the education standard (see chapter III). However, as the Tangerang sample shows, these differences can be offset by business experience, at least to a certain, albeit unmeasurable degree.

Nevertheless, education turns out to be a decisive factor to explain another important difference - the higher propensity of Hat Yai husbands to contribute to the household chores. In the economic sphere, another demographic factor may have played a role of comparable relevance: For the Tangerang sample, the number of children was statistically (negatively) significant for the income level. To recall, on average, vendors in Tangerang have 2.24 children compared to 1.56 children in Hat Yai. In comparison, the lower number of children may also contribute to the explanation of economic differences between the two samples. There is also a correlation concerning the household chores: In both cities a rising number of children leads to a growing abstinence of husbands from domestic works, therewith the drawbacks for the Tangerang vendor wives find an additional explanation.

By contrast, on the basis of the questionnaire, the impact of political factors cannot be exactly determined. The higher degree of certainty among the Hat Yai vendors supported by the local authorities is in even sharp contradiction to Thailand's ranking on the World Democracy Index as well as on the World Corruption Index, where Thailand is placed worse compared to Indonesia. In contrast to previous studies (Tinker, 2003; Otoo et al., 2011), religious factors are not measurable, as well. In general, concerning the division of household chores, it would be tempting to associate the differences between Hat Yai and Tangerang with the different religious affiliations in the two study areas (Buddhism vs. Islam). However, in this field a measurable outcome is produced only by a correlation with the education levels. Accordingly, in this context, it may be less surprising that the person who argued most resolutely in favour of an "equal partnership" model was a Muslim woman. The Hat Yai vendor Pee Kasnawati explained in detail:

"My husband and I take turns in cooking, grocery shopping, cleaning the house and other houseworks. When I'm busy, he takes over all household duties. When he is busy, I do likewise. We have an equal partnership."

3. Recommendations

Along with the economic development in Indonesia and Thailand, there has been a transformation of the business sectors, shifting from agriculture to service and industry, creating large migration flows from country to town. In this process, it is indisputable that the street food business sector is one of the biggest absorbers of labor. The street food sector has become the harbour for a large number of rural-urban migrants, especially of women migrants. Therefore, this sector deserves more serious attention from the governments in both countries. However, it is a reality whose existence is often overlooked.

3.1. Create "Security through Partnership" on the Local Level

As this study found out in line with the international literature, the business, as part of the informal sector, is characterized by major insecurities. Concerning the vending locations, the study reported that nearly half of the vendors locate on pavements and pedestrian paths. Especially in Tangerang many spaces are considered temporary and eviction occurs at the will of urban authorities. Local neighbourhood committees fill the gap and offer "protection" in exchange for a "fee" to a local thug. To avoid these charges, the majority of vendors in Tangerang and Hat Yai do not have a permanent place to sell their food. These calamities will not be overcome if there are no concrete steps taken by the authorities.

Often recommendations are directed towards the central state governments. This perception, however, ignores major characteristics of the central state governments in most of the LEDCs. A long-standing experience with central state measures has shown that in many cases, central state legislations have not been enforced in local circumstances. Certainly, it would not be wrong to appeal to the central governments to take account of the informal sector.

However, it is by far more urgent to start with the immediate needs of the people involved. So, one of the first steps to be made should be a kind of location management. But who actually should start and take these measures? Not the central government, at least. This study found out that in Hat Yai the local authorities have already made the first steps. Unlike Tangerang, nearly a quarter of vendors in Hat Yai operate their business in a recently established government market store as a kind of safe harbour. This kind of policy should be continued in Hat Yai and immediately be started in Tangerang. It would imply a certain kind of formalization of the informal sector. The expression used by the authorities is not "formalizing" but "licensing". Notably, these formalisation elements are not one-sided, they include a process of exchange. So, the vendors will have to pay rents to owners and fees or even taxes to authorities in exchange of safety.

However, the establishment of a government market store in Hat Yai revealed that normally these processes do not evolve without frictions, as in the beginning the Hat Yai vendors were forced to leave their old vending places and were obliged to set up new ones. So, for the next steps it would be crucial to change the atmosphere and – from the authorities' side – to acknowledge the vendors not as objects anymore, but as future partners. An attitude should be generated for the future that in the past was almost absent: It is paramount to enhance or even to create *confidence* between the vendors and the local authorities. This atmosphere of confidence might be materialized by regular meetings between persons from the city council and representatives of the vendors. Furthermore, to push back the influence of so-called market committees and local thugs, a plane of confidence between police units and the vendors should be found. For instance, the police should delegate special deputies to negotiate with the vendors' representatives, to become their reference partners in special situations of conflicts.

On all levels a *dialogical relationship* between the local governments as policymakers and those working in the street food business should be intensified. Obviously, the activities should not be confined to the authorities' side. The vendors in turn, should build up union-like organisations to lobby their interests. A process of learning activating both sides should be brought into action. As the study showed, hitherto, these kinds of activities have fundamentally been neglected by the vendors. Admittedly, for the vendors this process of organisation building will not be easy. There is a great deal of competition among them, and a large number of vendors does not have a fixed place. However, a majority of them has gained a certain level of stability in terms of finances and in terms of time of running the business. The unions to be established should also have a look at the wages, the vendors are paying to their employees.

3.2. Launch a Locally Based Fund to Improve Financing

Considering the limited capacity of the industrial sector and formal services in absorbing workforce in the study sites, all sides, especially the local governments, would profit from new economic strategies. The city representatives would have to formulate economic development policies for the informal sector, especially for the street food sector, ideally not as a top-down-process, but checked and balanced by the vendors' representatives. One of the major issues to be addressed by these strategies would the environmental aspects. For the vendors, apart from a safe vending location, the access to public facilities such as current water, electricity, garbage collection and sanitation schemes is most desirable and should be provided by the authorities. Again, the liabilities are not just on the authorities' side. Many vendors claim they should have gratuitous access to these facilities or pay just a very low price. In their virtual organization process they should learn that these claims are basically questionable pretensions.

However, to a certain degree, the vendors' claim to have free or low-priced access is not totally illegitimate. In both cities, the vendors' group, as shown by this study almost for the first time, is far from being socially uniform. For the high earners of them paying an adequate price for fresh water and electricity should be no problem. For the vendors earning just the minimum wage or even below special schemes of financial support should be envisaged. However, it would be naïve to get these sums from the state's budget. Alternatively, a fund should be issued, on the local level financed partially by the big companies of the formal economy and several institutions like colleges and universities, as their members and employees, for a lack of regular canteens, profit from street food vending. Additionally, the fund could be financed by the high-earning members of the vendors' community, too, which, again, would only be achieved on the condition of successful self-organizing processes on the vendors' side.

As the study found out in line with the international literature, the lack of capital is one of the main obstacles in the street food business. A larger amount of business capital is an important factor to stabilize or even to increase the level of the vendors' income. Loans at a low-interest rate allow informal businesses to develop and get higher profits, which in turn can create more jobs and improve family welfare. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the commitment of several parties (e.g. banks, cooperatives, and other financial institutions) to provide funding for their business so they will be able to contribute to increasing street food vendors' income. As the sums in need are not very high, these claims have a realistic perspective. Possibly, the fund mentioned above, could be used for this purpose, too. The loans should be granted primarily to projects leading to improvements in the field of ecology and working security such as the acquisition of a food trailer.

3.3. Provide Training Programs

Among the strategies formulated to overcome the current calamities, efforts concerning the education level are paramount. Issues like workers with minimal educational qualifications and limited skills, especially in Indonesia, must also be taken into account by the authorities. On the other hand, the study showed that, especially in Hat Yai, there is a close connection between the educational standard of the vendors and their economic success. Notwithstanding, many women street food vendors, even the less educated, have brilliant ideas but do not have the capital and facilities to work on them, so finally they improvise with limited facilities and skills. Therefore, local authorities and the formal private sector in both countries should provide various training programs that can be attended by female street food vendors. Consequently, training facilities should be provided in various fields, such as business organization, accounting and marketing. Schools and universities are called upon to help.

Training courses are particularly necessary in fields that would benefit the whole city's economy and ecology. While the street food business is absorbing a large number of otherwise unemployed persons, it has become a growing problem in the field of hygiene and city ecology as a whole. Mandatory training courses addressing these problems are urgently needed, in order to make the street food business more beneficial to the community, the customers, and the vendors' families. The question of payment for these courses should be addressed according to the solution suggested above: the high earners will have to pay, the poorer vendors would attend the courses for free. Enhancing the economic, social and ecological knowledge could also be one way to a solution of problems in the household affairs. For this purpose, the vendors' husbands should be addressed and included in the training courses, especially when they are unemployed.

In line with the growth of metropolises in Indonesia and Thailand, street food vendors' business has become dynamic and continues to grow. Empirically, it is evident that the street food business has promising prospects while the negative impact on the urban environment and the vendors' as well as the customers' health is rising, too. Accordingly, especially on the local level, the governments are expected to recognize the street food vendors as political partners. Legal assurance is necessary for them so they can avoid abuse from many parties, including government officials and thugs. To support the creativity of street food vendors, policies should be formulated that favor the needs of the street food sector. Simultaneously, processes of awareness-raising and organizational management as a basic condition for a partnership model should be launched and pursued on the vendors' side.

4. Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of this study resides in the use of women street food vendors as the primary source of information and the exclusion of male vendors. Furthermore, first-hand interviews with local government persons would have better addressed some of the report's specific questions concerning the attitude of the local governments towards the informal sector. Accordingly, for both cities, this topic requires further research.

More importantly, another limitation of note, consisted in the gender difference. In the beginning the opposition of a male researcher and female respondents created an atmosphere of uncertainty on both sides, which, however, could be overcome after a short time. In the course of some interviews, however, situations of uncertainty frequently came back, when for instance the interview was repeatedly interrupted by customers, by the respondents' husbands or relatives or friends when they appeared at the food stall. However, these encounters gave the researcher the chance to observe how these persons behaved to the vendors. The researcher himself in general tried to behave in a calm, polite and rational manner when surveying or interviewing the vendors. However, one problem remained unsolved: The in-depth interviews were only conducted with the female vendors. Future studies should include additional interviews with the vendors' husbands, children other household members. This may create divergend results for instance concerning the effect of the division of household chores.

An additional problem had to be faced in Hat Yai. The uncertainty of how to behave in a country that is not the researcher's home country was an undererstimated problem, especially in the beginning. The problem was compounded by the fact that the researcher did not speak the Thai language and was almost always seen as an outsider. The obstacles were overcome when the researcher recruited research assistants to introduce the researcher in Thai language, while they assisted in conducting and translating the interviews. In most cases, after the initial introductions, the researcher began interacting with the vendors with ease.

The limitations of operating in a foreign country entailed a secondary problem: the imbalance in the number of respondents in Hat Yai (96), compared to Tangerang (200) in the researcher's home country. This limitation, however, does not influence the statistical reliability of the study. For the samples in both study locations the margin of error is below 10.0% and therefore meets the widely accepted methodological criteria.

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Appendix

Standardised Questionnaire

Instruction

Please put (**X**) on the box for the answers you choose or fill your answer on space provided.

A. General Information

1. Location/sub district :
2. What time of the day do you start for selling? : a. Noon b. Afternoon c. Evening
3. Name of vendor :
4. Religion : a. Buddha b. Islam c. Catholic
   d. Christian e. Hindu f. Other, ________
5. Ethnic group : a. Sunda b. Jawa c. Batak
   d. Padang e. Chinese f. Madura
   g. Betawi h. Lainnya_______________
6. Age :
7. Marital status : a. Single b. Married c. Engaged
   d. Separated e. Widowed f. Divorced
8. Number of children :
9. Education Level : a. Illiterate b. Primary school c. Secondary school
   d. Senior high school e. Academic / university
10. Place of birth : a. Banten b. Jawa Barat c. Jakarta
    d. Jateng e. Jatim f. ogyakarta
    g. Kalimantan h. Sumatera i. Others___
11. Where did you live five years ago:
    a. Tangerang b. Banten c. Jawa Barat
    d. Jakarta e. Jateng f. Jatim
    g. Yogyakarta h. Sumatera i. Others

12. With whom do you live?

a. Children b. Husband c. Husband and children

d. Husband, parents and children e. Husband, children and relatives.

f. Friends g. Alone h. Spouse

13. How many persons does your household consist of (including yourself)?

B. Causes and consequences of migration

1. When did you migrate to Hat Yai/Tangerang____________________________________

2. Who made the decision to migrate to Tangerang/Hat Yai?

a. No one (self-desire) b. Relatives c. Parents

d. Friends e. Husband f. Spouse

3. What was your main source of information to migrate?

a. Friends and Relatives b. Mass media c. Previous visit

d. Family members e. Others

4. Before you moved, you were:

a. Vendor b. Wage labor c. Housewife d. Unemployed

e. Student f. Others

5. What was/were the main reason(s) for you to come to Hat Yai/Tangerang? (You can choose more than one)

a. Poverty and unemployment

b. Better prospects

c. To create job and migration opportunities for additional family members

d. Insufficient farming income

e. Lack of regular work in the place of origin

g. Other (specify) ____

6. In Hat Yai/Tangerang, is there a community of people from your previous place of residence?

a. Yes b. No

If your answer is "yes", what is the name of the community?

____

7. Do you have plan to move to another place?

a. Yes b. No

C. Labour: Working conditions and Pre-Conditions

1. When did you start your business ____________________________
2. Have you had previous job in the host area?

   a. Yes b. No

   If "yes", what your main job before starting with your current business?

   a. Permanent employment

   b. Paid government employment

   c. Housemaid

   e. Student

   f. Own business g. Others____________________
3. Do you have previous business experience before this one?

   a. Yes b. No

   If "yes", where and when? _____________________________________
4. At the time of business planning, did people support you in obtaining business ideas and identifying profitable activities, advices and moral support?

   a. Yes b. No

   If "yes", would you please tell me the persons who gave your business advice, information and moral support?

   a. Husband b. Children c. Parents d. Friends

   e. Relatives f. Spouse g. Others
5. Employment of Wage Labour

   a. Are there family members who are working in this business? a. Yes b. No

   b. Are you paying wages for family members who are working with you? a. Yes b. No

   c. How much is the mean monthly wage per employee?
6. Means of transportation used to carry these products:

   a. Public transport b. My own motorcycle c. My own car d. Walking

   e. Others____________________
7. How is the attitude of your customers towards you?

   a. Co-operative b. Neutral c. Adverse
8. Did you and your family members have access to public/private medical services when you started the business? a. Yes b. No
9. Did you and your family members have access to public/private medical services at present?

   a. Yes b. No

D. Access to Basic Resources: Startup-Capital, Location, Facilities

1. What were the difficulties you faced when you started the business? (You can answer more than one)
   a. Lack of capital + credit
   b. Harassment by police
   c. Eviction by private shop guardians
   e. Lack of working place
   f. High price of commodities
   g. To gain the customers
   h. Others (specify) ________________________________

2. Initial working business capital

Variables	Initial Working Capital	Present Working Capital	Notes
Business Capital			
Food cart/food stall/kiosk			
Kitchen supplies			
Daily stock (food, ingredients, etc.)			

3. Source of initial capital for business
   a. Borrowing from Banks b. Relatives c. Borrowing from friends
   d. Spouse e. Husband f. Parents
   g. Savings h. Moneylender

4. The location of street food vendor's trading activities
   a. Street side b. Sidewalks c. In front of the store
   d. Empty lot e. Government market store f. Parking lots
   g. In front of the house h. Other __________________

5. How did you obtain access to your trading site/premises?
   a. From informal leaders b. Given from family
   c. Saw an empty space and used d. From the government e. Others

6. Whilst selling, do you have access to the following services?

	Free access	Paid access	Not required
Clean Running Water			
Toilet			
Electricity & Gas			
Garbage collection & solid waste disposal			

7. Do you pay fees, taxes or levies to access vending space?

a. Yes b. No

8. Types of the payment for fees, taxes, and levies

Payment	**Yes**	**No**	**Monthly payment**
Rent for space or table			
Municipal tax			
Cleaning charges			
Security charges			
Electricity and water charges			
Association/union fees			
Illegal charges			
Others			

E. Socio-Economic and Livelihood Conditions

1. Net income per day?
2. Net income when vendors started the business compared to current income

a. Equal b. Higher c. Lower

3. What do you do with the money you get from vending different goods? (You can choose more than one)

a. Business expansion
b. Save the money in monetary terms
c. Family support
d. Use for your own purpose
e. Save the money for social protection purposes (health care, medicine, maternity, child's educations)
f. Other___________

4. Household value assets

Value assets	Before started the business	At present
Do you have TV device?		
Do you have refrigerator?		
Do you have motorcycles?		
Do you have cars?		
Do you have mobile phone?		
Do you have your own residential house?		

5. Monthly saving when vendors started the business compared to current income

a. Equal b. Higher c. Lower

6. How much is the saving of yours per month?

7. Do you send remittances to your previous place of residence or your relatives?

   a. Yes b. No

8. Who receives remittances?

   a. Parents b. Children c. Relatives

9. How many times do you send remittances during a year?
10. How much money do you usually send per transfer?
11. How is the attitude of your families or your husband towards you?

    a. Co-operative b. Neutral c. Adverse

12. Do you believe that your involvement in this business has increased your social integration and reputation among your family? a. Yes b. No

13. Do you believe that your involvement in this business has increased your social integration and reputation in your community at large? a. Yes b. No

F. Gender In(equality): Household Division of Labour

Management of different household responsibilities (Multiple response is possible)

Responsibility	Managed by						
	Yourself	Husband	By any member of house	Daughter/son	Mother	Sister	Other
Child care							
Cooking							
Washing							
Cleaning							
Grocery shopping							

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