

A Defense of Local Villagers Working as Souvenir Vendors and Its Relation with The Female Identity in Kintamani Tourism Area, Bali

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ABSTRACT

Souvenir vending is one of the jobs done by poor people in tourist areas such as Batur Tengah Village or better known as Penelokan, Kintamani, Bangli Regency, Bali to make their family survive. However, the souvenir vendors' existence is not only considered by tourism businesses as unacceptable, but it is also regarded as a major factor that hampers the development of tourism in Kintamani. In fact, the Bali Local Regulation No. 2 of 2012 on Cultural Tourism explicitly emphasizes that the development of Bali's tourism is aimed to encourage an equal distribution of business opportunities and to obtain maximum benefits for the welfare of the community. Therefore, this study was aimed to determine the reasons why the informal sector (souvenir vending) is used as the basis of the family economy, what is the practice of souvenir vending which has become the basis of the family economy, and also what is the struggle for vendor space in the Kintamani tourism area and its relation with the female identity. In this study, several techniques were used such as observations, interviews, and literature study to collect data. Research results show that the people in the Batur Tengah village choose to work as souvenir vendors because of their limited economic capital, education, skills, and time due to other life burdens, especially for those who are already married. In the Kintamani tourism area, souvenir vendors have to interact with various parties which certainly involves a capital struggle because each party has a different interest. As a famous international tourism area which has become a global Geopark, this area is highly contested for its economic, social, cultural, political, and environmental values. Researchers found a new paradigm that shows souvenir vending to be one form of entrepreneurship in a tourism field which is responded to by the people as a multi-purpose industry. The utilization of the informal sector is considered a family economic base by women in the village of Batur Tengah. Married woman are obligated to provide for their families hence they struggle as souvenir vendors in the middle of the tourism competition which has become more strict and less accommodative due to the new government policy. In practice, the community is very obedient to the elite community leaders who are considered as patrons, both by the men and women vendors. Other options to support their families are now very few and becoming less as the tourism areas are becoming more popular.

Keywords: *souvenir, vendor, local people, Kintamani, tourism area.*

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of souvenir vendors in the Batur Tengah village community cannot be separated from the failure in the agricultural sector to meet farmers' needs which has led to poverty, both in an absolute

and relative sense. Hence, they have to find side jobs outside of the agricultural sector. Some studies on souvenir vending as a job in the informal sector have been done by many scholars. Alisjahbana (2005)

in *Sisi Gelap Perkembangan Kota (The Dark Side of City Development)* sums up the meanings and characteristics of the jobs in informal sector from some experts' opinions. The characteristics are: (a) unrecognized, their position is put in an unclear structure; (b) they do not get any legal protection; (c) the business in this sector is often judged negative by the government, and even (d) it is regarded as an economic activity that is contrary to the legal economic practice. The weak position of the informal sector workers gives a chance for the capitalists to use the condition. As stated by Effendi in Mustafa (2008: 2-3), the social transformation of the marginal community firmly fixes the existence of the street vendors in the whirlpool of modernity. The informal sector can complement the formal sector, so goods and services can be produced by the informal sector while the formal sector improves packaging or presentation of the goods, services, and quantities. Similarly stated by Geertz in *Penjaja dan Raja (The Peddler and The King)* that the people who become workers are the common people (who have no caste), while the upper-class people are the descendants of the king who own capital and decide what is to be done and produced (Geertz, 1973: 104-111).

Some studies have been conducted on the jobs in the informal sector that are related to tourism. Timothy and Wall (1997: 322: 34) in *Selling to Tourists: Indonesian Street Vendors* state that the informal sector can give a significant contribution to economic development of a tourist destination area, especially in a developing country. Even it is stressed, "the informal tourism sector is comprised of tourism-related activities which are generally beyond the effective control of the tourism authorities", thus the existence of the informal sector should be given the opportunity by the authorities, since they do not only overcome their economic problems alone, but they can also become the safety valve that can decrease the unemployment rate. Cukier and Wall (1994: 464-476) did a special study of vendors in Bali titled, *Informal Tourism Employment: Vendors in Bali, Indonesia*. They state, "Many vendors view their current employment as a means of acquiring the skills required to gain access to employment in the formal sector". As put forward by L.A. Kuperus (1983: 65-68) who especially studied and explained the women's role as small vendors (*bakulan*), they sell souvenirs to support their families and provide for their survival. His article titled, *Bagaimana Pedagang-Pedagang Kecil (Bakulan Mendapatkan Modal Usaha) (How*

Small Traders Get Business Capital)" explains the role of farmers' wives who cannot meet their families' needs by relying only on the agricultural crops produced by their husbands. Thus, they have to find side jobs to help the economy of their families. The wives, as it is explained, borrowed some rice and then sold part of it to buy another foodstuff, and cooked the other part. In this way, they could sell rice with side dishes to get some profit. Through this way, the wives could pay their debts off in three days. The condition described in this article is similar to the one found in Batur Tengah village, in which the women become souvenir vendors to meet the basic necessities of their families. The yields from agriculture/ raising live stocks which they get in three or six months' time cannot be used fully to meet their daily needs since some of it needs to be saved as the capital for the next cultivating season. The income that they get from selling souvenirs can be regarded as the income they spend to meet their daily needs.

The studies that are related to the job as vendor mentioned above also used a qualitative approach, but there is an important aspect which makes them different. The difference is in the research questions. Based on the research, shifting to souvenir vendor is also caused by the existence of tourists who visit the Kintamani tourism area. The tourist visit is not only for recreation; tourists also need souvenirs. Souvenirs are very important for the tourists, that is, as the sign that can be kept long as a remembrance of the place they have visited. The need for souvenirs creates the opportunity for the souvenir vendors to sell their goods. The presence of tourists is viewed as the source of income to meet their daily necessities.

The phenomenon that occurs in the Batur Tengah village community, in the Kintamani tourism area conforms to what is stated by Greenwood (in Pitana and Gayatri, 2005: 83), in which the people of Kintamani become more aggressive with the increase in the number of tourist visits. The aggressive attitude is finally regarded as a big problem by the tourism business actors, especially the local government and travel agents. The great discourse in *Sapta Pesona* (the seven enchantments (a formula for attracting tourists)), which stresses that tourists have to get security and comfort, makes the people of Batur Tengah village who become souvenir vendors the villain who do irreparable damage to the values contained in *Sapta Pesona*. As the local people (hosts) in the tourism area, they should be able to give a good image and a good service, which is

manifested in their good attitude and behavior toward the tourists.

The popular narration that fully supports the aspects contained in *Sapta Pesona*, has indirectly discredited the Batur Tengah villagers as souvenir vendors since they are regarded as the source of problems in Kintamani tourism. This is interesting to investigate critically, considering that the souvenir vendors are actually an inseparable part of Kintamani tourism since they are the inhabitants of the area who also have the right to get the benefits from the tourism development, economically, socially, culturally, politically and environmentally.

METHODS

As stated above, this study was conducted in Batur Tengah village, Kintamani District, Bangli Regency, Bali. This study used qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data were in the form of descriptive information about souvenir vendors' life circumstances through interviews, focus group discussions, observations, library research and document study. While the quantitative data were information in the form of figures obtained through document study or statistical analysis. The data came from primary and secondary sources. The primary data were obtained from the related institutions such as village office, Head of the Village Office, Regency Tourism Office and the Province Tourism Office. The information about the souvenir vendors was the most important information in this study, therefore the determination of informants was done selectively, that is, the souvenir vendors themselves. This research involved data collecting, data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing or verification. The result of data analysis was presented informally in the form of descriptive narrative or verbal description formulated and conceptualized by the researcher based on the rules of cultural studies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Reasons for Using the Informal Sector (Souvenir Vendors) as the Basis of Family Economy in Batur Tengah Village

The informal entrepreneurial activity of the souvenir vendor is part of the informal sector professions. Souvenir vending as one of the forms of an individual entrepreneurship can be viewed from the concept

of an entrepreneur as stated by Gave in Sudrajat (2011: 26) that according to *The Fortable MBA in Entrepreneurship* explains: "Entrepreneurship is the person who perceives an opportunity and creates an organization to pursue." Thus, the business opportunity that the people of Batur Tengah village see when they see tourists makes them souvenir vendors in groups which actually reflects their entrepreneurial spirit.

In Indonesian *pedagang acung* has the same meaning as *pedagang asongan* (street vendor), which is a person who sells a commodity by handing it to the buyer (KBBI, 2012: 94). The souvenir vendors sell their commodities by handing them to the buyers who are on the bus. Mason (2015: 38) explains the presence of street vending which was chosen as a profession by people with less capital and low education level. Mason explains Cukier and Wall's (1994) finding of the presence of vendors who came from the local community aged 15 to 25 years, selling souvenirs directly to tourist. The need of tourists are sometimes not planned, especially for souvenirs and food and caused the two products very potentially to be sold directly in the tourism area.

According to Wirakartakusumah (1987:33-47), there are some factors which cause someone to change jobs which include: (1) economic factor, (2) social factor, (3) natural condition, (4) culture, and (5) education, among others. Based on the finding, the economic factor becomes the main factor for the people in batur Tengah village to choose to be souvenir vendors.

The phenomenon of souvenir vendors in Bali is investigated by foreign scholars. In their finding, Cukier and Wall (1994:464) see the emergence of a souvenir vendor in Bali, especially in Kuta and Sanur areas, as the effect of their limited capital so that they choose an easy and open job, which can be used as stepping stone to look for a better job. Being rejected in the formal sector causes someone to choose a job in the informal sector, including a job as a street vendor, with the hope that the capital that one has can improve their education quality which will give them an opportunity to enter the formal sector. However, as the growing of the number of visitors coming to Bali, souvenir vending as one of the entrepreneurial forms has changed the community view about jobs in the formal and informal sector. To become an entrepreneur or to work in any job which is viewed as a creative and innovative form by the Batur Tengah village community is to use the opportunity given by development of Kintamani tourism through

the presence of tourists in their area. It is assumed that the use of souvenir vendors in the informal sector can benefit the community.

Choosing a job in the informal sector, especially as a souvenir vendor in the Kintamani tourism area for most of the people is caused by the fact that the job does not require much capital both in terms of material and educational background. Viewed from Bourdieu's idea that places habitus in the habitual context oriented to class in social construction (Barker, 2014: 24-25), then it is very natural if souvenir vending is chosen by the people of Batur Tengah village as a reflection of the presence of tourists in the area. Souvenir vendor profession is closely related to agriculture which they make as the consideration to change jobs from farmer to vending as the side job to improve the family's economy. In addition, since they have limited capital, and their education tends to be low, then souvenir vending is viewed as an appropriate choice as a substitute and/ or additional job which can yield money to meet their daily life necessities.

Marx explained that people work to meet their needs (Barker, 2014: 160-161) and working is the most basic human action in which one exists in real life. Jobs, whatever the types, are critical for a person's existence in the community as put forward by Suseno-Magnis (2001: 91), to work means a person selects the natural form of objects and gives a different form, in this case, human objectifies himself or herself into nature through the job. Based on the explanation about a job in Marx's thinking as stated by Suseno-Magnis (2001) above, it can be understood that the people in Batur Tengah village choose to be souvenir vendors as a reflection that they try to objectify themselves based on the development of Kintamani as a tourism destination area. People in Batur Tengah village choose to become souvenir vendors to be able to meet their family's economic needs, and also to give them a good social standing in their family. The family is a household which has blood relations or marital relations to provide the family's or its members' expressive functions in a network (Lestari, 2012: 6). It is a small unit in the society with various functions, including to provide skill for the children to become autonomous individuals in the future. Syarbini (2016:86) states that a family is an economic function which aims at improving the life status as reflected in meeting life's necessities such as the needs for food, drink, health as the basic prerequisite in meeting the family's needs in the economic perspective. The family should not only

have an ability to be productive economically, to earn income for the family, to meet the life's necessities, but it should also be able to regulate itself in using the sources of income to make an effective and efficient use of the income.

The Social Practice of Souvenir Vendors in Kintamani Tourism Area as the Basis of Family Economy in Batur Tengah Village

Souvenir vendors in Batur Tengah village, are divided into three groups, Lakeview, garden view, and the group of vendors in each restaurant. Each group generally consists of 9-50 members, in which the formation of the group is based on the origin of the vendors. In practice, each individual sells goods according to their respective condition. Working hours are not predetermined, but depends on the vendor and their respective needs. However, they follow the timetable for visitors who come between 10.00 to 16.00 Indonesia central time. In practice, they always work in the group. Grouping is very important for the souvenir vendors because their right number and their division of selling areas were determined by Bintang Danu domination. According to Soyomukti (2010), the formation of a social group cannot be separated from the reasons behind it, the aim to be achieved, and the normative principle that regulates relations among individuals in a social group. An individual relation in a social group has a structure which formed a status tie and a role, such as a person who has the status as the leader and his or her subordinates. Every status requires a different role but the statuses are complementary for the social group which is run functionally (Ritzer, 2012).

The souvenir vendors in Batur Tengah village in addition to forming groups to protect themselves, also interact with each other more often whether with women or men. The interaction conforms to the idea put forward by Mustafa (2008: 27) that an interaction is a relation which is formed from the manifestation of the actor's roles which work dynamically, consisting of interpersonal relations, a relation between an individual and the group and intergroup relations. In this context, souvenir vendors do an interaction with various objectives between themselves both with their group members and/or the members of other groups.

Kintamani which has been determined as a national tourism strategic area (KSPN) according to Government Regulation No. 50 of 2011, as an implementation for the system of the area

management including to stress the development of Kintamani area, especially in Batur Tengah village area which is free from souvenir vendors who are the local people. The Balinese Governor insisted the Bangli local government to work hard in managing Kintamani area on the 7th of April 2016 in which the government should not only clean the places where they sell merchandise but also start relocating the Batur Tengah villagers working as souvenir vendors. They should be regulated and limited.

In recent development, the local government works with various parties such as Civil service police unit (*Satpol PP*), Police, Department of Industry and Commerce (*Desperindag*), National and Regional Craft Board (*Dekranasda*), village government, community leaders including the ones who are very respected by the community of Batur Tengah village, *Jero Dane Batur Alitan*, and *Jero Dane Batur Luhuran*, at the beginning of April 2016 and started to take some action to enforce law and order to the people working as sellers in the market, kiosk sellers, meatball sellers, and souvenir vendors who make their living to meet their daily necessities around the Kintamani tourism area, especially at Penelokan. This was done as the follow up of the order by Bali's government who ordered the local government of Bangli regency and their staffs to work hard to organize Kintamani (Rhismawati, April 7th, 2016). On April 8th, 2016, the enforcement action was done simultaneously and had not only a positive but also the negative impact on Kintamani tourism and the local government performance. It caused souvenir vendors to become submissive and anxious for the sustainability of their economy if they can no longer work.

The reinforcement practice done by the government also involved security to be working every day around the Kintamani tourism area with the total of ten to twelve persons a day. They work to watch the activities of the souvenir vendors so that all of their movements are always under their surveillance. From the perspective of Foucault's idea about Panopticon (Lubis (2014: 208), the people of Batur Tengah village, especially those who sell their goods on the street are aware that they are always watched by the government and the influential community leaders. Although the government gives them the permission, in practice the government has assigned people to watch the movement of the vendors. The labile attitude is shown by the government, that is, on the one hand giving the permission formally, but on the other hand always limiting the movement of the entrepreneurship of

the Batur Tengah village souvenir vendors, which indicates that the government both at the central and the local level cannot be freed from the interest in pressuring and reducing unemployment rates, while in addition, jobs in this sector are expected to be able to give welfare to the people at the bottom level which cannot be handled well by the government.

Aside from conducting social interaction and practices with their friends in their profession and the government, the souvenir vendors also interact with the suppliers of their merchandise. In this condition, matters interesting to be investigated involve the routine of the goods' suppliers to bring various souvenirs for the souvenir vendors – although at this time the sale of the goods starts to decrease, with the growth of souvenir shops built in various tourism areas in Bali. The findings in the field show that the goods sold by the souvenir vendors around Kintamani tourism area, especially in Batur Tengah village are the products produced in Gianyar regency, Klungkung regency and Java (Solo).

The social practice between souvenir sellers and the supplier of goods creates commensalism, which benefits the suppliers. The social interaction between the vendors and the suppliers follows Mustafa's idea (2008: 31) when he uses the term *Ulakan* system in which a vendor can get the merchandise through three ways: (1) the vendors get goods from the middleman, (2) directly buying from the producer or whole seller, or (3) selling one's own products. In the case of Batur Tengah village, some of the vendors get the goods from the suppliers directly who come to their vendors in a car, but some also choose to collect goods from collectors around the selling area. Looking at the social practice between the supplier and the vendors, two parties use the traditional economic principle stated by Scott as safety first principle. Safety first principle is the way to avoid risk as shown by the traditional farmers' attitude told by Scott in which farmers do not want to take a risk in choosing plants to be grown. For the farmers, every form of risk, however small the risk has to be viewed as something which endangers their subsistence (Scott, 1981: 23-27). In the case of Batur Tengah village, both the supplier and the vendors always try to reduce the risk. This is proven by the suppliers' attitude who sells their goods by cash payment at the time of the collection of goods, while the vendors do not want to invest too much capital to buy the goods. The vendors tend to select some goods which according to them are the tourists' favorite so that the goods that have been bought can

be sold directly, and by the selling of the goods, they obtain profit. However, the reality is it is the suppliers who make the most profit.

The Struggle for Vendors' Space in Kintamani Tourism Area

The local communities as the part which cannot be separated try to take part in the struggle to gain control of the economic resource offered by Kintamani tourism as fruit vendors and souvenir vendors offering goods at the side of the roads. The idea introduced by Greenwood in Pitana and Gayatri (2005: 83) that the behavior of the community will change as the result of the presence of tourists (mass tourism) has occurred in Kintamani tourism area, especially in Batur Tengah village. Kintamani which has been introduced widely since 1912 by an author Gregor Krause from Germany has made Bali especially Kintamani very popular among foreigners. Then, the local regulation No. 16 of 2009 which determined Kintamani as a special tourism attraction area (KDTWK) has made the area, including Batur Tengah village a focus of serious attention of the Bangli local government especially Bali, generally. Even when Bangli, in 2011, was determined as global Geopark area at the international level for its nature and culture of Kintamani as part of Bangli regency, the area automatically has been given the serious attention by various parties, locally, nationally and internationally to make Kintamani an area which can honor the earth and make people prosperous as the vision at the Geopark area and the mission of the Destination Management Organization (DMO).

The beauty of the nature and the uniqueness of the culture of Kintamani gradually make this area start to be used and exploited by various parties who have different interests. Practically, Kintamani is regarded as an area capable to give various benefits, especially economic benefits by various parties both inside and outside of the region. This has made Kintamani become an arena of struggle for economic space, socio-cultural economy, politics, and environmental groups. Even souvenir vendors (70%) are women who do some various social practices to get some benefits both for themselves and their families. The beautiful Kintamani cannot be used up, presented and even exploited indirectly by opening the opportunity for conflict, interpersonally among the people in Kintamani area and between themselves and people outside the area. When Kintamani was

decided as a global Geopark area which is the one of the first in Indonesia, then it needs to be adapted to a foreign world, that is the provincial level government, national government and international world such as UNESCO. This is not easy, especially for people with elementary school educational level who cannot understand the foreign world and the interests that are brought from outside. Thus, if they cannot adapt well, their condition becomes marginalized and it is difficult for them to refuse the impact of internationalization. Therefore, the requirement and pressure have to be felt by the local people working as souvenir vendors. However, the intention to get economic benefits causes them to try to survive in the condition which is very difficult in selling their goods to get money to meet their daily necessities.

In addition to the struggle for economic space, the sociocultural space struggle also occurs. Kintamani district with its 48 villages is riddled by power struggles by interested parties. Many of them have the profession as merchants, including souvenir vendors. This makes the suppliers of raw materials and commodities ask them to sell various goods from various areas in Bali and outside Bali. Similarly, the suppliers who supply goods to the vendors try to have a good relationship with them to get the economic benefit. In addition, restaurant owners too, try to give space to people working as souvenir vendors to use the areas around the restaurants as the place to sell their goods.

As stated by Plummer (2011:285), the social capital such as friendship, job networks, and closer relations which create networks relation is aimed to develop the quality of life. This is done by various parties involved in Kintamani tourism. The government is trying to develop good relations with the community by considering their right to vote in the election, the suppliers of merchandise cooperate with the community to make the community sell the goods they offer, so are the restaurant owners who give space to souvenir vendors to show the positive side of the existence of them who explicitly violate the regulation on region's spatial zoning. All the forms of friendships, work networks, and good relations develop with the community have different aims based on their respective needs.

Plummer's idea (2011) is in line with Agger's explanation (2009: 314-315) of Gary Becker and James Coleman's idea that extends the economic theory of the household division to a sociological framework, which states human capital more

explicitly is social capital. Based on the idea, it can be understood that the government, the supplier of goods, the restaurant owners have made the community of Batur Tengah village souvenir vendors as social capital. The good relation among the parties with their respective interests in the community of Batur Tengah village prevent a conflict among the parties. The people who do not understand each individual's interest with whom they are developing relations tend to occupy a position as the receiver.

Kintamani with the natural beauty and cultural uniqueness is interesting for the tourists and has the most populous population in Bangli regency. This causes the area to have struggles for its economic, social, cultural aspects and political aspects. Research finding exhibits that politically, Kintamani area is the area with a big potential for getting votes. For this reason, there is a need for an action to make the people feel comfortable. The government, for example, although they often conduct law and order enforcement, in fact, still give opportunities for the growth of souvenir vendors. Various activities in the form of training and development are also done by using the local government funding which is aimed to make the vendors aware of the way how to sell their goods to meet the expectations of the government and the tourism actors. Similarly, *Yayasan Bintang Danu*, during its operation, in addition to giving moral support to them, they also give material aids in the form of a low-interest loan. However, the criticism against the souvenir vendors by calling them a social pathology is still felt by the community of Batur Tengah village, which indicates that behind the government and foundation action, there is another interest which exploits souvenir vendors, as their social capital.

The presence of souvenir vendors is used by parties who have political interest as what is stated by Marcuse (2000) about the repressive tolerance, that is, a tolerance that gives an impression as if it gave freedom, but in fact its intention is exploitation. In this context, without the people being aware of this exploitation, they return the government and the foundations' kindness by giving the votes to them at the election. This is viewed as natural by the people, especially the souvenir vendors because they view that the government and the foundation help them to obtain economic sources in the form of the space to sell goods. The attitude of the vendors who voluntarily give their votes to those who they think have helped them is the attitude of the peasant - as long as their

right is not taken by others, they will accept the condition that is given to them. The vendors, in this case, are aware that they do not act as individuals but as social beings. It means what they have done is not based on the individual's rational consideration but on cultural aspects, such as habits, beliefs, values, symbol, and rituals (Situmorang, 2007: 22).

The souvenir vendors community which is part of the Hindu community believes in *Catur Guru* teaching or the concept and principle of giving respects to the four *Gurus* including what is called *Guru Wisesa*, which is the government. The people who understand the teaching will regard the insubordination toward the government as sin (*Alpaka Guru Wisesa*). This phenomenon is in line with Noam Chomsky's idea in Tilaar (2003: 61) that schools actually support the interest of the ruler. Through the school, people are introduced to three sources of power: (1) teacher, (2) government, and (3) parents, including informal leaders in the community as the sources of power in the community and at the same time as the leaders or sources of social transformation. In the same way, the people in Batur Tengah village mostly have a low education level (elementary school graduate). Their knowledge about the concept and principles of *Catur Guru* has entered their subconsciousness, with the implication of an unquestioning respect for the government. Even when the government, in this case, the office of tourism, Department of Industry and Commerce, Civil service police unit, and the police are assigned around Kintamani tourism area, the people, at last, choose to obey all the rules.

Souvenir Vendors in Kintamani Tourism Area, Bali and Its Relation with the Female

A street vendor is one of the occupations which provides an opportunity to receive income automatically as the economic basis for the family, both in the context of meeting the basic needs and the saving of capital to maintain the survival of social practices that are related to the business activity. Based on the findings in the field, the number of street vendors in 2017 who came from Batur was about 426 families with each family having, on average, one member with the profession as a street vendor. The preliminary observation in the field showed that street vendors in Kintamani Tourism Resort do not only consist of males, but also females. The number of females working as street vendors was more than that of the males, i.e., about 300 female street vendors in Kintamani Tourism Resort. This

condition is interesting to be studied critically as the idea in the Marxist feminism theory states that the family economy basis does not only provide an opportunity for a family to maintain its existence, but also produces a power structure. It means that a person who has the position in a high class in a family will at the same time be the one who has the power, whether the individual is a father or a mother, which is largely determined by who has the power over the economic basis. In this context it is seen whether if the wife can earn money and can finance the family better than the husband, she will acquire an equal status, or even higher in her status in the structure of power in the family.

The question about the status of the wife above is important since in the Marxist feminist idea "the social existence determines self-awareness". A woman cannot form her identity by herself if socio-economically, she still depends on a man. To understand why a woman is oppressed, we have to analyze the relation between the woman's status and the image of herself (Arivia, 2003: 112). If the reverse is true, that is if the wife works as a street vendor beside working as a farmer and or doing another job so that it produces a double earning pattern, then a question arises whether the income that is received by the wife strengthens her position in the family. In addition, whether the wife can reverse the structure of power in the family, i.e., it is not the husband who has the power but the wife. In addition, the question above is likely to be answered in a way which is in contrast to what is expected by the woman, since the power of the man over the woman is related to the dominant ideology in Balinese community, i.e., patriarchal ideology and gender ideology. In this context, the power system that is applied in the family social structure is not only caused by the economic basis acquisition but can also be caused by the legitimation by patriarchal ideology and gender ideology (Atmadja, 2010: 144-151). As a consequence, there is a superordinate relation of father and the subordinate relation of the mother which is followed by the dominance of power through physical and hegemonic violence, that is, the acquisition of power through ideology. As the consequence, the mother can accept the father's dominant power as something natural so that there arises a false awareness, i.e., although the mother has a stronger economic basis than the father, the strength of the dominance of the patriarchal ideology and gender ideology applied in Bali influence the power system in the family social

structure. According to Mahmood (2005), a Moslem woman has to follow the regulation and present herself as a pious individual. The same also occurs in the condition of Balinese women who are limited by two forms of patriarchal culture, national and local, i.e., *purusa* system so that to be a Balinese woman one has to understand the regulation which applies to her in order to be accepted well by the community.

The economic concept as the family basis is very important since the street vendors in Kintamani Tourism Resort are not only male but also female. Even the number of females is more than the male, this includes female children. The type of job and the person who does it cannot be separated from the family since the family is the first and the main social group. Every woman cannot be separated from their family to maintain their existence as a human. With this fact, the concept of the economy as a family basis is very important not only in the context of how a family lives its life but also how the economy provides the opportunity of the adaptation of social structure and the dominant superstructure in order that the family can prevent social disintegration. Family as a system has to be viewed as a whole, having a supporting structure, goal, maintains balance, languidness, boundaries, subsystem, and follows the principles of equifinality and equipotentiality (Lestari, 2012: 27-30). For this reason to maintain the balance in life in the family the economic resource are an important part in maintaining the balance that functions to meet the needs for food, drink, clothing, and other economic necessities, both by the head of the family and all of its members. Syarbini (2016: 101) states that family is the first and the main educational institution/environment for someone which is very important in developing character, and personality. Therefore it causes the parents, both the father and the mother to be able to direct their children to become autonomous individuals. Hence, the family function, in this case, is not only to protect and to meet all the living necessities of the children but also to give them skills, including entrepreneurship to prepare children to enter the world as an adult.

The mother's role is also required to teach an autonomous attitude to the children since the mother is regarded to have a good close relationship with the children so that she can understand the form of approaches that have to be used in teaching their children. The involvement of women, especially those who are married in working as street vendors to strengthen the economic basis is in line with Giddens'

idea of the concept of duality structure known as structuration theory. In the theory, Giddens points out that a structure does not only limit the human movement, but it can also empower them. On the one hand, the subject or the individual actor is limited and determined by the social forces outside themselves as the individual subject. But on the other hand, the same social structure also enables the subject to act (Barker, 2014: 276). Hence, women in Desa Batur Tengah, especially those who are an adult and/ or married have structurally a domestic task that is managing all the things related to their characteristics as women. But the demand to meet the daily life necessities for the family makes them act as street vendors to help the economic needs which cannot be fully met by men (husbands/fathers).

The women's ability to keep on working as street vendors conforms to Jean Baudrillard's idea (Sutinah, 2010: 398) about the existential human nature, in addition to having awareness of their existence in the world, they are also aware of their presence together with the world. This means that a human is not a creature that only lives this life without the freedom of choice, but a human becomes a creature who is aware that the direction and color and essence of their existence goes together with the world with the choices of life that they choose to live. In this context, poststructuralist does not place the binary opposition deterministically, but as a recipe so that the existing opportunity of different social action is very big since it depends on human creativity in giving the meaning to phenomena according to the interest, desire, and ideology that they have spatially and temporally.

The study of women working as street vendors cannot be done by using a pure tourism view, but it also has to be studied by using other approaches such as that of cultural studies with a broader and deeper scope in understanding a phenomenon, including that which is related to tourism. Cultural studies which are full with structuralism and post-structuralism that stress on the study of structure, system, and relations that develop an identity has an implication that a study of any identity including an informal sector is not as an identity that has a significance for itself but is developed in a complex relationship with other related entities. For instance, an individual working in an informal sector cannot be separated from the structure that surrounds him or her, i.e., family. This reality has this implication that a woman working in an informal sector, i.e., a street vendor is also viewed to be lower

than the formal sector, does not only eliminate the unemployed label which is regarded as negative but can also be caused by the pressure from the structure, i.e., family- the smallest social economical unit which absolutely needs an income source. By understanding this fact it is very important that women have to be able to take an action which makes it possible for them to become autonomous individuals, but as what Butler (2000) states, there is a need to understand what is to be fought for by women, so that the feminist movement to achieve gender equality can be done according to their expectations. In this case, women have to understand the form of emancipation intended, hence the action that is taken will fit the goal of the emancipation.

CONCLUSION

The living expense creates basic needs to be provided by working as souvenir vendors of Batur Tengah village community which have limited capital, such as economic capital, skill, and education. Especially the women who are married who have limited working hours caused by their duties and responsibilities in their family and the society, choose the job as souvenir vendor which is not very strict in its working schedule. Tourism as a multi opportunity industry has given birth to various forms of businesses. For those who live in the village and have a limitation, they still have the right to run a business in any form to get the economic benefits. In doing their business, souvenir vendors in Batur Tengah village do not work alone but they interact with various parties involved in Kintamani tourism development. Besides interacting with their friends, they also interact with suppliers of goods, tour guide, tourists, and governments at the village, regency levels, and central government. Even when Kintamani became a global Geopark, they automatically also interact with the organizations of an international level such as UNESCO which details various conditions to Kintamani people to keep preserving the nature and culture sustainably. In practice, all parties involved are struggling for capital in Kintamani tourism area with various underlying interests.

The struggle for capital which occurs in Kintamani area covers various aspects of life such as the economic, sociocultural, political, and environmental. These aspects of life have different meanings based on the interest of each party. Understanding the mechanism of capitalism that is

developing today, causes the souvenir vendors as a group of people with the least capital to experience the exploitation and marginalization of their existence by other parties with more capital. In the struggle for space, whether economically, socioculturally, politically or environmentally, the souvenir vendors face various problems because they are limited in their capital and also because of the stigma attached to the label of souvenir vendors, who are viewed as a problem rather than a form of entrepreneurship.

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