

## THE ABSENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT ROLE AND THE SURVIVING STRATEGY OF THE SCAVENGERS IN THE AREA OF GARBAGE DISPOSAL IN NJAWAR, BENOWO, SURABAYA, INDONESIA

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### ABSTRACT

*Surabaya, as the second largest city in Indonesia, has attracted many urban people to come and to earn some money for the improvement of their lives. Most of them work in the informal sectors and one of them is garbage trading which has grown very well. The main actors in garbage trading are scavengers living in the area of the waste disposal in Njawar, Benowo, Pakal District, Surabaya. They implement a livelihood strategy to maintain their survival. Since the local government does not give any attention or support to the community, they make use of some existing assets in the forms of capitals of human, economy, society, garbage and spirituality.*

*The study reviews on the strategy of the scavengers in maintaining their survival and the role of the government in supporting the community. Descriptive-qualitative approach is applied. Data collection is done through the purposive random sampling technique in the form FGD and in-depth interviews to explore deeply the existing problems*

**Keywords:** Absence of the Government role, strategies to maintain survival, scavengers

### INTRODUCTION

Surabaya, as the second largest city in Indonesia, has its certain area used as the final place for the garbage disposal also called TPA located in Njawar, Benowo. It is a large area where the collected garbage from some districts of Surabaya are disposed. The activities of the scavengers are heavily dependent on the TPA of Njawar. Not too far from the area of TPA, there are a lot of scavengers who live in kampong. The community of scavengers also formed their association and most of them become the members.

Considering the increasing volume of the garbage, the government of Surabaya city makes a cooperation with a private company, PT Sumber Organik, to handle the management of the garbage in some parts of TPA Njawar for the electricity generator. Automatically it leads to the narrowing space of the TPA location where the scavengers used to do their activities in searching and collecting the tradable garbage. Besides there is also a provision of the local government to limit the number of the family members allowed to work there. All of these result in a significant impact to the income of the scavengers. The absence of the local government intervention makes the condition of the scavenger communities worse. TPA is the last hope for them to earn some money for their life improvement and survival. Without any support of the local government, the scavengers still live in poverty and they have to strive for their survival. They still work as scavengers. In spite of the unfriendly conditions and limitations, they create a strategy to face the hard situation to live in the structure of

urban life. The purpose of the study is to know the strategy of the scavengers in TPA Njawar to maintain their survival.

### **Maintaining the Survival of Scavengers**

Survival of living beings is done individually and collectively because basically living organisms live individually and socially. It is the main problem of man. Maintaining the survival is supported not only by the strategy undertaken in the work (economic dimension) but also by the involvement in the traditions and the activities performed collectively (social dimension). The concept of survival can be interpreted as a wide variety of ways taken by the human being to maintain their lives (Putra, 1997). They do various jobs in various ways to meet their basic and additional needs to maintain the survival. According Suparlan, survival efforts are taken by humans to live comfortably. It means that they can fulfill the main needs such as food, clothing, home or shelter and medicines as well as the extra needs to get the access of education, communication and recreation (Suparlan, 1995). According to Sihbudi and Nurhasim, survival is the ability to adapt to their environment by carefully taking a choice of norm, the reality of rational thinking and argumentation (Sihbudi, Nurhasim, 2001).

Discussing the strategy of maintaining the survival is closely related to the livelihood strategy which means the efforts of individuals or households to utilize their various resources to generate some income for their survival. They can have their secure lives when they earn some money as their income so that they are able to protect, develop and make use of their assets and resources. Related to the livelihood strategy by Manig in Darmawan (2001), there are four strategies developed by household or individual in normal circumstances. They are: *the firstis* acquisition strategy (all activities utilizing resources owned), *the secondis* allocation strategy that is distributing all the resources, either material and immaterial to meet the needs, for example, allocating or distributing knowledge and expertise of farming and workforce to produce food materials for the household. The *thirdis* production strategy. It is a strategy to transform the materials into other forms of energy that can be used to meet human needs. The *fourthis* the social network strategy which means to make use of the social ties to survive.

The concept of the livelihood strategy is closely related to the concept of capital or assets owned by individuals. Any efforts have to be done to process and run the available assets (capital and resources) through various strategies to achieve the expected standards of living for the individual, family/household and community survival. There are several terms related to assets. In this case, they are defined as the various forms of capitals such as social, physical, human and economic capitals owned and used for the survival of the individuals or family/households to maintain and improve the welfare on the different rates (Ellis, 2000).

### **PROBLEM**

The transfer of waste management from the city government to the private sector will have an impact on the earnings of the scavengers living around the area of the landfill as some parts of the landfill have been changed to a powerhouse. They, however, have to survive and meet their needs. So far there has been no government official participating to help provide solutions to the life of this community. The problem based on the phenomenon is formulated as follows:

### **RESEARCH QUESTION**

Based on the phenomena presented above, the formulation of the problems in this study is as followed:

1. What is the strategy of the scavengers in TPA Njawar, Benowo Surabaya for their survival?
2. How does the local government of Surabaya take part in the life improvement of the scavengers community in TPA Njawar, Benowo, Surabaya?

In-depth study is carried out based on the problems so that some ways out are found.

## **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

The study took place in Njawar, Benowo, Pakal district, Surabaya. The biggest location of the garbage disposal in Surabaya is located there. A lot of scavengers with their specific activities are easily found there. They have their own permanent residences so that it is able to observe the problems. The scavengers with the specific characteristics are included in the unit of analysis in this study and they are:

- a. Husband or wife with his/her job as a scavenger.
- b. Living in Njawar, Benowo, Pakal district, Surabaya.

The techniques of data collection are observations already carried out at the beginning of the study, and purposive sampling interviews to selected subjects using some guidelines according to the needs of researchers.

The data analysis is processed by the application of an interactive model (Miles & Huberman, in Slamet, 2002). The model of the analysis is logical analysis consisting of three components:

### **Data Reduction**

Data reduction is defined as the selecting or sorting process focusing on the simplification, abstraction and transformation of "rough data" emerged from the written records in the field.

### **Data Presentation**

After data reduction, it is followed by data presentation. It is a set of well-structured information allowing to draw some conclusions and take some actions.

### **Drawing conclusion or verification**

Drawing conclusions (verification) cannot be separated from data reduction and presentation. At the beginning of data collection, some important things related to the meaning of objects, regularities, patterns of explanation, possible configurations, the flow of causation and propositions are carefully recorded.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Profile of Respondents**

Most of the scavengers in the research area are in their productive age. Most of them have their previous work, but their earnings are not sufficient to meet the basic needs of their families so that they decided to change their profession to scavengers. On the other hand, there are also some scavengers with the average age of 12-25 years. They involve directly to work as scavengers because of their family's or friend's invitation or on their own willingness. While the ones aged 56-77 years have been working as scavengers for such a longtime because of the the family.

Furthermore, the number of male scavengers are higher than the female ones. It is well understood because this work requires strong physical condition and stamina. The women scavengers also perform scavenging activities, but they are not done everyday. They just do them twice until four times a week.

Most of the scavengers in the area of research have their family status as married. They have been married and had several children. It indicates that the profession as scavengers is the main source to support the family. They do not want to switch to other professions because it will bear some risks. Of course, there are also some unmarried scavengers. They usually get involved in the work because of their friends or families. The scavengers of the group still have their desires to switch the profession because they do not have any dependent children, or wives. While those who are widowers or widows, having already been long working as scavengers, they are left to die by his or her spouse.

In terms of KTP ownership as the identification, most scavengers have already got their ID cards from their home towns outside Surabaya. Consequently, they do not have any rights as citizens although they live and work in Surabaya. They totally rely on scavenging as their source of income. They do not have any valuable properties or goods in their home towns.

The duration of the working time of the scavengers is between 4-6 years. It suggests that scavenging is a fundamental work to support their lives for years. The life of the the family is highly dependent on this profession for the survival. There are, however, a small number of young married couples who have just begun scavenging for 2 or 4 years.

The level of education of the scavengers are still low. Most of them have only their elementary education background. Some could finish the junior high school. They cannot continue to the higher level of education due to the economic factors. Some are not willing to continue going to schools. They have to work although they are not supported by adequate skills. So that is why manual labor requiring physical power is the only choice they have.

In terms of the number of the dependents under the responsibility of the scavengers, the married ones with the family members of 1 - 2 people have some dependent children living in the village of their origin but not for the unmarried.

### **The strategy used by scavengers for their survival in TPA Njawar, Surabaya**

Livelihood strategies are implemented by the scavengers for their survival in TPA Njawar, Surabaya. They include the strategies of acquisition, allocation and network utilization and principally they are run to survive. These are the descriptions of the three strategies. The application of living acquisition strategy is conducted by using some various sources of livelihood. The livelihood assets owned scavengers include physical, human, financial, social capital and garbage assets. Furthermore, the strategy is done by distributing any resources or assets to maintain the viability, for example, in terms of experience, expertise, physical exertion, or ideas of the scavengers. Livelihood strategy undertaken is to maintain the viability and done by sharing experiences among the fellow scavengers, for example, in the treatment of certain diseases, or providing temporary residence for new arrivals. The strategy of exploiting the network of social relation or ties is formally and informally applied in the social and institutional environments in the form of kinship ties among the scavengers. The social ties between the scavengers and the collectors are not rigid and it can be seen through their trading transaction

The higher survival of the scavengers because they themselves are armed by their internal and external driving factors. of the scavenger and factors scavengers . As scavengers who live in communities, they have to strive for themselves. They have to stand on their own feet since they do not get any kinds of help from the government as the poor people. Amazingly

their surviving rate is high and they transfer their surviving strategies to their friends, relatives, and even children and grandchildren. These are the main, valuable assets or capitals to survive.

### **Capital / Economic Asset**

Capital/ economic assets held by the scavengers include a system of purchasing and selling in the management of trading of the selected garbage. By knowing and understanding these things, they are considered to have their capability to implement the economic system and it is a new knowledge for them.

The objective conditions in the field can clearly explain that the transaction of purchasing and selling selected scavenging garbage is carried out amicably and informally. There is no significant difference in price among the garbage collectors. The trading transaction has its characteristic of mutualistic symbiosis. The reciprocity of the collectors and the scavengers is an evidence that they depend on one another. They have also to accept that the pricing decisions remain in the hands of the collectors. While the collectors themselves depend on the manufacturer's price. The collectors alone do not have any power to determine the price. The price is just mutually agreed by the collectors the scavengers.

The relationship between the collectors and the scavengers is a reciprocal relationship and reciprocity (patron and client). The reciprocity must be well maintained in order to manage their economic transactions. If there is a congestion in the transaction, the scavengers will lose first. Theoretically, a production process is influenced by raw materials, production processes and the results or output by the factory. It means that the plant will not recycle the paper materials (scavenging result) if there is no raw material deposited by the scavengers. In practice, however, it is different. The plant or factory has the power to determine the price and the scavengers as the owners of the raw materials are heavily dependent on the actors of the processing of the raw materials.

The structure of the trading system of garbage carried out by the scavengers is a survival strategy. There are two versions in the chain of the trading system. The first version: The scavengers sell the garbage directly to the big collectors, then the big collectors go directly to sell the things to the factory. The scavengers sell to small collectors and then small collectors sell to the big ones, and finally they sell to the factory. The second version: The scavengers can sell a small portion of scavenging garbage because they need some money due to emergency condition. Nonetheless, the others have to wait for their own collectors. The scavengers could not break the chain structure of the trading system as they do not have the materials in large quantities standardized by the factory. Beside that, some of them have already received some loans from the collectors. In this case, the scavengers do not have any freedom to make any transactions. They are very dependent on the collectors. Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the economic system of interdependence results in a lasting relationship between the buyer and seller although the position of the seller is below the buyer. The flexibility of this transaction is probably the best survival strategy of the scavengers to live in the city.

### **Capital/ Garbage Asset**

The only source which must be purchased by the scavengers is garbage because of this garbage they are able to generate revenue for their survival. If it is viewed from one side, garbage is a source of pollution. It can pollute the soil, water and air. On the other side, it is a kind of available resource. When it is taken by the scavengers, it can reduce the environmental pollution leading to the environmental damage. The scavengers do not

consider the garbage as a source of pollution but it is a kind of goods that can be taken and used to meet their needs for their survival.

### **Human Capital**

The main capital of man is health because if the scavengers get sick, they become useless. They must be physically strong. In the field it is clearly shown that the scavengers are neglected citizens. There is no government concern. In short it can be said that the adaptable and stronger ones are the ones who can survive. The human capital in this case is health.

### **Social Capital**

The life of the scavengers cannot be separated from the norms, beliefs, and relationships whether they live individually or in groups. These three things are parts of the dynamics of their lives. The norms in Njawar are not very strict if they are compared with the ones in their home towns. Hasbullah pointed that norms themselves are sets of rules which are highly expected to be obeyed and followed by members of the society at a certain social entity (Hasbullah, 2006). The marriage norms prevailing in TPA Njawar are different from those applied in their home towns. Several scavengers can live together as husband and wife for more than 5 years without any legal relation of marriage, and some have got some children. There is no intervention from other parties such as other scavengers, or TPA officers or the local government officers as they think that they are not their citizens.

Trust is a form of willingness to take any risks in social relationship based on the feeling of confidence that other people will do some expected things and support each other, or at least do not do any harmful things to him or her or the group (Habullah, 2006). The mutual trust of the scavengers are demonstrated by the absence of the missing items belonging to fellow scavengers so that they are free to put their belongings in the area. They are not worried that they will be stolen or lost. The mutual trust among the scavengers results in the formation of a desired relationship expected by everyone so that they can exchange some values of goodness to learn. They will come to visit the sick scavengers and give their supports to relieve the pain or distress. They will help and work together if there is a party or a celebration held by one of them. This kind of cooperation and mutual relationship makes them more powerful and they feel more comfortable to live in the area of TPA Njawar garbage disposal. These elements of social capital are parts of their survival to live and works as scavengers.

### **Spiritual Capital**

The philosophy of life that makes the scavengers can live together peacefully in TPA Njawar is that they personally feel the kinship. They are at the same boat – they are in the same level of the low economic condition. They come there to work for their survival. All of these lead the strong solidarity among them in terms of the purchasing and selling transaction goods or finding some ways out for the problems. The philosophy of *Akeh soko sethithik* (lots start from little) is the scavenger spiritual capital. It means that they do not have to work too hard, on the hand, they are not allowed to work lazily or relaxedly. They believe that God distributes his blessing to everyone. They do not want to steal and to cheat other scavengers. According to them, fortune has already been determined to be in the hands of certain people so that they do not have to rush to get it. They do not want to blame or find any faults about their current condition. They just accept it. They think of the things they can do today, and today they never care about tomorrow.

The principle of life of the scavengers is *akeh soko sethithik, angger sabar lan telaten, ngerti corone mboten usah kuatos urip* (Lots start from little, if you are patient and diligent and know the ways, you do not have to worry). According to them, the life is set by God, and the

man just live their lives as the line of their fate has been determined. Spiritual capital is an asset which makes the scavengers survive. A strong and tough mental, and loose moral values cause them to stay away from depression. They do not revile and shout each other. They totally believe in God that life is already set up. Sincerely accepting whatever happens, willingness to step aside, ready to be insulted while still maintaining self-esteem and dignity are the power of the scavengers to survive.

### **Community Social Network of Scavengers at the Njawar landfill**

Putnam said that "the human network" is the most important part of a community. (Putnam, 2000) Social network is a special or specific set of relationship formed among a group of people. The characteristics of such relationships can be used as a tool to interpret the motives of the social behavior run in it (Mitchell, 1969). Social networks facilitate the communication and interaction and allow the growth of trust and strengthen the cooperation .

Some studies have shown that a person's behavior is closely related to his involvement in community networks. In his study, Alexander found that individuals who deviated from the click norms turn the level of their involvement in the click was low if it was compared with those who did not behave distorted. (Rogers and Kincaid, 1969). The social networks within the community of scavengers at the Njawar landfill are:

a. Ties of kinship in the community of scavengers. Most scavengers have family relationships, ranging from grandfather/grandmother, mother/father, son or daughter/ son or daughter in law, and so on. They have a high sense of brotherhood. Kinship due to marriages among scavengers also occurred in the study area of research. Thus it can be understood that the relationships among scavengers is closer, from friend to family. This kind of relationship strengthens the social capital as the foundations of solidarity. Fukuyama dictated (2000) that family kinship improves the social capital in families of scavengers. In fact the number of scavengers in the research area always increases because they invite friends, neighbors to be scavengers. Kinship in the community of scavengers results in their high participation and proximity. They have their direct and indirect relationship and can be connected and reached indirectly through other individuals. Whelldon (2008 ) pointed that these relationships have the characters of multiplex, that is, the individual circumstances of the same position would be a leash for their relationship.

b. Social interaction of communities around the Njawar landfill. Man cannot live by himself, man needs someone else. All human actions that are reciprocal and the reciprocal social interaction can occur basically because of human instincts – they always interact one another. This continuous relationship leads to social patterns. According to Sukamto (1990) that there are four factors that form the basis of social interaction process, they are imitation, suggestion, identification and sympathy. Sympathy among the scavengers in communities around the landfill is shown in the forms of certain skills, such as massaging or repairing household appliances. The ones with their specific skills are sometimes called by the surrounding community to massage or repair something. Social networks are also formed by their interaction with the community outside the scavengers and it can be observed through food sellers and groceries.

### **The Absence of the Role of the Government in the Scavenger Community**

In the Constitution of 1945, Article 7, paragraph 2 it is stated that every citizen has the right to work and a decent living for humanity. Likewise in Chapter XA, Article 28 A it is stated that every person has the right to live and to defend the life and livelihood. The right of the citizens become more complete when Article 28 H paragraph 1 is added. It is written that

every person has the right to live in prosperity physically and spiritually and earn a good and healthy environment and receive medical care.

Scavengers are Indonesian citizens and they also have to receive equal treatment from the government and the law as stated in the Constitution of 1945. Consequently, they have the right to obtain their rights. In fact, the rights have not been acquired solely by scavengers. Therefore the government should think about the lives of scavengers. They are not taken into account. They should be included in law. Act No. 18 on waste management does not touch scavengers as garbage scavengers at all. Though garbage is part of scavengers' life. Being a scavenger is a type of work that has not been written into the category of profession recognized by the state. That is why scavengers have not been a part of state policy.

The absence of the government's role in recognizing their citizens has been proven in the life of scavengers living in the area of TPA Njawar. In the office of the local district there is no data about them. They are not registered. Automatically they never receive any supports from the local government. Actually they are the citizens being migrated. It is true that the scavengers are still in touch with the officials of their home towns, but it is only for their ID cards. Thus the scavenger community is isolated and untouched by NGOs and government.

Scavengers in TPA Njawar are not registered as the local residents. They are considered to be under the supervision of Sanitation/Hygiene and Gardening Service (commonly called DKP) of Surabaya. However, none of the vision, mission and core functions of DKP is intended to them. The vision of DKP is as follows:

"Making Surabaya as a clean city with its green open space which is neatly arranged, supported by the beautiful ornaments of the city and by increasing the participation of the people in the management of cleanliness and landscaping, as well as building and developing the facilities of the street lighting, parks, cemeteries and the beauty of the city that people need to support Surabaya as a center of trade and services, as well as driving the economic activities of people". (DKP profile Surabaya)

The missions of DKP Surabaya:

1. Increasing public participation in the implementation of community-based waste management.
2. Improving the quality of service of city cleanliness.
3. Increasing the participation of private sectors in the management of hygiene.
4. Improving the management of the hygiene facilities and infrastructure.
5. Improve the quality and quantity of the city parks, the green lines, the city decoration, tree and floral planting/greening and cemetery.
6. Improving the quality and quantity of public street lighting and parks.
7. Increasing awareness and community participation in the management of green open spaces and street lighting. (DKP Profile Surabaya)

The core function of DKP Surabaya is:

"Implementing the local government affairs based on the principles of autonomy and giving any assistance in the field of hygiene and landscaping"

The Scope of DKP Work Surabaya is:

"The cleanliness, tree and floral planting/greening, street lighting, cemeteries, city decoration, cars for feces and toilet, compost, nursery"

It can be seen through the vision, mission, core functions and scope of the principles of the DKP that the scavengers should follow the garbage, not the garbage follows the scavengers. These rules are not written but must be obeyed by the scavengers living in TPA Njawar. They live in a community and fight alone for the survival without any attention or support from the central, provincial and local governments as well as the DKP Surabaya. Based on the interview with the chief of the section of transporting and utilizing trash or garbage, it is clearly confirmed that scavengers are not mentioned in the vision, mission and core functions of each structural position as well as the scope of the DKP. None is devoted to the scavengers so that the work and empowerment programs of DKP are more intended for the public.

In accordance with the scope of the job description, DKP is planning to launch a program called a community-based independent garbage management. They invite the participation of the community to manage waste, and composting program by building some compost homes in more than 31 districts. The activities to support the program are the contests of Surabaya Green and Clean and Free from waste. They are oriented to the real impact on the people of Surabaya.

Actually Social Service of Surabaya should be totally involved in the problems of the scavengers. It is related with its vision to care the people.

The vision of Social Service is:

*"Facilitator Leader in the Implementation of Social Welfare"*

This vision means that the facilitator is required to provide access and facilities for people with social welfare problems (PMKS) to obtain basic social services, rehabilitation and adequate social protection to improve their welfare. As it is stated in the Regulation of the Social Minister No. 8 of 2012 on the Guidelines of Data Collection and Management with social welfare problems and Potential Sources of Social Welfare and the type of people with social welfare problems, among others are:

- a. Neglected Children under 5 years old.
- b. Homeless children
- c. Children in conflict with the law
- d. Street children
- e. Children with disabilities
- f. Children as victims of violence
- g. Children with the need of special protection
- h. Elderly
- i. Persons with disabilities
- j. Slut
- k. Vagrants
- l. Beggar
- m. Scavengers
- n. Minorities
- o. Ex-Prisoners
- p. People with HIV

- q. Victims of drug abuse
- r. Victims of Trafficking
- s. Victims of domestic violence
- t. Migrant victims with social problems
- u. Victims of natural disasters
- v. Social Disaster Victims
- w. Socially vulnerable women
- x. The poor
- y. Family with psychosocial problem
- z. Remote indigenous communities

Based on the Minister Regulation, it is clear that scavengers include in one of the social welfare problems. In accordance with the vision of the social department, it is their responsibility to provide basic services, rehabilitation and social protection. But the MOU signed by the Governor, Regents and Mayors only include 4 PMKS. They are street children, slut, vagrants and beggars

The exclusion of scavengers in PMKS priority results in no empowerment programs especially aimed to them. As conveyed by the chief section of the social rehabilitation of Social Service Surabaya, scavengers are categorized as people without permanent job and place to stay fixed. If they hit a raid, then they equated with the vagrants. They are taken to the next process in Lingkungan Pondok Sosial (Liponsos Keputih), a kind of social rehabilitation center. There they will be accommodated along with street children, sluts, vagrants, beggars and neglected elderly. They will have physical and mental health screening, mental and spiritual development activities, spiritual guidance, and health coaching. Also they will be empowered to complete some activities related with the clean environment and urban farming, handicraft training and repatriation to their home towns.

The absence of the role of Surabaya government in the improvement of scavengers living in TPA Njavar, Benowo results in the involvement of some institutions to handle the condition. PT Sumber Organic, a private company with the right to run the management of TPANjavar Benowo, is trying to have some cooperations with some religious institutions like Bethel Injil Tabernakel Church of Siwalan Kerto. They implement a program of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) by conducting some social activities like running a free school for children of scavengers under five years old in the form of ECD (Early Childhood Education). It is carried out only in the dry season because the children are still vulnerable to disease. They also provide some health services at certain times. Some basic food, masks, and gloves are regularly distributed once a month. Massage training is also provided for their extra revenue.

## **CONCLUSION**

1. The strategies applied by the scavengers of Njavar landfill to maintain their viability are the strategies of acquisition, allocation and network utilization. Acquisition strategy is implemented by utilizing the assets owned by the community of scavengers. Such assets include a system of economic in purchasing the scavenged goods in trading, and some kinds of garbage considered as goods which can be taken and sold to meet their needs. The human capital is in the form of knowledge and experience. By sharing the experiences to

treat themselves when they get sick or the knowledge about the different types of scavenged garbage, they use their asset to survive. Social capital includes social norms, trust, and relationships. There are three important things for the scavengers in the dynamics of their lives. They are toughness, strong mental attitude and principles, and resignation. They are all covered in the religion with the God as the ruler of human life.

2. There is no significant role of the city government to support the scavenger community. The Department of Hygiene and Landscape Gardening of Surabaya is responsible for the waste management. They, however, never consider the scavengers as communities deserving some assistance or aids. Besides Social Service Department of Surabaya also less contribute to the lives of scavengers because this community is not a priority because they are considered as homeless drifters.

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