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The Limits of Persuasive Enforcement: The Civil Service Police Unit and Street Vendors in Semarang

Emmanuel Wisnu Yulianto ✉

Fakultas Hukum dan Bahasa, Universitas Stikubank Semarang, Email.
ewisnuy83@gmail.com

✉ Corresponding email: ewisnuy83@gmail.com

Abstract

Street vendors who occupy sidewalks and road shoulders on Jalan Gajah Mada, Semarang, embody a familiar tension between the right to earn a living and the public's right to orderly public space. This study examines how the Semarang City Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP) enforces the city's public order and street vendor regulations along this corridor, identifies what supports and what hinders that enforcement, and proposes ways to strengthen it. Using empirical juridical research combined with statutory and conceptual approaches, the study analyses Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 on Public Order, Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2018 on the Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors and their implementing instruments, together with field observations of vending zones and interviews with Satpol PP. Enforcement proves to be non-judicial and graduated: outreach, routine patrols, verbal warnings, written warnings (SP-1 to SP-3) and, as a last step, removal of stalls, applied to two designated vending zones that operate from 16:00 to 04:00 WIB under a 2025 Mayor's Decree. It is supported by clear zoning and by officers' patient, persuasive conduct, but hindered by vendors' economic pressures, limited personnel, evasive 'cat-and-mouse' behaviour, buyers who transact from their vehicles, the absence of nearby relocation sites and unmarked zone boundaries. The study concludes that enforcement is procedurally lawful but yields only temporary, deterrence-based compliance. It argues for a responsive model that combines legal certainty about zone boundaries, fixed supervision at high-risk points, buyer education, vendor self-regulation and the government's own relocation and empowerment duties.

Keywords : *Administrative Enforcement; Civil Service Police Unit; Legal Compliance; Public Space; Street Vendors.*

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I. Introduction

Street vending sits where two constitutional promises meet. The 1945 Constitution guarantees every citizen the right to work and to a decent living, and the right to fair treatment in employment (Articles 27(2) and 28D(2)),[1] while the law on regional government entrusts cities with maintaining public order and peace, a task carried out in the field by the Civil Service Police Unit (Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja, Satpol PP).[2] Street vendors (pedagang kaki lima) live inside this tension every day. For many urban households they are a modest but real source of income; for city governments they are also a recurring source of disorder on sidewalks, road shoulders and public parks.

The international literature has long described the relationship between street vendors and the state as a cycle rather than a single event. Cross portrays it as an alternation of conflict and compromise that never quite settles,[3] while Roever and Skinner show that what harms vendors most is often not the dramatic eviction but the everyday insecurity of confiscations, warnings and relocations, which quietly erodes their working time and income.[4] Indonesian research adds that officials tend to frame vendors as threats to tidiness and order, and that vendors respond by mobilising moral claims and associational networks to defend their place in the city.[5] Understanding enforcement, therefore, means understanding not only rules and officers, but also the people who keep returning to the curb.

Semarang, the capital of Central Java, offers a telling case. Jalan Gajah Mada is one of the city's busiest commercial and transport corridors, and its traffic makes it attractive to vendors seeking customers. When stalls spill onto sidewalks and road shoulders, pedestrians are pushed onto the carriageway and the road narrows, even though the law gives pedestrians a right to sidewalk facilities.[6]

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[1] Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945 (1945).

[2] Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2014 Nomor 244, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5587 (2014); Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2023 Tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2022 Tentang Cipta Kerja Menjadi Undang-Undang, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2023 Nomor 41, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6856 (2023).

[3] John C. Cross, "Street Vendors, and Postmodernity: Conflict and Compromise in the Global Economy," *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 20, no. 1/2 (2000): 29–51, https://doi.org/10.1108/01443330010789061.

[4] Sally Roever and Caroline Skinner, "Street Vendors and Cities," *Environment and Urbanization* 28, no. 2 (2016): 359–74, https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247816653898.

[5] Sheri Lynn Gibbings, "Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia," *Anthropologica* 58, no. 1 (2016): 77–94, https://doi.org/10.3138/anth.581.A05; Sheri Lynn Gibbings et al., "Mobilizing the Masses: Street Vendors, Political Contracts, and the Role of Mediators in Yogyakarta, Indonesia," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 173, nos. 2–3 (2017): 242–72, https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17301004.

[6] Undang-Undang Nomor 22 Tahun 2009 Tentang Lalu Lintas Dan Angkutan Jalan, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2009 Nomor 96, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5025 (2009).

The city's legal response rests on two regional regulations that are often confused with one another. Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 5 of 2017 on Public Order prohibits any business activity on roads, road edges, sidewalks, pedestrian bridges, green belts, parks and other public places, except in designated street vendor zones or points (Article 17(1)(a)); notably, it also prohibits buying from or receiving goods from such prohibited businesses (Article 17(1)(c)).[7] Perda No. 3 of 2018 on the Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors, by contrast, governs the designation of vending locations, registration, relocation and empowerment.[8] Both implement a national framework that requires mayors to designate suitable vending locations and to coordinate their arrangement and empowerment across agencies.[9] Satpol PP enforces these regional rules on the basis of Government Regulation No. 16 of 2018, which authorises non-judicial enforcement, action against disturbances of public order, inquiries into suspected violations and administrative measures (Article 7).[10]

Previous studies of Satpol PP and street vendors converge on a familiar picture. In Sidoarjo, Badar and colleagues found that enforcement was constrained by low public awareness and too few personnel.[11] In Temanggung, Tama and colleagues observed the same three-step sequence of guidance, written warnings and removal of stalls, yet violations did not decline, partly because no vending locations had been designated, sanctions were limited to criminal ones and inter-agency coordination was weak.[12] Work in Pandeglang and Solok likewise documents graduated enforcement alongside repeated violations and vendor resistance.[13] In Semarang itself, Aini and Yuwanto evaluated Perda No. 3 of 2018 and judged its implementation largely successful, while noting limited socialisation and the need for firmer enforcement by Satpol PP.[14] A study of Makassar similarly

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[7] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 Tentang Ketertiban Umum, Lembaran Daerah Kota Semarang Tahun 2017 Nomor 5, Tambahan Lembaran Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 119 (2017).

[8] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 3 Tahun 2018 Tentang Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima, Lembaran Daerah Kota Semarang Tahun 2018 [nomor LD: verifikasi] (2018).

[9] Peraturan Presiden Nomor 125 Tahun 2012 Tentang Koordinasi Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2012 Nomor 291 (2012); Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 41 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pedoman Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima, Berita Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2012 Nomor 607 (2012).

[10] Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 16 Tahun 2018 Tentang Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2018 Nomor 72, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6205 (2018).

[11] Moh. Badar et al., "Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Penertiban Pedagang Kaki Lima," *Jurnal Reformasi Hukum: Cogito Ergo Sum* 4, no. 2 (2021): 38–44, https://e-journal.umaha.ac.id/reformasi/article/view/14285.

[12] F. F. Tama et al., "Law Enforcement of Street Vendors by the Civil Service Police Unit," *Varia Justicia* 15, no. 1 (2019): 18–25, https://doi.org/10.31603/variajusticia.v15i1.2469.

[13] Susilawati et al., "Peran Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja Dalam Penertiban Pedagang Kaki Lima Di Wilayah Alun-Alun Kabupaten Pandeglang," *Multidisciplinary Indonesian Center Journal (MICJO)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 240–46, https://doi.org/10.62567/micjo.v2i1.379; E. N. Dewi et al., "Efektivitas Penegakan Peraturan Daerah Oleh Satpol PP Terhadap Penertiban Pedagang Kaki Lima Di Kabupaten Solok," *Unes Journal of Swara Justisia* 9, no. 4 (2026): 764–71, https://doi.org/10.31933/t33njf37.

[14] Aldila Arin Aini and Yuwanto, "Evaluasi Kebijakan Peraturan Daerah Nomor 3 Tahun 2018 Tentang Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima Di Kota Semarang," *Journal of Politic and*

recommends policies that are responsive to vendors while protecting urban order.[15]

These studies are valuable, but most of them remain descriptive: they list procedures and obstacles without asking why lawful and non-violent enforcement produces only short-lived order. Three questions in particular remain open. The first concerns the nature of compliance itself: why do vendors comply while officers are present and return once they leave? The second concerns buyers, whose role is rarely examined even though Semarang's own regulation addresses them directly. The third concerns legal certainty and discretion: zoning is fixed by a mayoral decree, boundaries are not always visible on the ground, and field officers decide daily whether to warn, tolerate or remove. This article addresses these gaps. Its novelty lies in reading Satpol PP enforcement through administrative-law doctrine (the general principles of good governance, discretion and administrative coercion) and compliance theory, in separating the legality of enforcement from its effectiveness, and in identifying buyer demand as a legally addressable driver of non-compliance.

Accordingly, the study pursues three objectives: (1) to analyse how Satpol PP enforces Perda No. 5 of 2017 and Perda No. 3 of 2018 against street vendors on Jalan Gajah Mada; (2) to identify the factors that support and hinder that enforcement; and (3) to formulate legally grounded strategies to make it more effective. Theoretically, the article contributes to the debate on administrative enforcement and compliance in decentralised Indonesia; practically, it offers the Semarang City Government recommendations that are anchored in existing law rather than in additional patrols alone.

II. Research Method

This study is empirical juridical (socio-legal) research that combines a statutory approach with a conceptual approach.[16] The statutory approach examines what the law requires of vendors, buyers and Satpol PP; the empirical layer examines how those requirements are carried out on Jalan Gajah Mada; and the conceptual approach, drawing on administrative-law doctrine and compliance theory, is used to explain the gap between the two.

Primary data were collected through non-participant observation of the two designated vending zones and of the prohibited segment between the Jalan Inspeksi Bridge and the Gumaya Hotel, and through semi-structured interviews with Satpol PP officials and street vendors. Secondary legal materials consist of the 1945 Constitution, Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional

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Government Studies 13, no. 3 (2024): 495–507, https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jpgs/article/view/45526.

[15] Muhammad Yunus and Auliya Insani, "Tata Kelola Pedagang Kaki Lima Di Kota Makassar (Studi Kasus Pedagang Pisang Epe' Di Pantai Losari)," *Jurnal Analisis Kebijakan Dan Pelayanan Publik* 3, no. 1 (2017): 23–36, https://doi.org/10.31947/jakpp.v3i1.4064.

[16] Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Penelitian Hukum* (Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2010).

Government, Law No. 30 of 2014 on Government Administration, Law No. 22 of 2009 on Road Traffic and Transport, Law No. 27 of 2022 on Personal Data Protection, Government Regulation No. 16 of 2018, Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2012, Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 41 of 2012, Perda No. 5 of 2017, Perda No. 3 of 2018, and the Mayor's Regulation and Decree on public order and vending locations, supplemented by books and journal articles.

Data were analysed qualitatively through data condensation, data display and conclusion drawing, with observation, interview and document data cross-checked against one another. Effectiveness was assessed against three indicators: compliance with zone boundaries, compliance with operating hours, and the recurrence of violations after patrols. All informants gave their consent and are identified only by codes; faces and identifiable stalls in the photographs have been blurred.

III. Results and Discussion

A. Enforcement Practice on Jalan Gajah Mada

Enforcement on Jalan Gajah Mada operates within a layered legal framework. At its core, Article 17(1)(a) of Perda No. 5 of 2017 prohibits trading on roads and sidewalks unless the location has been designated as a street vendor zone or point.[17] The prohibition therefore depends on a second instrument that says where vending is lawful. In Semarang this role is played by a 2025 Mayor's Decree on vending locations, which designates two official segments along Jalan Gajah Mada: the first runs north from the Depok intersection, beginning about 30 metres before Jalan Pemuda, up to MG Setos; the second runs from about 30 metres south of the Kampungkali traffic light to Batik Danar Hadi. Vending there is permitted only between 16:00 and 04:00 WIB, using collapsible stalls.[18] Operational procedures for maintaining public order are further set out in a 2022 Mayor's Regulation.[19]

The choice of a decree is legally consistent with national guidance, which provides that the mayor designates vending locations and that such designations take the form of a regional head decision.[20] Yet the decree does more than administer: by fixing where Article 17(1)(a) does and does not apply, it effectively completes the content of a prohibition that carries both administrative and criminal sanctions. Administrative-law scholarship insists that norms which burden citizens must be clear, knowable and

[17] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 Tentang Ketertiban Umum.
[18] Keputusan Wali Kota Semarang Nomor 500.3.10/735 Tahun 2025 Tentang Penetapan Lokasi Tempat Usaha Pedagang Kaki Lima Di Wilayah Kota Semarang (2025).
[19] Peraturan Wali Kota Semarang Nomor 42 Tahun 2022 Tentang Pemeliharaan Ketertiban Umum, Ketenteraman Masyarakat, Dan Pelindungan Masyarakat, Berita Daerah Kota Semarang Tahun 2022 [nomor BD: verifikasi] (2022).
[20] Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 41 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pedoman Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima.

published, as an expression of legal certainty.[21] A zoning decree that vendors cannot readily see on the ground, as discussed in the next subsection, sits uneasily with that requirement, and this is one of the article's central legal points.

Field observation shows that most vendors in the designated zones complied with the rules, while violations clustered at specific points (Table 1). On Jalan Pekunden Timur, three vendors set up at the access curve of the street while about thirteen others complied; the stretch from Batik Danar Hadi to the traffic light was orderly, hosting vendors of tahu gimbal, batagor, coffee, lumpia, martabak and fast food; in the zone near the Depok traffic light about fifteen vendors operated in accordance with the culinary-only rule; and five vendors were found in the prohibited segment between the Jalan Inspeksi Bridge and the Gumaya Hotel.

Table 1. Observed street vendors on the Jalan Gajah Mada corridor

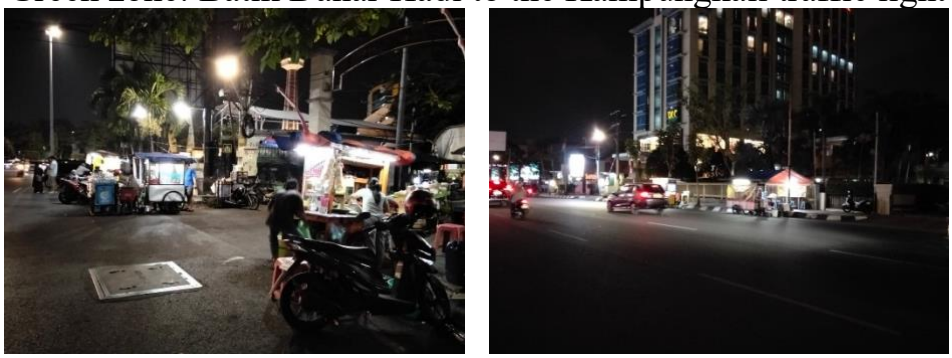
Location	Zone status (legal basis)	Vendors observed	Compliant	Violating	Remarks
Jalan Pekunden Timur	Vending point	about 16	about 13	3	Stalls set up at the access curve of the street
Batik Danar Hadi – Kampungkali traffic light	Green zone (Mayor's Decree 2025)		all observed	0	Culinary vendors (tahu gimbal, batagor, coffee, lumpia, martabak, fast food)
Depok traffic light – Jalan Pemuda	Green zone (Mayor's Decree 2025)	about 15	about 15	0	Culinary-only rule observed
Jalan Inspeksi Bridge – Gumaya Hotel	Red zone (prohibited)	5	0	5	Trading inside a prohibited segment

Source: author's field observation,

[21] Philipus M. Hadjon and Sri Soemantri Martosoewignjo, *Pengantar Hukum Administrasi Indonesia (Introduction to the Indonesian Administrative Law)* (Gadjah Mada University Press, 2001); Ridwan HR, *Hukum Administrasi Negara*, Rev. ed., 6th printing (RajaGrafindo Persada, 2011).

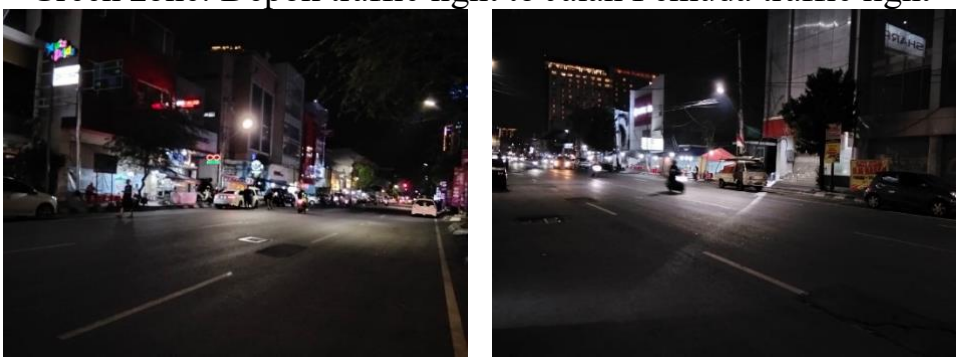
Figures 1–3 show the two green zones and the red zone as documented during fieldwork.

Figure 1.
Green zone: Batik Danar Hadi to the Kampungkali traffic light



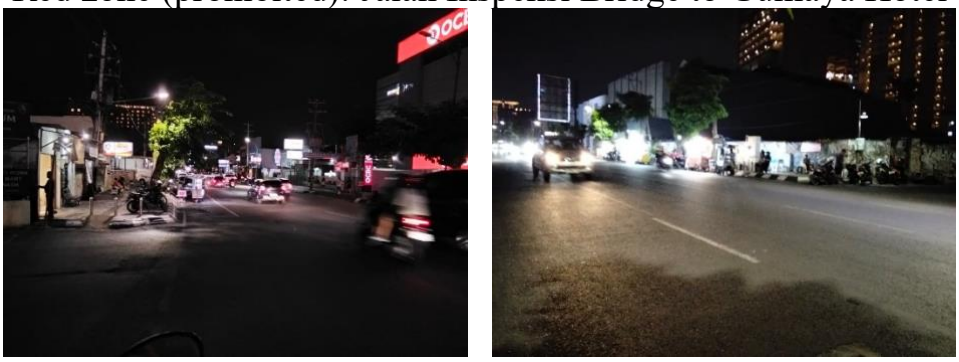
Source: author's field documentation, faces blurred.

Figure 2.
Green zone: Depok traffic light to Jalan Pemuda traffic light



Source: author's field documentation, faces blurred.

Figure 3.
Red zone (prohibited): Jalan Inspeksi Bridge to Gumaya Hotel



Source: author's field documentation, faces blurred.

When vendors are found in a prohibited area, Satpol PP follows a graduated sequence. Officers first issue verbal warnings; if these are ignored or the violation recurs, written warnings are issued in stages from SP-1 to SP-3, each specifying the violation and a time limit for vacating the area.

Only when the warnings are disregarded do officers halt sales and dismantle or remove temporary stalls, usually together with the vendors themselves, so that the sidewalk is restored to its function. Goods that are temporarily taken to the Satpol PP office can be reclaimed after the vendor signs a written statement.

This sequence fits the menu of sanctions in Perda No. 5 of 2017, which for violations of Article 17(1) provides for verbal warnings, written warnings and/or enforcement action (penertiban) (Article 17(2)), and it falls within Satpol PP's non-judicial and administrative powers under Government Regulation No. 16 of 2018.[22] What is striking is what is not used. The same regulation allows violations of Article 17(1)(a) to be punished with up to ninety days' confinement or a fine of up to Rp50 million, investigated by civil servant investigators (Articles 30–31),[23] yet in practice the criminal route is left aside. That restraint is defensible. Criminal sanctions in regulatory matters are commonly regarded as a last resort (*ultimum remedium*), and Rahardjo reminds us that law enforcement is ultimately the effort to make the ideas embodied in law real in social life, not merely to punish.[24]

Removing stalls and taking goods away, however, are not merely 'tidying up'. In administrative-law terms they are forms of government coercion (bestuursdwang), the authority of government to physically undo an unlawful situation. Hadjon and Ridwan explain that such coercion must rest on a clear legal basis, be preceded by a warning and remain proportionate to the violation.[25] The SP-1 to SP-3 sequence satisfies the warning requirement well. The temporary taking of goods and the release-upon-statement practice, by contrast, need an explicit written basis and procedure, so that they are measured against the principles of legal certainty, carefulness and non-abuse of authority in Article 10 of Law No. 30 of 2014.[26]

The persuasive tone of enforcement is equally a matter of discretion. Lipsky's classic account of street-level bureaucracy shows that frontline officers inevitably make policy through the many small choices they make about whom to warn, whom to tolerate and when to act.[27] On Jalan Gajah Mada, officers who explained the dangers of trading on the road shoulder in a polite way generally found vendors more willing to move. Law No. 30 of 2014 recognises such discretion but binds it to purposes and conditions: it

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[22] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 Tentang Ketertiban Umum; Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 16 Tahun 2018 Tentang Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja.

[23] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 Tentang Ketertiban Umum.

[24] Satjipto Rahardjo, *Penegakan Hukum: Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologis* (Genta Publishing, 2009).

[25] Hadjon and Martosoewignjo, *Pengantar Hukum Administrasi Indonesia (Introduction to the Indonesian Administrative Law)*; Ridwan HR, *Hukum Administrasi Negara*.

[26] Undang-Undang Nomor 30 Tahun 2014 Tentang Administrasi Pemerintahan, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2014 Nomor 292, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5601 (2014).

[27] Michael Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service*, 30th anniversary expanded ed. (Russell Sage Foundation, 2010).

must serve legal certainty and the public interest, be consistent with statutes and the general principles of good governance, rest on objective reasons, be free of conflicts of interest and be exercised in good faith (Articles 22–24).[28] Indonesian scholars note, however, that the boundaries of discretion under the Law remain unclear and difficult to review in practice.[29] Humane discretion, then, is an asset, but without written guidance it can slide into inconsistency or selective enforcement.

Officials also described coordination with the Trade Agency, which manages vending locations, and the Transportation Agency, which manages traffic. Such coordination is precisely what the national framework envisages, since the arrangement of street vendors involves spatial, economic and traffic dimensions that no single agency controls.[30]

Taken together, the findings show that enforcement on Jalan Gajah Mada is largely lawful (rechtmatig): it follows the sanction sequence provided by the regulation, avoids force and gives vendors a fair chance to comply. Whether it is effective (doelmatig) is a separate question. Soekanto reminds us that the effectiveness of law depends not only on the rule itself but also on enforcers, facilities, the community and legal culture.[31] The next subsection uses these five factors to explain why lawful enforcement has not yet produced lasting order.

B. Factors Supporting and Hindering Enforcement

The first factor is the law itself. The 2025 decree gives clarity that earlier arrangements lacked: two named segments and fixed operating hours make it easy, in principle, for officers and vendors to know what is permitted. At the same time, the absence of physical markers, signs or zoning lines along Jalan Gajah Mada undermines that clarity in practice; some vendors admitted that they did not fully understand the boundaries set by the decree. A boundary that exists on paper but cannot be seen on the street weakens the legal certainty that justifies sanctions in the first place, and it gives vendors a plausible excuse when they are reprimanded. Arie's argument that local regulations must be assessed not only for their validity but also for their fit with the community they govern applies squarely here.[32]

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[28] Undang-Undang Nomor 30 Tahun 2014 Tentang Administrasi Pemerintahan.

[29] Victor Imanuel W. Nalle, "The Scope of Discretion in Government Administration Law: Constitutional or Unconstitutional?," *Hasanuddin Law Review* 4, no. 1 (2018): 1–14, https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v4i1.1316; D. Heryansyah and Desmalinda, "Intended to Fail: The Problems of Regulating and Reviewing Discretion in Indonesia (An Empirical Study)," *Legal Standing: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 10, no. 1 (2026): 153–66, https://doi.org/10.24269/ls.v10i1.13414.

[30] Peraturan Presiden Nomor 125 Tahun 2012 Tentang Koordinasi Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima.

[31] Soerjono Soekanto, *Faktor-Faktor Yang Mempengaruhi Penegakan Hukum* (RajaGrafindo Persada, 1983).

[32] Marthen Arie, "An Approach of Legisprudence Theory to Assess the Quality of Local Regulation," *Hasanuddin Law Review* 2, no. 3 (2016): 371–84, https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v2i3.699.

The second factor concerns the enforcers. Officers' commitment, patience and preference for dialogue allowed the rules to be applied without open conflict, which is a genuine strength. Yet the number of Satpol PP personnel is small relative to the hotspots the agency must cover across the city, so a continuous presence on Jalan Gajah Mada from morning to night is impossible. The same constraint appears in Sidoarjo and Temanggung,[33] which suggests that it is structural rather than local.

The third factor is facilities. Patrol vehicles and communication equipment enable regular monitoring, but two gaps matter more. One is the lack of zone markers just described. The other is the lack of adequate relocation sites close to the bustling Gajah Mada area; vendors are reluctant to move far from their customers. This is not simply an obstacle that Satpol PP faces: national guidance requires mayors to designate suitable vending locations and to relocate vendors from unsuitable ones (Articles 33 and 36),[34] and Perda No. 3 of 2018 places empowerment duties on the city government.[35] Where suitable locations are lacking, part of the non-compliance problem lies with the government's own unfulfilled obligations.

The fourth factor is the community, and here two groups must be distinguished. Vendors face real economic pressure: the need to earn a daily income pushes some to set up before 16:00 or to trade outside the designated segments, where customers are more plentiful. Buyers, meanwhile, prefer to buy straight from their motorcycles on the roadside in an informal 'drive-thru' arrangement, which keeps vendors in prohibited locations because the benefits seem to outweigh the risks. This buyer behaviour is rarely discussed in the Indonesian literature, yet Semarang's regulation already prohibits buying from businesses that trade in prohibited places (Article 17(1)(c)) and subjects such buyers to administrative sanctions (Article 17(2)), though not to the criminal provision.[36] The legal tool to address demand already exists; it has simply not been used.

The fifth factor, legal culture, ties the others together. Vendors tidy up their stalls not because they accept that sidewalks belong to the public but to avoid warnings or the loss of their goods, and they return once the patrol vehicle leaves. Kelman's distinction between compliance, identification and internalisation captures this precisely: what Satpol PP obtains is compliance driven by the presence of an authority, not internalised acceptance of the norm.[37] Tyler's research explains why that matters: people obey law durably

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[33] Badar et al., "Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Penertiban Pedagang Kaki Lima"; Tama et al., "Law Enforcement of Street Vendors by the Civil Service Police Unit."

[34] Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 41 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pedoman Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima.

[35] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 3 Tahun 2018 Tentang Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima.

[36] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 Tentang Ketertiban Umum.

[37] Herbert C. Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three Processes of Attitude Change," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 1 (1958): 51–60, https://doi.org/10.1177/002200275800200106.

when they regard authorities as legitimate and their procedures as fair, not merely when they fear sanctions.[38] Friedman's notion of legal culture, the attitudes that determine whether law is used or avoided, points in the same direction.[39]

Compared with earlier studies, Jalan Gajah Mada offers an instructive contrast. In Temanggung, the absence of designated locations was a central reason for failure;[40] Semarang has designated zones, yet compliance outside them still lasts only as long as officers are present. Zoning, in other words, is necessary but not sufficient. The cycle of warnings and removals also carries a hidden cost for vendors themselves, echoing Roever and Skinner's finding that everyday insecurity erodes income and working time.[41] Measured against the three indicators set out in the method, the regulation is effective in the designated zones, where most vendors complied, but only partly effective at the access curves and in the prohibited segment, where violations recurred after patrols.

C. Strategies to Strengthen Enforcement

If the core problem is compliance that depends on presence, adding patrols alone will not solve it. A more promising frame is responsive regulation, in which authorities begin with persuasion and self-regulation, escalate to warnings and administrative sanctions only when cooperation fails, and keep the heaviest sanctions in reserve at the top of an enforcement pyramid.[42] The graduated SP sequence already resembles the middle of such a pyramid; what is missing are a stronger base and a credible but rarely used top.

At the base, three measures follow directly from the legal analysis. First, the city should make zone boundaries visible through markers, signs and published maps of the decree, so that sanctions rest on boundaries vendors can actually see. Second, vendor associations along Jalan Gajah Mada can be entrusted with reminding members of boundaries, hours and cleanliness; Indonesian research shows that vendor organisations and their mediators can secure recognition and discipline in ways the state alone cannot.[43] Third, the Trade Agency should fulfil the relocation and empowerment duties placed on the city, including incentives such as easier

[38] Tom R. Tyler, "Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law," *Crime and Justice* 30 (2003): 283–357, https://doi.org/10.1086/652233; Tom R. Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (Princeton University Press, 2006).
[39] Lawrence M. Friedman, *The Legal System: A Social Science Perspective* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1975).
[40] Tama et al., "Law Enforcement of Street Vendors by the Civil Service Police Unit."
[41] Roever and Skinner, "Street Vendors and Cities."
[42] Ian Ayres and John Braithwaite, *Responsive Regulation: Transcending the Deregulation Debate* (Oxford University Press, 1992).
[43] Gibbings et al., "Mobilizing the Masses: Street Vendors, Political Contracts, and the Role of Mediators in Yogyakarta, Indonesia."

access to business support or priority places at MSME events for vendors who comply.[44]

In the middle of the pyramid, buyer education should come before buyer sanctions: clear signs at prohibited points explaining that roadside purchases there are not allowed, followed, only if needed, by proportionate administrative action under Article 17(1)(c) and (2) of Perda No. 5 of 2017.[45] A fixed public order post at high-risk points during peak hours, as proposed within Satpol PP, would reduce the 'cat-and-mouse' windows that roving patrols leave open, although planners should anticipate that some vendors may simply move to neighbouring streets. Training officers in persuasive communication and conflict resolution, together with a written SOP that structures their discretion in line with Law No. 30 of 2014, would make humane enforcement more consistent.[46]

Technology can help, but with care. Integrating the city's surveillance cameras with the Satpol PP control room could direct patrols to violations as they happen. Law No. 27 of 2022 permits visual data processing devices in public places for purposes such as security and traffic management, but requires notices in the monitored area and prohibits using the devices to identify individuals unless they serve crime prevention or law enforcement under the applicable rules (Article 17).[47] Any CCTV scheme should therefore be designed to monitor locations and times rather than to profile individual vendors.

At the top of the pyramid, removal of stalls and, as a genuine last resort, criminal proceedings through civil servant investigators under Articles 30–31 of Perda No. 5 of 2017 should remain available for persistent, deliberate violations.[48] Their credibility, rather than their frequent use, is what gives persuasion its force. Taken together, these strategies shift enforcement from repeated physical clearing towards a system in which vendors, buyers and agencies share responsibility for the corridor.

IV. Conclusion

Satpol PP enforces Semarang's public order and street vendor regulations on Jalan Gajah Mada through a non-judicial, graduated and persuasive procedure: outreach and patrols, verbal warnings, written warnings from SP-1 to SP-3 and, as a final step, removal of stalls, applied to a 2025 zoning scheme that permits vending in two segments between 16:00

[44] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 3 Tahun 2018 Tentang Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima; Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 41 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pedoman Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima.
[45] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 Tentang Ketertiban Umum.
[46] Undang-Undang Nomor 30 Tahun 2014 Tentang Administrasi Pemerintahan; Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service*.
[47] Undang-Undang Nomor 27 Tahun 2022 Tentang Pelindungan Data Pribadi, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2022 Nomor 196, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6820 (2022).
[48] Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 Tentang Ketertiban Umum.

and 04:00 WIB. This enforcement is largely lawful and humane, and it respects the sanction sequence that Perda No. 5 of 2017 provides. Lawfulness, however, has not produced lasting order. Clear zoning and officers' persuasive conduct support enforcement, but vendors' economic pressures, limited personnel, buyers transacting from their vehicles, the lack of nearby relocation sites and unmarked zone boundaries sustain a cycle in which compliance lasts only while officers are present. Compliance on Jalan Gajah Mada is therefore deterrence-based rather than legitimacy-based, which explains why order remains temporary. Two legal issues stand out: a zoning decree that completes a sanctioned prohibition must be visible and knowable to meet the demands of legal certainty, and the buyer prohibition in Article 17(1)(c) offers an unused tool to address demand. Strengthening enforcement thus depends less on more patrols than on a responsive approach: visible zone boundaries, vendor self-regulation through associations, fulfilment of the city's relocation and empowerment duties, buyer education backed by proportionate sanctions, fixed supervision at high-risk points, CCTV used within the limits of data protection law, and a written SOP that guides officers' discretion. This study is limited to one corridor and a limited observation period; future research could compare several corridors and examine the perspectives of vendors and buyers more systematically.

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