

Fisherwomen

Editorial

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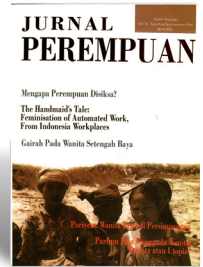
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Fisherwomen

President Joko Widodo touted the Maritime Axis program as his administration's key program. While campaigning, he promised to place fishermen as the program's primary actors. But after 2.5 years in tenure, the President's intentions have not yet been fulfilled, causing disappointment to a great many fishermen and women. On April 6, 2017, on Indonesia's National Fishermen's Day, fishermen protested in front of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries and the Merdeka State Palace to demand that President Joko Widodo fulfill his promise (CNN Indonesia 2017). Fisheries is indeed a crucial issue. At least 200 million individuals work as traditional fishermen, particularly in developing countries. They play a significant role, considering the fact that 70 percent of the world's fish for consumption come from these traditional fishermen. In 2010, it was estimated that humans consumed 128 million of fish. Furthermore, fish are consumed by 4.3 billion people in the past decade—15 percent of their entire protein intake, or around 18.6 kg per person. Stimulated by higher demand for fish, world fisheries and aquaculture production is projected to reach about 172 million tonnes in 2021 and that the fisheries sector will be the fastest growing industry (FAO 2012).

Law No. 7/2016 is, in fact, very positive as it's meant to protect small-scale fishermen. But instead, the policy's implementation tends to impact small-scale fishermen negatively, particularly fisherwomen. Unfortunately, there is still very little discourse on fisherwomen. Furthermore, fisherwomen are often not taken into account because a "fisherman" is defined as a person who catches fish, while women, for the most part, clean the catch to be consumed at home or sold at markets. Often they do not receive pay in household businesses. Even when they go to catch fish, it's only to accompany their husbands. It's this limited definition of a fisherman that undermines women in the fisheries sector. Fisherwomen's contributions are not taken into account, which negatively impacts them as they cannot get access to credits, processing technology, freeze warehouses and training organized by the government (Kabar Bahari/ Maritime News, Issue 18, November-December 2015).

Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries, in the context of food security and poverty eradication, emphatically mentions the state's obligation to treat fisherwomen, including fish and salt farmers, with special consideration and to guarantee their rights. This guarantee, among others, include

decent home, basic hygienic sanitation, investment savings and credit, freedom from sexual harassment and violence, technology development, etc. These voluntary guidelines refer to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). If fisherwomen are not guaranteed their rights and are not given proper support, we can assume that the largest impoverished group will come from the fisherwomen group. For this reason, the government must pay special attention to fisherwomen and to change the very masculine definition of "fisherman." If this is not done, the SGD goal to promote gender equality and empower women will fail, particularly in essential components such as the eradication of poverty, food security, sustainable development of fisheries and marine resources.

Thus, gender analysis in fisheries and marine resources becomes crucial in guaranteeing women's productivity as well as equality for women. What must be done is to advocate for gender equality, creating "champions" to fight for the rights of fisherwomen, and collaborate with researchers and policy experts. This massive coalition is needed among non-profit institutions, the government, researchers and academicians. Plenty of experiences show that a gender lens is needed in formulating fisheries policy that puts an emphasis on the rights of women. Thus far, gender perspective is weak when it comes to fisheries, as the focus has so far been on fish production—something that has been dominated by men. Furthermore, the role of fisherwomen must be entered into all international and national instruments (Alami & Raharjo 2017).

Jurnal Perempuan recognize the importance of fisherwomen's role and contribution for family and community economy. Therefore we conducted researches in three regions namely Dipasena, Demak and Gresik to reveal challenges, strategy and effort done by fisherwomen in order to obtain recognition, protection and empowerment. Our effort to document the experiences and voices of fisherwomen can be realized through cooperation with Kiara, PPNI, P3UW and Puspita Bahari. Aside from documented as articles in this edition, our research is also narrated in form of documentary film. This edition is expected to encourage the recognition, protection and empowerment of fisherwomen by opening the access for fisherwomen for obtaining fisherman's cards. Likewise with the documentary film, it is expected to be useful for the advocacy process of fisherwomen in Indonesia. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Abstracts Sheet

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi & Abby Gina (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

The Presence and Power of Fisherwomen in the Villages of Morodemak and Purworejo: Against Violence, Bureaucracy & a Biased Interpretation of Religion

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 4, November 2017, pp. 205-217, 3 table, 10 ref.

This research was conducted in Morodemak and Purworejo Villages, Demak District, Central Java Province, Indonesia, by focusing on problems faced by fisherwomen—those who go out to sea as well as those who process fishing catch—and the activism of Puspita Bahari (fisherwomen organization in Demak). This research aims to show that women have contributed to the economic progress of coastal communities. Additionally, this research became a personal project as the researchers had the opportunity to directly observe the activities of fisherwomen who go out to sea. Furthermore, in the research process, the researchers participated in the advocacy process to help fisherwomen gain recognition for the work they do. By using Naila Kabeer's gender analysis, this research found that the complexity of the problems faced by fisherwomen are truly layered and involve the family, community and market. Division of labor, biased bureaucracy and domestic violence are the three main topics studied in this paper. It's urgent to recognize fisherwomen, as this recognition would be the first step that must be taken in order to improve the lives of fisherwomen.

Keywords: presence of fisherwomen, fisherwomen, morodemak, purworejo, tambak polo, domestic violence.

Naufaludin Ismail (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

The Struggle for the Recognition of Legal Identity by Fisherwomen in Ujung Pangkah, Gresik: A Feminist Analysis of the Regulation on Fishermen's Card and Insurance

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 4, November 2017, pp. 219-227, 2 table, 10 ref.

This paper will focus on a feminist analysis of Law No. 7/2016 on the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish and Salt Farmers as well as the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation No. 16/2016 as the legal basis for the policy on fisherman's card and insurance. This paper will also analyze the experiences of two fisherwomen in Ujung Pangkah, Gresik, East Java, who have successfully obtained legal identity in the form of a fisher's card and insurance as a legitimate recognition of their identity as fisherwomen. The strong patriarchal culture in the various layers of society has made it difficult for fisherwomen's political identity to be recognized, so a feminist analysis of the fisher's card and insurance policy is needed to ensure that women can engage as active subjects where the policy is concerned.

Keywords: fisherwomen, patriarchy, sexism, legal identity, feminist policy

Ma. Linnea Villarosa-Tanchuling (College of Social Work and Community Development University of the Philippines – Diliman, Metro Manila, Filipina)

Women in Gendered Fisheries: Roles, Issues and Challenges in Cambodia, Indonesia, Vietnam and Philippines

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 4, November 2017, pp. 229-235, 1 table, 7 ref.

This paper is a synthesis of the results of the case studies on women's situation in fisheries done by the members of the SEA Fish for Justice Network. The network is composed of 15 non-government and fishers organizations from the Southeast Asia region. It envisions equity in access to and control over off-shore, coastal and inland aquatic natural resources including the termination of suffering caused by unsustainable resources and/or privatized control over communal resources. The case studies were conducted by SEAFish Network members in Cambodia, Indonesia, Vietnam and Philippines in the second and third quarter of 2008 to highlight the roles, issues and challenges faced by women in coastal communities as well as the spaces provided them to facilitate their empowerment. The network members who conducted the studies were FACT (Cambodia), KIARA (Indonesia), MCD (Vietnam) and PROCESS-Bohol, CERD, and Tambuyog Development Center (CERD).

Keywords: women roles, women's participation, division of labor

Endah Kusuma Wardhani (Gender Studies Program, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia)

The Jakarta Bay Reclamation, Impoverishment and Marginalization of Fisherwomen: Case Study at the Aquarium and Kamal Muara Villages, Penjaringan

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 4, November 2017, pp. 237-246, 13 ref.

It has been more than 10 years since the Jakarta Bay reclamation displaced fishers from their old fishing sites. Reclamation's direct impact on fisherwomen includes reduced earnings because of the damage to marine ecosystems as the result of taking away and backfilling sea sand. In addition, the reclamation project will cause at least 16,998 fishing households to be evicted from the coastal areas of Jakarta, Banten and Bekasi. This study found that the reclamation has impoverished, increased the workloads of, and increasingly marginalized fisherwomen. This research applies the qualitative study methodology with a feminist perspective. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with 10 fisherwomen, a study of documents, and field observation. Research sites were purposively selected, namely Kampung Aquarium dan Kampung Kamal Muara, Penjaringan District, North Jakarta. In particular, this study wishes to channel the voices of poor fisherwomen as a marginal group, who have not yet been heard. The hope is that they will gain courage and will now be able to openly voice their rights and aspirations.

Keywords: fisherwomen, Jakarta Bay reclamation, marginalization, impoverishment of fisherwomen

Yekti Wahyuni (Gender Studies Program, School of Strategic and Global Studies, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Productive, Reproductive and Community Roles of Women Who Process Green Mussel in Muara Angke, North Jakarta

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 4, November 2017, pp. 247-257, 2 image, 1 table, 13 ref.

This study aims to understand the productive, reproductive and community roles of fisherwomen in Muara Angke, Kecamatan Penjaringan, North Jakarta. The subjects of the study were two fisherwomen who process green shells, as owners and as shell-peelers. This study explores women's experience as breadwinners in the marine sector, including their experience as catch fisherwomen. The results show that the role of fisherwomen in productive work and in improving the family economy is very real, either directly or indirectly as fisherwomen or processors of marine products. The three roles of fisherwomen in Muara Angke, sub-district Penjaringan, North Jakarta are productive, reproductive, and social community. The fisherwomen took part in supplementing family income. In addition to performing reproductive roles related to domestic work, fisherwomen also have an active social role in social movements in order to maintain their living spaces and their spheres. The study found that women tend to abandon their work as catch fisherwomen when carrying out biological reproductive roles.

Keywords: fisherwomen, economic roles, social roles, production roles, reproductive roles, social community roles

Gadis Arivia & Abby Gina (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Human Capabilities for Fair Development: A Case Study of Women Prawn Farmers in Dipasena, Lampung

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 4, November 2017, pp. 259-267, 4 table, 5 ref.

This study examines the role of women prawn farmers in Dipasena, East Rawajitu District, Tulang Bawang, Lampung, and what it means for human development in Indonesia. Several focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with women prawn farmers and fishermen community were conducted to collect data and comprehensively understand issues that women prawn farmers face in a patriarchal culture where they are not acknowledged as women workers. This paper uses a feminist perspective on women and work, as well as Martha Nussbaum's capability categories. This paper concludes that women's roles and contribution in fisheries and in national development are not recognized and unaccommodated in national and local policies. Women's role in the fisheries industry is considered non-existent in this society, and this invisibility restricts their potentials, undermines their meaningful existence, and prevents respect for equal human dignity.

Keywords: women prawn farmers, capabilities, human dignity, development, Martha Nussbaum

The Presence and Power of Fisherwomen in the Villages of Morodemak and Purworejo: Against Violence, Bureaucracy & a Biased Interpretation of Religion

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi & Abby Gina

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Abstract

This research was conducted in Morodemak and Purworejo Villages, Demak District, Central Java Province, Indonesia, by focusing on problems faced by fisherwomen—those who go out to sea as well as those who process fishing catch—and the activism of Puspita Bahari (fisherwomen organization in Demak). This research aims to show that women have contributed to the economic progress of coastal communities. Additionally, this research became a personal project as the researchers had the opportunity to directly observe the activities of fisherwomen who go out to sea. Furthermore, in the research process, the researchers participated in the advocacy process to help fisherwomen gain recognition for the work they do. By using Naila Kabeer's gender analysis, this research found that the complexity of the problems faced by fisherwomen are truly layered and involve the family, community and market. Division of labor, biased bureaucracy and domestic violence are the three main topics studied in this paper. It's urgent to recognize fisherwomen, as this recognition would be the first step that must be taken in order to improve the lives of fisherwomen.

Keywords: presence of fisherwomen, fisherwomen, morodemak, purworejo, tambak polo, domestic violence.

Introduction

Susi Pudjiastuti has become a central figure in Indonesia's maritime policy, as she is the country's first woman minister of maritime affairs and fisheries and an example of women's leadership in Indonesia's coastal and marine issues. Susi is not the only woman in this sector, as women are present in almost all of Indonesia's coastal communities, both in domestic chores as well as the public fish production chain, from catching, processing catch, marketing and trade. Unfortunately, women's contribution in the public chain of fish production often goes unacknowledged because of the patriarchal culture and religious perspective that perceive fishermen as only men, and going out to sea as an activity for men: "*Wong wedok kok miyang!*"¹

The bias in fishermen's work is rooted at the individual, village, provincial and national levels, resulting in a gender-biased legal umbrella. Law No. 7/2016 states that a fisherman is any person who earns an income by catching fish. This public policy emerged because of the gender stereotype that fishermen are men, so that the law's definition of a fisherman does not accommodate fisherwomen, who, in fact, play a major role in the economy of coastal communities. Women are still not seen as agents of the family economy. This is because since the

beginning, the identity of fisherwomen had already been erased. Furthermore, Law No. 7/2016, article 45, explicitly mentions "women," but only in regard to their role in a fishing household. "Empowerment activities that we refer to ... give attention to the involvement and role of women in fishing households, fish farming households, and salt farming households" (Article 45, Law No. 7/2016). It's as if this definition negates the public role of fisherwomen in coastal communities.

The erasure of women in Law No. 7/2016 means that women are distanced from access to mainstream development programs. This type of paradigm in development is criticized by Naila Kabeer, who points out that there is a serious problem, which is the exclusion of women in the policy-making process and policy affairs, which only focus on women's role in the family as housewives. In other words, this development model only targets communities of men as household heads and productive agents, while women receive welfare programs exclusively meant for their gendered duties in the household (Kabeer 1994, p. 5).

The presence of fisherwomen in the regency of Demak, Central Java, cannot be denied, both fisherwomen in the catch production/processing sector and fisherwomen who go out to sea to catch fish. An example of women's

leadership in a coastal community can be seen in Puspita Bahari, an organization for fisherwomen in the Demak Regency. Puspita Bahari's presence shows that fisherwomen are capable of becoming pillars that elevate regional economies and contribute to the economic and social progress of coastal communities. Even so, fisherwomen in Demak experience various structural hurdles such as village to provincial bureaucracy, as well as cultural challenges, including religious interpretation. These problems faced by fisherwomen make fisherwomen administratively invisible, which causes access to and control over development programs aimed at fishermen to be out of the reach of fisherwomen. Although local communities are aware of the existence of fisherwomen, some in these communities are reluctant to acknowledge their presence, among others because fisherwomen are not primary earners and due to a biased interpretation of religion.

This research was done in the Morodemak Village, Bonang Subdistrict, Demak Regency, Central Java. Morodemak is one of the three fishing villages in the Bonang Subdistrict. Other villages are Purworejo Village and Margolinduk Village. This research aims at exposing the complex issues faced by fisherwomen, challenges and the power of fisherwomen in fighting for their rights and against violence and stigmas. This research also gives special focus to the activism of Puspita Bahari as an organization for fisherwomen in the Demak Regency. Puspita Bahari's activism warrants an in-depth study because of the layered gender dimensions that can be learned from it, starting from an unequal gender relation in the family, societal stigmas, to how fisherwomen members of Puspita Bahari have succeeded in proving that women can become leaders in Indonesia's coastal regions and waters.

This research employs Naila Kabeer's gender analysis framework, which emphasizes the analysis of social relations between the family, society, community, market and state. Kabeer's five analysis of social relation dimensions are: 1) Rules: both written and unwritten; 2) Activities: who does what, who gets what, who has the right to claim what (production, reproduction, distribution); 3) Resources: human resources, intangible, education, food/sustenance, capital; 4) Humans: who is involved and who does what, how is one positioned; 5) Power: who is in control, who decides, who is served. In Naila Kabeer's gender analysis framework, social relations in society are layered and inter-connected. Naila Kabeer's gender analysis framework can: 1) analyze gender inequality in the distribution of resources, responsibilities and power; 2) analyze interpersonal relations, their

relation to resources, activities and their position through an institutional lens, starting from the smallest unit. In Naila Kabeer's gender analysis framework, institutions must be scrutinized to see whether or not they produce gender inequality or inequity. By using this thought framework, the complexities of problems faced by fisherwomen can be clearly outlined. This research also aims to show that although fisherwomen are still up against a layered set of problems (family-community-market-state), they still have the power to survive in their situation. In practice, Kabeer's gender analysis approach cannot stand alone. In this research, writers also adopt ideas by Mooser (1993), Nelson (1992), Postner (1992) and Nussbaum (1995, 1999, 2000) to deconstruct gender inequality in coastal communities.

Puspita Bahari's Struggle: Against Bureaucracy and Biased Religious Interpretation

Puspita Bahari was founded in 2005, amid male domination over the public sphere and violence against fisherwomen. No one could foresee that in the organization's 12-year journey, Puspita Bahari was able to break through this default, fight edicts from clerics, fight against stigma and the impoverishment of fisherwomen. Puspita Bahari grew in a complex economy, culture and social predicaments, with the aim to empower and improve family economy.

Puspita Bahari's economic activities are firstly economic post-production activities, namely making fish crackers, fish flour, shrimp paste, salted fish, smoking and making food products from sea catches; second, pre-production activities, or establishing lending-borrowing cooperatives as an educational platform for the borrowing community and to provide fishing needs; third, catch production/processing—the organization has a production equipment in the form of a boat used by the husbands of Puspita Bahari's female members, permanently managed by Puspita Bahari (LBH-Semarang 2011). Puspita Bahari's economic initiatives, as mentioned above, have created their own production chain in the Morodemak region. They now own a boat, fishing and processing equipment, and production activities can be done independently, without relying on large corporations. Unfortunately, these economic initiatives are still faced with challenges such as societal stigma, domestic violence as well as a gender-biased interpretation of religion.

Puspita Bahari's economic initiatives have not only improved the economy in the Demak region, but have also contributed to the increase of production

in Indonesia's fisheries. President Joko Widodo, in his Nawacita (President Jokowi's 9 Promises) mandates the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to fight fish theft practices and to take back state revenues from the hands of fishing mafias. Furthermore, President Jokowi also aims for an increase of production to 19 million tons, both from catch fisheries as well as fish farms—which means that fisheries issues must be given special attention by the state and Puspita Bahari's role in processing fish catch becomes an important element.

Although fishermen are given serious attention, unfortunately the state narrowly defines "fisherman" in its public policy. Law No. 7/2016 states that a fisherman is any individual whose earning comes from catching fish. This policy emerged because of the gender stereotype that a fisherman must be a man, so that the definition above does not accommodate fisherwomen, who, in fact, play a big role in the economy of coastal communities—for example, women who collect fish, women who sell fish after a catch arrives, and women who process fish catch to turn it into other fish products. So, referring to above definition, women joined under Puspita Bahari cannot be said as fisherwomen simply because they do not go out to sea to catch fish, when Puspita Bahari owns a boat, fishing equipment and facilities for processing catch. In the end, this narrow definition excludes Puspita Bahari's fisherwomen from public policy.

Masnuah, Puspita Bahari's founder, believes that it's important to acknowledge fisherwomen. She feels that fishermen/women are not only individuals who go out to sea to fish, but also include those engaged in processing fish catch. As such, activities have often been performed by coastal women such as processing and marketing fish catch can be said as the work of a fisherman/women. Masnuah also acknowledges that not all fisherwomen are yet aware how important it is for women's work as fisherwomen to be acknowledged. The construct that only men can be fishermen is also planted in women.

When a woman performs activities that support the fisheries sector—for example, I've been involved in processing, drying fish, since I was little, working for fish processing businesses, but until now, I've not yet seen the work of fisherwomen acknowledged by women themselves. There are several kinds of fisherwomen, from women who catch fish in the sea, women fish farmers, salt farmers, and even fisherwomen who process and market (catch). And they aren't yet recognized by the state as fisherwomen, whose rights must be acknowledged. Until now, only men are acknowledged, only men can be said as fishermen because only men can go out to sea. (Masnuah 2017, interview 3 September).

According to Kabeer's gender analysis framework, a fisherwoman as an individual has a mutually influencing relationship with other components such as the family, society, community and state. These relations are factors causing fisherwomen to not have access to development programs for fishermen, namely the fishermen's card and insurance for fishermen. Masnuah explains that acknowledgement of women's work as fisherwomen on the national identity card (KTP) can open women's access to welfare programs for fishermen/women.

Once women are acknowledged as fisherwomen, access to a fisher's card can be obtained by fisherwomen. Also, in demanding access for fisherwomen, we're also (demanding) the protection of fishermen/women's rights because, in fact, Law No. 7/2016 on the Protection of Fishermen, Salt Farmers and Fish Farmers has not yet touched on fisherwomen and has not been implemented well in practice, only on paper. (Masnuah 2017, interview 3 September)

Moser classifies two gender needs that can help the state in planning programs and national as well as regional policies: strategic and practical. Strategic gender needs are women's needs by identifying women's position in society, which so far has been considered subordinate to men's. Strategic gender needs vary depending on existing contexts such as those having to do with job division, power, access and control, and issues such as legal rights, domestic violence, equal pay and women's control over their body. Fulfilling strategic gender needs helps women achieve equality (Moser 1993, p. 39). Practical gender needs do not concern gender division of labor or women's subordinate position in society. Practical gender needs are a response to women's needs that can be directly and swiftly fulfilled by giving attention to women's indecent living conditions, for example to water supply, healthcare and jobs (Moser 1993, p. 40).

By using Moser's analytical tool, acknowledging women's profession as fisherwomen is a strategic gender need that must be fulfilled. The recognition of fisherwomen is strongly tied to access and control over resources and development programs, including the fisherman's card, insurance for fishermen and training. This neglected strategic gender need is strongly tied to power and development paradigm that have not yet applied gender-based planning, i.e., by considering practical and strategic gender needs. In the context of the Demak communities (Morodemak Village and Purworejo Village), societal perception of the recognition of fisherwomen is not only influenced by biased national policy but also by a gender-biased interpretation of religion. Puspita Bahari's activism often receives negative

labels from local religious figures. Puspita Bahari, as a fisherwomen's organization that very actively empowers women and provides information to fisherwomen must also then receive negative stigma. Masnuah explains that challenges faced by Puspita Bahari are not only biased policy but also societal perception, particularly that of religious figures who are biased against women's movements.

That Puspita Bahari received the Frans Seda Award for humanitarian (efforts) leaves a remarkable impression. We were once stumped when in the process of receiving the award. We experienced a setback when jury member Slamet Effendi Yusuf from the Central PBNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Management) and a jury member from Unika Atma Jaya appraised our work in the field. On that day, the jury found that religious figures in the community were of the opinion that Puspita Bahari offered no benefits, a fisherwomen's organization was unorthodox, so that we became desperate. But in the end we won, because Pak Slamet said Puspita Bahari was up against a very heavy challenge, namely religious interpretation. (Masnuah 2017, interview 3 September)

It's even more terrifying when public officials are also guilty of the combination of little and/or biased understanding of policy and biased religious interpretation. On September 4, the Central Java Fishermen's Forum had an audience with Commission B from the Central Java DPRD (Regional Representative Council) at the Central Java DPRD office. In the session, the Central Java Maritime and Fisheries Services was also present. Masnuah was the only woman present as a representative of the Central Java Fishermen's Forum. In the opportunity, Masnuah expressed the importance of recognizing fisherwomen and asked related services to help the process of changing the status of fisherwomen on the national ID card (KTP) from housewife to fisherwoman. But as Kabeer explained, relations between social components overlap: biased policies are reinforced by the biased perception of public officials, causing the wall of inequality to grow thicker. A biased interpretation of religion causes public officials to have biased perceptions, when, in fact, public officials must provide services to society based on facts and real situations, rather than using religious ideas that have no connection with the fulfillment of fisherwomen's rights, as said by a Central Java DPRD Commission B member:

Truth is, Indonesia is based on the Belief in the One and Only God principle. Meaning, as a country that has a philosophy on divinity, we must pay attention that women should not occupy such an abject position. Apologies, but this is also for (your) enlightenment. When these women want to become fishermen, is it proper for women to also do it when there are men performing the work? It's

necessary to place women not in such a position—going out to sea, fishing, while the husbands are relaxing. This is really improper, disturbing, the world is upside down. Our religion (Islam) recommends placing women in a noble position. This is why I do appreciate what women are doing for the sake of emancipation, but still within its portion. (R 2017, audience 4 September)

The Commission B Central Java DPRD member's statement was not based on the fact that there are women who go out to sea because of the family's financial demands. The statement is not only gender-biased, but also class-biased. The Commission B member is comparing he himself, who permits his wife to work but still provides for her, with fishing communities who live in poverty without other options. It's indeed unfortunate that such a statement was made by a public official. Instead of looking at the situation and facts in the field, he arrogantly assumed Puspita Bahari's activism to be out of line in asking fisherwomen to be recognized.

In Law No. 7/2016, which perhaps Mbak Masnuah (you) knows by heart, women are recognized, if not mistaken, in my notes, women are mentioned in this way: A fisherman's household, so that the recognition is as part of the fishing family. So, the Law on the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish and Salt Farmers must perhaps be criticized, in that when the law was formed there was already a philosophy in place, isn't that so, Boss? Indonesia is a majority Muslim country. So Mbak Masnuah (you) shouldn't your opinion, while neglecting to think about the existence and philosophical aspects of women in Indonesia. We don't want to be trapped in conditions such as in countries where emancipation is sometimes careless. (R 2017, audience 4 September)

The social construct of production and non-production as well as market and non-market work dichotomy has taken root and is reinforced by a biased religious interpretation. This is not only reflected in Law No. 7/2016, but also mirrored in the way our public officials think, the fact that fisherwomen are seen as a rare phenomenon, when, in fact, the presence of fisherwomen is a social fact that must be acknowledged and these women must be given access to fishermen's empowerment programs. Based on data by the People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice May 2014, at least 56 million individuals are engaged in fisheries activities, starting from fishing, processing, to marketing fishing catch. Of this number, around 39 million are fisherwomen. The opinion expressed by the public official mentioned above clearly does not come depart from the conditions of coastal communities, i.e., that women are also agents of the economy. On the pretext of placing women in a noble position, (the official and others) are in fact turning a blind eye to the presence and production activities of fisherwomen.

Biased perceptions are not found only at the provincial level, but also at the village level. The opinion that fisherwomen who go out to sea are simply assisting their husband often create the view that women cannot perform fishermen's work. On September 4, 2017, fisherwomen from the Tambak Polo Hamlet in Purworejo Village went to the Purworejo Municipal Village head (lurah) to request a change in their ID's employment status, from housewife to fishermen, by submitting documents (Family Card and national ID/KTP). Unfortunately, these women, who had traveled far from their hamlet, had to be faced with bitter disappointment because none of the documents they submitted were accepted. The village head did not provide a clear decision on the process and instead said that the wives of fishermen are simply helping their husband.

We can't yet say yes or no with certainty. We would like to coordinate with Manpower Services to see whether fisherwomen's profession, if fisherwomen can be categorized as fishermen. Second, we will confirm with Population and Civil Registration Department (Disdukcapil), third we will confirm with Marine and Fisheries Services (DKP) whether women who quote unquote help their husbands at sea can be categorized as fishermen, because the literal definition of a fisherman is a person whose primary earning comes from catching fish. But the next question is whether these women see this work as their primary earning, because based on the data we receive, these women are simply helping out. Helping out is not earning ... because in our region, women are only assisting. Active ship crew, on the other hand, perform activities to earn. (Purworejo Municipal Village Head or Lurah 2017, audience 4 September)

Based on the lurah's response above we can see that biased bureaucracy is the result of biased thinking by public officials. It's no wonder that women have no access to development programs, when in the most basic issue of identity women are already structurally neglected.

I'd like to point out that in maritime conditions, where there are both fishermen and fisherwomen, a country cannot be a maritime country when only fishermen are empowered. So, because 50% of those involved in the fisheries sector are fisherwomen, I'm directly asking Pak Jokowi in regard to our advocacy for the recognition of fisherwomen's equal rights—I will ask Pak Jokowi to order Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Services across Indonesia to issue fisherman's cards and fisherman's insurance for fisherwomen. (Masnuah 2017, interview 3 September)

To Kabeer, the problems of poverty are the result of gender inequality in society, overlapping and mutually influencing gender relations in society, which then cause structural injustices (Kabeer 1994, p 141). She believes that development is not limited to economic

improvement, but also better living standards, security, autonomy (the capacity for engagement, access and control in decision-making). Puspita Bahari is attempting to break through the walls of bureaucracy and a biased society, so that equality for fisherwomen may be fulfilled. To Masnuah, recognition of fisherwomen has more to do with access and control, but also with existence and dignity (autonomy). Masnuah, in her audience with Central Java DPRD's Commission B, explained that women working in the fisheries sector are very proud to be called fisherwomen, and that the work is noble work. As such, recognizing these women as fisherwomen and giving them access to development programs, according to Masnuah, is to place women in a noble position.

Wong Wedok Miyang: Women Who Go Out To Sea

In a discussion organized by the *Indonesian Feminist Journal*, Rahma Iryanti, National Development Planning's (Bappenas) deputy of manpower, explained statistics of the Labor Force Participation Rate (TPAK) of women in Indonesia. One of the things she mentioned was that women's TPAK will impact a nation's economic growth. Because of this, she believes that Indonesia needs an inclusive economic model, or an economic model that can provide the widest access to citizens, the working generation, citizens in need, etc. Furthermore, Rahma also explained that Indonesia's GDP² per capita has significantly increased and she believes that this is positive development³². This is a picture of discussions on labor and economic growth in Indonesia, major narratives, GDP, economic growth and TPAK. Although disaggregated data is already available, the data is not scrutinized further to see what is occurring behind the numbers, who are the actors of economic growth, how massive the economic inequality is, and what is, in fact, the face of poverty. We, in fact, know that underneath these statistical figures every person measured is not a singular and uniform identity, all individuals are interconnected and have various unique work problems and experiences. The state forgets that behind the TPAK measures some professions are left out, namely the productive work of fisherwomen who are not recognized as fishermen and the domestic work of fisherwomen. In other words, because fisherwomen are not administratively recognized, the work performed by fisherwomen are not recorded in national statistics.

Ibu (Madam) Zarokah, is among fisherwomen living in the Morodemak Village, Demak Regency, Central Java Province. She is a small-scale fisherwoman who has gone out to sea for 2.5 years with her husband, Bapak (Mr. Subeki), because her husband is not accompanied

by crew. Her wish to accompany her husband is due to financial reasons, because hiring crew means splitting the catch, while if she goes out to sea instead of ship crew, all of the catch will go to Ibu Zarokah's household.

The Bapak (Zarokah's husband) has no one accompanying him. I feel bad, Mbak (interviewer). If he's by himself he would have to pull here and there. If accompanied, there would be someone else to pull over there, and here, so that he would not have to spend too much energy. (Zarokah 2017, interview 3 September)

The researchers had the opportunity to follow Ibu Zarokah's activities on September 3, 2017. The researchers took notes of Ibu Zarokah's activities while fishing out at sea, starting at 3:30am until 9:30am, beginning at home until she had finished selling her catch, i.e., the *kelapan* fish, at the fish auction market. Below is a profile of activities processed from the researchers' observation.

Table 1. Ibu Zarokah and Pak Subeki's Profile of Activities

Productive Activities (Market)	Bu Zarokah	Pak Subeki
Preparing the boat	✓	✓
Turning on engine		✓
Steering the boat		✓
Disposing water from the boat's deck	✓	
Preparing net	✓	
Casting net	✓	
Pulling net	✓	✓
Taking fish from net	✓	✓
Transporting fish to market	✓	✓
Selling fish	✓	
Cleaning fish	✓	✓
Productive Activities (Non-Market)		
Cooking	✓	
Preparing food at home	✓	
Preparing fishing equipment	✓	✓
Carrying food and drink supply	✓	✓
Preparing food on the boat	✓	
Preparing food at home	✓	
Reproductive Activities		
Giving birth	✓	
Child rearing	✓	
Social/Community Activities		
Puspita Bahari	✓	

Source: Processed from the writers' observation and interview with Zarokah.

Based on the table above, we can see that fisherwomen, in fact, perform more productive and non-productive work, despite not being recognized as fisherwomen. The problem is in the dichotomies of productive-reproductive and domestic-non-domestic, or paid/non-paid work in society. These dichotomies, according to Saptari & Holzner, have their uses because for the first time, parts of women's work that have thus far been invisible are starting to receive attention (2016). Women's reproductive work, particularly having to do

with child rearing and other domestic work, are seen as the patriarchal society as non-work. Because women's work are not clearly visible, women's paid work outside the home are seen as side work, resulting in the diminishing of the work that women do (Saptari & Holzner 2016, p. 47). In the context of coastal communities, fisherwomen are still seen as simply "helping out" their fisherman husbands.

Researchers followed Bu Zarokah's and her husband's fishing activities. On that day, they only caught one

container of *kelapan* fish, at a selling price of Rp170,000. According to Ibu Zarokah, that day's income was used to buy diesel fuel Rp50,000, for food, for her husband's cigarettes, for her child's allowance, and school needs. When asked about the costs of her own needs, Ibu Zarokah said she had no needs in particular, except that she would occasionally buy and eat meatball soup. Various research reports show that women spend their incomes on household needs, for example on food, their husband's and children's needs (Saptari & Holzner 2016, p. 214). Cash in a woman's hand often means education and improved nutrition for her children (Tellis-Nayak cited in Saptari & Holzner 2016, p. 214).

In the Morodemak Village, Ibu Zarokah is not the only fisherwoman who fish with her husband. Ibu Surotun is another fisherwoman who goes out to sea. Bu Surotun has gone out to sea with her husband for three years and is responsible over steering the boat and casting the net. Economic factors are the primary reason why women go out to sea with their husband. Now, Ibu Surotun and Ibu Zarokah wish to be recognized as fisherwomen.

Wake up at 2am, cook first, then prepare food for the two of us, then we start our trip out to sea, arrive at 4am, then cast the net and lift it a half an hour later. Sometimes we get

fish, sometimes we don't. (Question) It's not certain, Mbak (interviewer). Sometimes at 10, sometimes 11, sometimes around 1. I steer and cast the net. The Bapak (Surotun's husband) also casts a net above and below. (Surotun 2017, interview 4 September)

At first my husband wanted to go out to sea alone. I said no, Pak, why alone. Let me come. He said, what if you get sea sick? I said, won't get sea sick. But if sea sick, how do we get back? But it turned out, (I) didn't get sea sick. (Surotun 2017, interview 4 September)

Bu Surotun is aware of the importance being recognized as a fisherwoman. Her poverty encourages her to go out to sea with her husband. Although at a glance it seems that Ibu Zarokah and Ibu Surotun's decision was made to "accompany husband," this does not mean that there are no financial nor income sharing reasons. Furthermore, Ibu Surotun does more work selling food upon returning home from fishing.

Well, (I) want recognition as a fisherwoman because my husband and I both go out to sea. It's heavy for me, plus taking care of husband, child(ren), household chores, selling as well, selling *martabak*, chicken noodle, shaved ice. Once I arrive home, I take care of children first, cook, and at 3pm I leave the house again to sell chicken noodle, *martabak* in front of my own home until 9pm. And then I wake up again at 2. Well, what can I do. I work more than my husband. (Surotun 2017, interview 4 September 4)

Table 2. Surotun and Her Husband's Profile of Activities (3.5 Years of Going Out to Sea)

Productive Activities	Bu Surotun	Husband
Going out to sea	✓	✓
Selling fish to the fish auction	✓	
Working as a domestic worker	✓	
Selling chicken noodle	✓	
Selling martabak	✓	
Productive Activities (Non-market)		
Cooking	✓	
Preparing food at home	✓	
Preparing fishing equipment	✓	✓
Washing at home	✓	
Reproductive Activities		
Giving birth	✓	
Child rearing	✓	
Social/Community Activities		
Puspita Bahari	✓	

Source: Processed based on the writers' interview with Surotun.

Besides in the Morodemak Village, fisherwoman who go out to sea are also found in the Purworejo Village, in the hamlet of Tambak Polo, based on Puspita Bahari's findings explained by Masnuah in the Central Java Fishermen's Forum's Audience with the Central Java DPRD's Commission B. Women who go out to sea aren't a sudden phenomenon. In the Tambak Polo Hamlet, Purworejo Village, almost 40 women go out to sea with their husband. Meanwhile, based on the writers' findings while assisting women from the Tambak Polo Hamlet when meeting the Purworejo Village's head, there were 25 documents (Family Cards and national ID cards/KTPs) of Tambak Polo Hamlet women who wish for a changed status from housewife to fisherwoman. This data may still change because there will be further organizational work.

The issue that we'd like to communicate represent the Indonesian Fisherwomen Solidarity Group. Today we also have data that there are women who go out to sea in the Morodemak Village and Purworejo Village, Demak Regency. Around 40 fisherwomen go out to sea, as explained by Mas Karman earlier. Last week we conducted a forum of three villages: Morodemak, Purworejo and Margo Linduk. We sat down with village heads, subdistrict officials, Population and Civil Registration Department (Disdukcapil) and the maritime and fisheries department (DKP). Well, I know why the DKP sent (people) from the fishing production sales division, because they thought that women's business is cooking, but when the DKP directly heard stories from these women who go out to sea, they were a bit surprised to learn that, oh these women apparently go out to sea. (Masnuah 2017, interview 4 September)

Ibu Kiswati, a fisherwoman met by the researchers admitted to the numerous types of work that she performs, such as going out to sea, cooking, washing and selling fish.

From Ibu Kiswati's explanation, we can see that women have a double burden in their productive and reproductive work. The boundary between one type of work and others are not always clear. In reality, someone can perform paid work (productive) and nonpaid work at once, so that she can occupy different working relationships (Saptari & Hozner 2016, p. 24). Bu Kiswati's activities as a fisherwoman are not only productive activities, but also reproductive—two activities that she performs at the same time. As Ibu Kiswati herself explained, she performs productive and reproductive activities simultaneously.

Start by waking up at 1am, cooking, bringing food/drinks that will be brought (with us) to sea, preparing children at home. Leave at 3, if we go out far to see, leave at 3, if close at 4, because the season is uncertain. Sometimes the fish are close, sometimes far. If (we) leave at 4, we arrive at sea at 5 or 6, cast net, around 8 we pull the net, arrive home at 9 the earliest, sometimes at 10. At home I don't immediately rest. I have other activities, *membakul* (buying fish from small-scale fishermen), buying my friends' and relatives' catch. When I'm buying fish, I do it while cooking and washing. I always buy fish using a scale—so the fish is weighed, and I wash and cook, if someone's selling, (I) stop and serve whoever's selling. Sometimes my food gets burnt, sometimes there are a lot of people selling and I forget, which is why my food often gets burnt. Then washing until 12, when the call to prayer (bedug) sounds I hurry to the fish auction to sell the fish that I bought from fishermen. I even fell once, because I was rushing to the fish auction and tripped on the floor. (Kiswati 2017, interview 2 September)

Below is Ibu Kiswati's and her husband's profile of activities. In the table below we can see that Ibu Kiswati performs more work than her husband. She, as a fisherwoman, is in fact the primary agent of her household's economy.

Table 3. Ibu Kiswati and Her Husband's Profile of Activities (3 Years Going Out to Sea)

Productive Activities	Ibu Kiswati	Husband
Going out to sea	✓	✓
Bakulan (buying catch from small-scale fishermen)	✓	
Selling fish at the fish auction	✓	
Nonproductive Activities		
Cooking	✓	
Preparing food at home	✓	✓
Preparing fishing equipment	✓	✓
Washing at home	✓	
Reproductive Activities		
Giving birth	✓	
Child rearing	✓	
Social/Community Activities		
Puspita Bahari	✓	

Source: Processed from an interview with Kiswati.

Ibu Kiswati's activities, aside from going out to sea, is buying fish catch from small-scale fishermen to then sell at the fish auction. She explained that her husband can't ride a motorcycle, so she's either accompanied by her child or will ride a motorcycle taxi. In between her productive activities, she also performs numerous domestic tasks. It's evident that fisherwomen have heavier burdens than their male counterparts. One of the dimensions in Kabeer's analysis is activity: based on the question of who does what. Ibu Kiswati's profile of activities show that she performs more productive activities, while bearing all kinds of risks.

Going out to sea is not without risks, of fisherwomen are well aware of risks such as drowning, tall waves and heavy rain. But their will to go out to sea is not weakened, as we can see from the example of Bu Kustiah, a fisherwoman from the Tambak Polo Hamlet.

(I) have been going out to sea for 8 years. From morning, waking up at 1, depart to sea at 2. Cast net at 3, pull net (ngambat*) at 5, return home at 6, arrive home at 11. Bapak (my husband) casts the net, I steer the boat. When pulling the net, it's equal, Bapak over there, I pull the net. (Kustiah 2017, interview 2 September)

Yes, not afraid because Bapak has no one accompanying him. I follow Bapak to sea. I once drowned at sea. I got scared and didn't want to come to sea, but I had to go again because no one goes with my husband, (he's) alone, so, well. I got to tail the boat that collided with me, I was pulled by the boat that hit me. (Kustiah 2017, interview 2 September)

Results of the researchers' interviews with fisherwomen who go out to sea (*miyang*) in the Morodemak Village and Tambak Polo Hamlet in the Purworejo Village show that the existence of women who go out to sea is a fact and that women perform more work than men. Activity profiles such as the ones above can help us identify activities performed by women and men. In Naila Kabeer's gender analysis, the principles in analysis in seeing the need for development programs are: who does what? Who gets what? Who gains? Who loses? Which men? Which women? (Kabeer 1994, p. 311). Activity profiles above exhibit that women's work that has thus far been invisible and unrecognized, both productive and reproductive work.

Based on above explanation, we can see that fisherwomen face various issues in the domestic sphere as workers and in the public sphere as workers. Julie A. Nelson wrote an essay titled "Feminist Economics"⁵ and "Feminism and Economics," in which Nelson challenges the idea that the discipline of economics is a masculine

discipline that ignores feminine qualities. She believes that the discipline of economics is still far from objective. The study of economics, according to Nelson, only focuses on work performed by men, while productive work at home, or work performed by women, are not taken into account in national statistics. Marilyn Waring's *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics* points out that the GDP systematically neglects to calculate the work performed by women. Waring believes that women play an important role in the household, such as child rearing and caring for the elderly, and this occurs all over the world. Domestic work such as these significantly contribute to a nation because they are seen as guaranteeing the continuing availability of human resources that produce. But, for the most part, these types of work that are often performed by housewives are not taken into account when calculating GDPs (Postner 1992).

Moser, on the other hand, believes that the definition of productive role in the family must be expanded, arguing that productive roles are work performed by women and men who receive pay or certain compensation as trade. Moser is of the opinion that his definition includes market productive work with trade value as well as subsistence/household productive work with utility value. Potential trade value for women in farming production includes working as independent farmers, wives of farmers and paid workers (Moser 1993, p. 31). Moser's analysis provides space for fisherwomen, wives of fishermen as well as fisherwomen labor to be recognized for their productive work.

In the case of Ibu Zarokah, Ibu Surotun, Ibu Kiswati and Ibu Kustiah, they're joined together in a community organization, i.e., Puspita Bahari. Moser believes that community activities performed by women are strongly tied to women's roles in the household, for example ensuring the supply and maintenance of natural resources such as water, healthcare and education. Social-community work performed by women are usually voluntary, unpaid, and done in their "spare time" (Moser 1993, p. 34). But unlike Moser's view, because Puspita Bahari's activities do not, in fact, only concern issues related to women's reproductive roles but are also meant to fulfill the strategic and practical gender needs of Demak Regency's coastal communities. Masnuah, founder of Puspita Bahari, in her interview with the researchers, explained that in the dry season, Puspita Bahari organizes a staples savings, by providing rice to families in need, besides informing fisherwomen on the issues of gender and violence.

Family: Reproduced Primary Unit for Gender Discrimination

The family is a small institution, ideally with love and protection. But often enough, physical and economic violence, discrimination in access to education and various violations of human equality and dignity also occur. Nussbaum, in her book *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, points out that the family is one of sites, or perhaps even a primary site, where violence and oppression against women occur. Interviews with a number of respondents in Demak show that the family is a small unit that requires a feminist reform, because of the violence that happens in the region, because it can threaten the safety and lives of women at any time. Women are objectified, not only administratively, by the state that is reluctant take into account women's involvement in fisheries, but also in the household, as objects of violence.

Dewi, a fisherman's wife and a member of Puspita Bahari Demak told her story. Her three years of marriage only gives her anger and disappointment, because her husband is a gambler who can only squander away family money.

Yes (my husband is a fisherman), but he mostly does nothing. More days off than work days, lazy, but loves gambling, going out in the middle of the night, squandering money. Before I was married, I sold groceries, but because of my husband's habit, now my capital's gone. My business went bankrupt. Since the beginning of marriage until my kid was born, he's been at it every day. Can't change his behavior at all. I, well, what do you call it, a woman has to have principles. A woman can't just sit still, insulted, when we also work while he's enjoying himself wasting money. (Dewi 2017, interview 2 September)

In many cases, the suffering experienced by women in the household is caused by the perception and attitude that position women not as having her own purpose, but as an instrument. She's viewed and treated as a tool for fulfilling the needs of others: children, husband and family. Women are seen as reproductive tools, cooks, cleaners, carers and an instrument for satisfying the husband's sexual needs. In short, women are viewed merely as objects. Her experiences and feelings do not serve as a foundation for men's moral consideration in treating her as a human being. Nussbaum sees objectification as a crucial thought in the feminist theory framework (1995). In her writing titled "Objectification," she delineates how an individual treats another individual by putting aside her subjectivity. In Dewi's life, she's a tool for her husband's survival, turning her into the family's backbone without contributing to mutual survival. Dewi becomes an object,

because she feels abject in performing the work that she does and faced with a situation where she can't make choices. Dewi exists as an instrument for her husband.

Dewi is not the only victim of domestic violence. Dayah, the head of Indonesian Fisherwomen's Solidarity Group (PPNI), is also subjected to layered violence by her husband. Culture influences everyone's framework of interpretation, which is manifested in actions. Discrimination happens beginning in the thought framework. Dayah's husband is merely certain that the right thing to do is to provide daughters with religious education, while formal education, according to him, is not meant for girls.

I once experienced domestic violence before I joined Puspita Bahari. I immediately ran to the midwife. I was half bruised, my nose was bleeding. I thought, if I don't get medicated, it would be so painful. I ran to the local midwife, she did not want (to treat me). I ran to the doctor, Doctor Kinan. This doctor (pointing to the north) did not want (to give me medication), because if I ask for drugs and am examined, I would first have to request a letter from the police. It was nighttime, Mbak (interviewer), the police couldn't (help). So I was forced to run to the local Moro midwife. (Dayah 2017, interview 2 September)

In line with Kant's thinking, Nussbaum believes that the objectification of women happens when the autonomy and subjectivity of women as human beings are negated (1995). Both Dewi and Dayah are perceived as things, unautonomous, unauthentic to themselves and helpless. This becomes an everyday reality for women once they accept it as the norm. Families fail to detect hierarchy in the household so that discrimination is seen as a natural fate.

In marriage, a hierarchical relation is maintained and continues to be replicated, for example the husband-wife hierarchy and father-child hierarchy. A man becomes the only subject who gets to make decisions because the assumption is that he is the only human being with agency, a leader with autonomy over himself and is someone who has ownership of the family. Women are simply followers, companions. When a woman speaks out and determines what she wants to do, she is seen as a woman who deviates from customs and habits, must be corrected through a reprimand, or, if necessary, through beatings. According to Dayah, the domestic violence perpetrated by her husband was caused by a difference of opinion on their daughter's education.

The problem was our daughter's education. (According to my husband) girls should not pursue high levels of education. An Islamic school is enough. But that's not how I feel. Who dares step forward is the person who will

succeed. Although I'm a stupid person, my daughter can't be one. (Dayah 2017, interview 2 September)

Differences of opinion in regard to what's best for their child are the triggers of conflict in Dayah's family. Dayah's husband saw her decision to send her daughter to a formal school as a justification for beating her. Her husband also decided to not bear the responsibility of paying for their daughter's schooling. This encourages Dayah to work even harder to fulfill her daughter's educational needs. This portrait shows the unequal relation within the family. Patriarchal culture is a plague that threatens women's existence and prevents women from growing and living.

Patriarchy is practiced not only in the household but also in governance, as evident in policies that discriminate against women and place women in a position that is unequal to men. Women perform various types of work, work that are important for the households of fishermen and the national household, but until now their welfare, both as women and as human beings, are not given attention. Their desire to be acknowledged as fisherwomen is instead seen as madness, an irrational request. The rejection to acknowledge the presence of fisherwomen is based on the assumption that a woman can't be a fisherman; that it's impossible for a woman to go out to sea. This vehement belief prevents reality from being seen as it is.

Fishermen's wives and fisherwomen live in worrying conditions. Discrimination happens in the smallest societal unit, i.e., the family. Women's opportunity for a decent and proper life is already taken away at the moment of her birth, when the family begins to treat her differently. Women are made into second-class humans. Women are required to be "woman-like," meaning they have no need for higher education, they must perform domestic chores, and it's enough for them to only concern themselves with household affairs. The discrimination in regard to opportunities in education has become a serious threat against women. This practice has indirectly impoverished women and restricted their access to better lives in the future.

Gender division of labor is also problematic. Being a fisherwoman is not without its issues. Local culture believes that a fisherwoman is outside the norm. Women's work, although plenty and lies at the heart of fishermen's work (both as the person steering the boat and as crew), is still seen as domestic work, companionship to the husband, and not as the family's primary earning. This believe is rooted in the assumption that a woman's

primary role is as a housewife, which means that even when she performs fishing work as much or even more than men's work, her productivity is not seen as having an economic value, because it's the man who makes money. This belief needs to be deconstructed. It's only possible to improve women's fate if the conceptual framework of gender equality is developed within the social environment, in the belief that women and men have equal rights, economically, socially, politically and culturally.

Women's Organizations Must Aggressively Fight against Patriarchy

Demak is known as the City of the Wali (saints), with religiosity as the marker. But unfortunately, the majority of coastal communities have lived under the poverty line for generations, are living in structural poverty, with women being at the lowest layer of poverty and vulnerability toward violence among poor communities. Based on a report by the National Women's Commission, Central Java occupies fourth position with the highest number of violence against women, at 1,123 cases (National Women's Commission/Komnas Perempuan 2017). The eradication of violence is among issues that Puspita Bahari is fighting for. Apart from economic initiatives, Puspita Bahari also advocates for women victims of violence in coastal regions. The awareness of Puspita Bahari members of their rights and struggle against violence is important to document.

The first time Puspita Bahari assisted a domestic violence case, the case involved a Puspita Bahari member, in 2010. So there was fierce rejection from the community. It was the first time that we received immense protest from the community. We were seen as meddling in other people's affairs, they thought it was normal that some men/husbands beat their wives. This type of violence against women was seen as ordinary occurrence, so that when the issue was communicated to the community, it was seen as a taboo, even more so when it was reported through legal channels. This was seen as extremely improper and not as a positive thing. (Masnuah 2017, interview 3 September)

Advocating against cases of violence against women is not easy for Puspita Bahari. The problem is not in which legal steps to take, but rather issues that come from within the community itself. As Masnuah explained, making an issue of a husband's violence against his wife is seen as a taboo and improper. But departing from her own personal experience, Masnuah firmly believes that the chain of violence among coastal communities must be broken as soon as possible.

Even after marrying, a woman has more burden because financially, the husband's (contribution) is uncertain, so that it's the woman who must fulfill all of the fisherman household's needs, even through going in debt or pawning items—it's all the woman. Men don't want to know what the family's everyday financial needs are. What's important is that they go out to sea. It doesn't matter if they get a lot or little, what's important is that they've worked, and the rest is the woman's business. (Masnuah 2017, 3 September)

Puspita Bahari is an organization whose services are great to the improvement of Demak fisherwomen's welfare. Dewi and Dayah are two women who have benefited from the organization.

I joined Puspita Bahari in 2016. I used Puspita Bahari's social assistance to fund my groceries business, because I had already done it, so I had an idea. There were still ways to do business, although it always has its own challenges. (Dewi 2017, interview 2 September)

When she experienced domestic violence, Dayah immediately reported to Puspita Bahari. From this encounter, she was introduced to the Apik Legal Aid Institute (LBH Apik) in Semarang.

The LBH Apik Semarang assisted me and brought me to social services because I wasn't working after (the incident). At the time I was given a Rp1,000,000 capital. I was given capital to make crackers and dried rice snack, capital from social services. (Dayah 2017, interview 2 September)

Puspita Bahari members appreciate what Puspita Bahari Demak has done for them on a personal level. Economic empowerment has strengthened their position in the family and community. Nevertheless, achieving transformation in order to move toward an egalitarian society requires a feminist approach and perception.

Conclusion: The Complex Problems and Challenges Faced by Fisherwomen

On October 13, 2017, Demak's civil registry and citizenship services issued a temporary ID information letter for Ibu Zarokah and Ibu Surotun (fisherwomen from Morodemak Village), which changed both fisherwomen's employment status from housewife to fisherwoman. This success shows that Puspita Bahari and Demak's fisherwomen have the power to break through the biased wall of bureaucracy. Even so, their fight is still met with challenges. As seen through this research, there are still a multitude of layered problems, particularly in regard to societal and bureaucratic perception on the existence and work of fisherwomen. Based on the stories of fisherwomen in this writing, one can see

that they're faced with highly complex and layered issues. Ibu Zarokah and Ibu Surotun, two fisherwomen, must still go through further administrative process in order to obtain a fisherman's card. In line with Kabeer's gender analysis, which emphasizes the interconnectivity between institutions, i.e., the family, market and state, in the context of fisherwomen in the villages of Morodemak and Purworejo, the involvement of related institutions can be explained as follows:

The State, when reflecting on Law No. 7/2016, it can be said that the state neglects fisherwomen's right to be recognized, both administratively and politically. The law is an example of gender-illiterate policy. The state does not only involve public policies, but also public officials from the national-level to the village-level. In this research, it's clear that public officials are very biased in their perception of fisherwomen and fail to provide services for fisherwomen so that their employment status can be recognized.

Market, in coastal communities, society contributes to forming gender roles. Indirectly, the market places women as people who perform bargaining transactions while men are positioned as primary earners, or *the* fishermen. In the market there is the tendency to reject men's presence in the bargaining process (see Ibu Kiswati's story).

Community, encompasses existing community organizations, including religious and women's organizations, which directly interacts with the community. In this research, the community studied is Puspita Bahari as a fisherwomen's organization in Demak. Puspita Bahari plays a strategic and positive role in empowering Demak's fisherwomen, by accommodating the economic needs of women as well as strategic gender needs such as information on gender and violence. On the other hand, other communities, such as religious communities, views Puspita Bahari's activities in a negative light. But there are other communities such as KIARA (The People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice), a national organization that also helps push for the recognition of fisherwomen. So communities overlap and are divided, so that societal perceptions in regard to the recognition of fisherwomen's rights also vary.

Family, the smallest unit in decision making and a gender division of roles. Socially, fisherwomen are already acknowledged by men/husbands. But in the process, family support tends to be limited because even if the family is encouraging, labor division in the household still tends to be rigid: men work, and women

still cook. Furthermore, the household can become a unit that reproduces violence.

We can then see that the recognition of fisherwomen is still limited to social recognition. Women are allowed to go out to sea, but transforming identities is still a long struggle. Furthermore, even if women are allowed to go out to sea—in this case the community has no bias due to economic reasons—labor division in the domestic sphere does not automatically become more fluid: women are still inundated by domestic work, and fisherwomen are still burdened with care work.

The recognition of fisherwomen's identity is simply an initial step for bettering the living conditions of fisherwomen across Indonesia. This recognition is also one of the ways to improve the future of fisherwomen and fishermen families. It's hoped that policy transformation can also happen so that women's work in the fisheries sector, from catching, selling, processing and selling fish may be accommodated.

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Endnotes

- 1 Meaning: Why would a woman go out to see? These words are uttered to express surprise or as mockery toward women who go out to sea. In this research, it's evident that from the village-level to the Central Java Province DPRD, this sentence is often used to question again and again, and to injure the dignity of fisherwomen who go out to see (catch fisherwomen).
- 2 The GDP is one of the indicators most frequently used in economic statistics to calculate the "wealth" of a nation. The GDP is the total estimate of currency produced by a nation in a given year, including in the services, research and development sectors. The GDP can also be calculated per capita to provide relative examples of a nation's economic development, although what's calculated is the gross figure.
- 3 Rahma Iryanti provided the material for the discussion event titled *JP 92 Women and Public Policy* on March 8, 2017, at Balai Sarwono, Jakarta.
- 4 "Pulling the net" in the Javanese language.
- 5 This article was published in *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, an online dictionary that contains not definitions of economic terms, as in not only short definitions, but also offers references. Julie A. Nelson's writing has become a reference for understanding economic feminism.

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

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