

Fisherwomen

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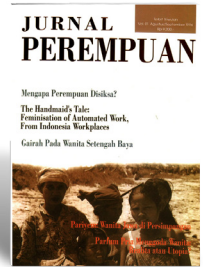
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Fisherwomen

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 Akuarium 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 Akuarium 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

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

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Abstract

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

Introduction

As one of its core principles, SEAFish recognizes that one way of realizing genuine development in the fisheries is the actualization of gender equity in small scale fisheries and aquaculture. It believes in adopting a gender responsive framework in sustainable fisheries development as well as advocating women's rights in the fisheries sector.

The case studies adapted Gender and Feminist Analysis as the overarching framework for analyzing the results of data gathered. Data gathering and interpretation made use of the combination of several frameworks and methods such as Gender Roles Framework (Reproductive, Productive and Community Roles)¹; Social Relations Framework²; Practical Gender Needs and Strategic Gender Interests³ and Gender Policy Analysis. Participatory approaches such as mapping, focus group discussions, ranking, daily calendar, and storytelling were extensively used. PROCESS-Bohol did a mini-survey since their study involved several villages. All of the case study researchers utilized key informant interviews to get detailed data from certain respondents. Adult women and men and, in some instances, young girls and boys, were the main participants in the study.

Given the wide range of issues and concerns identified in the case studies, this paper attempts to capture the common challenges faced by women in artisanal fisheries. Moreover, it also highlights the emerging spaces for negotiating, creating, facilitating and promoting fisherwomen's empowerment, gender equity and social justice in fishing communities.

Women and Men's Roles in Capture Fisheries, Aquaculture and Non-fishery-related Activities

Women and men take on a range of work within fishing households, in capture and aquaculture fisheries and within fishing communities. These tasks are often overlapping, dynamic and multi-dimensional in nature. Almost always, poor women perform their roles in fisheries alongside their traditional roles in maintaining their households and sustaining the care economy. The "care economy" is the work done usually in the domestic sphere, which keeps the labor force fed and clothed, and raises the future labor force, therefore that society operates effectively (Elson 1999).

a. Small-scale Capture Fisheries

In most of the case study sites, men dominate marine and inland capture fisheries, and women usually assist in pre- and post-harvest activities such as food preparation, mending nets, preparation of baits, processing, and marketing of fish catch. In many coastal areas, women's participation in actual fishing usually forms part of community fisheries in coastal villages where they use shore/beach seines or as part of the family work along with men. This is usually seen in shallow estuarine, mangroves and near shore areas where women gather small crabs, shrimps and shells for sale or domestic consumption. Women in fishing households usually assist in mending nets and preparing baits. They are mostly in-charge of marketing the fish catch, either selling it by bulk to wholesalers or vending it in market stalls or by foot in nearby villages.

The escalating competition among small scale and large fishers as well as the uncontrolled fishery resource degradation are pushing women to take on more active roles in actual fishing activities. Over-all, the limited participation of women's participation in capture fisheries in many of the case study sites is influenced by (i) the certain cultural beliefs and a social conditioning system which keep women away from the primary occupation of fishing, thus depriving them of knowledge and skills with respect to fishing technology; (ii) the sea as a physical environment (at certain times of the year, rough seas make it extremely difficult to fish beyond coastal waters); and, (iii) extraction methods and level of technology employed (some fishing methods are physically demanding).

In Tonle Sap Lake, for instance, wives and daughters are increasingly involved in fish capture activities especially during the peak season for fishing. They assist their husbands or fathers in placing more nets and traps to increase catch and shorten fishing trips. Widows or women from women-headed households, which are also among the poorest in the villages, are also doing actual fishing activities. However, due to the lack of equipment, their fishing activities are confined to shallow waters where they catch only low value fish called *trey nu* used mainly for fish feeds. Limited participation of women in small scale fisheries are influenced by cultural beliefs and the physical environment in which fishing takes place.

b. Aquaculture

The different types of aquaculture have different potentials for men and women's involvement as

compared to capture fisheries. While males and females share the responsibility in feeding the fish/shrimps, contracting harvesters, marketing and recordkeeping; women assume prominent roles in production links upstream (inputs and services for aquaculture) as well as in downstream linkages (processing, storage, and transport of products). Women cope best with easy fish culture methods. Since women are traditionally looking after livestock, extending their responsibilities to aquaculture is easier since they have already access to the necessary inputs and are familiar with animal production.

In the Philippines, majority of the brackish fishponds in the country are (i) fully-owned mostly by operators but only half are directly managing their own fishponds and the other half employ caretakers; (ii) those directly involved in fish pond operation are coming from poor households; and, (ii) most of the aquaculture farm operations extensively use family or household labor. Much of the work (80%) particularly related to pond preparation, input procurement (fingerlings, fertilizer and feeds), application of basal fertilizer, and harvesting is done by men. However, males and females (usually wives of fishpond caretakers) share the responsibility in feeding the fish, contracting harvesters, marketing and record keeping. Women from non-operator or non-care taker households work in intensive and company-owned fishponds as laboratory technicians and managers, positions which are highly paid and treated with respect by male workers.

Aside from prominent roles in production links upstream (inputs and services for aquaculture), women's involvement in downstream linkages (processing, storage, and transport of products) are also significant. Women play an important role in the collection of shells and mollusks which are used as natural feeds in brackish water fishponds. This work is important in poly-culture and extensive production systems which find it uneconomical to use high value feeds. Women also perform tasks such as sorting fish and mollusks after each harvests. Though seasonal, their earnings are significant in contributing to the total household income.

Men are mostly the owners and the dominant workers of fishponds and other aquaculture activities; however, there is an emerging trend that more women take on more work that are traditionally men's domain (e.g. fish pond preparation) because of the lack of male labor power due to migration and limited work opportunities for women. Women's role of managing household finances and budgeting extends to aquaculture production. Since most of the operations are household-

based, women are in-charge of keeping finances but they cannot make major decisions on how the budget will be allocated. Major decisions in aquaculture operations rest usually with the male household head.

c. Gleaning and Collection Activities

Women's gleaning and collection activities contribute to ensuring food security of fishing households but the uncontrolled degradation of fishery resources, pollution and construction of mega-infrastructures severely affected this function. More than men, women are more active in gleaning and collection activities in in-shore areas and intertidal zones. Women collect crabs, shellfish, seaweeds and small shrimps basically for domestic consumption and for sale. These activities help in providing food for the family and generate a little cash. However, the case studies have shown that because of the destruction of mangrove areas due to construction of fish/prawn ponds, the construction of mega-infrastructure and the increasing levels of pollution, women's income from gleaning and collection activities is severely threatened.

d. Marketing and Fish Processing Activities

Women are usually concentrated in small-scale domestic retail fish trading but have limited access to capital, transportation and handling facilities; hence they are left to handle low-value fish, while men dominate whole sale trading and export. Bigger players with capital have entered the sector as financiers, export agents and middlepersons who control fish trading and distribution, especially higher-value fish. Women fish traders are always in constant struggle against these big wholesale traders who could buy high-value fish in bigger volumes and who could lower their prices and still manage to enjoy bigger profits. Thus, women from low-income groups with meager capital and limited access to transportation and handling facilities are left to handle low-value fish.

In Tonle Sap Lake, fish trading at the village had been dominated by women in the past but this important role is slowly diminished as "rice-fish barter" with neighboring rice producing villages is replaced by cash economy. Fish traders (middle persons) or their agents have penetrated the fishing villages and buy the fish in bulk. Some also go into arrangements with fishers wherein they provide loans in exchange for the right to buy the fishers' catch, which in most cases, is priced lower than the prevailing

market price. However, many of the fishers and women prefer selling fish to the middle persons or *moi* because of several reasons: (i) since the volume of fish to be sold is small in quantity, they save on transportation, labor and other transaction costs; (ii) they can immediately get hold of cash to buy rice and other household necessities and pay debts; and, (iii) they need not worry of fish spoilage since they do not own or have access to ice storage facilities.

Women in the fishing communities also play important roles in fish processing, which is usually small-scale, home-based enterprise.

In her spare time, she and her daughter process the fish that were not sold such as beseng and *teri*. In most times, this is only few. The fish are dried under the sun. After drying, this is ground by the use of traditional tools, lumpang and alu, until it is soft. By adding salt, it is already *terasi*. *Terasi* is usually added to sambal (condiment containing chili and red onions). If she made more than enough for the use of the family, the rest were sold at the traditional market. (Mm. Habibah's Story cited in Saragih & Ramanta 2008)

e. Other Economic Activities

Women's work in the informal economy increase their contribution to fishing households' incomes; during the lean months in fisheries/aquaculture, women's earnings do not only support the needs of their families but of fisheries as well. Women in coastal fishing communities take on activities outside of the fishery, which give them some form of stable monetary income since earnings from fishery is inherently unpredictable. Aside from fish processing, they are engaged in small-scale, household-based, multiple enterprises (e.g. selling food/snacks, handicraft, weaving and raising backyard animals) or temporary, seasonal employment (e.g. doing laundry for well-to-do neighbors, working in farms). Incomes from these activities are crucial in bringing in to the households much needed cash to purchase food and pay debts. In times of crisis, women's economic activities become even more critical and broader especially in fisheries-dependent communities.

Income earning activities of women in Marunda are varied – peeling green shells, looking for *cilong*, washing neighbor's clothes, selling fresh fish and shrimps and making and selling *terasi*. In performing these economic activities, they usually earn Rp 10,000 to 15,000/day on the average. Given the average income of families in the village (Rp 10,000 – Rp 20,000), it can be surmised that women's contribution form a large portion of the total household income. (Saragih & Ramanta 2008)

f. Community Activities and Decision-making Structures

Community activities concerning economic production, productivity enhancement and politics are likely to involve more men while women largely dominate activities concerning social activities and the promotion of family welfare and well-being such as maternal health and child care, sanitation, family planning and reproductive health. Men's and women's participation in community activities is largely determined by their roles in production and social reproduction. Vietnam may differ in some of the countries in terms of gender participation in community activities. In Vietnamese rural villages, it is likely that both women and men participate in community activities especially concerning agriculture but women are mainly involved in information dissemination activities regarding family planning and reproductive health.

In the discussions, men and women participants stress that the women mostly participated in training or information dissemination activities on family planning and reproductive health while the men were totally absent. As one woman recalled, "I remember a meeting on family planning. There were about 400 women who attended and discussed many issues, however, there was only one man – he was the doctor responsible for explaining the topic. " The reasons for men's limited or lack of participation can be traced to a common conception that women need to take responsibility of family planning as part of their duty to the family. Some men report that they are not invited or given information on population, family planning and reproductive health (MCD 2008a).

Men take on a more dominant position in community events such as meetings, workshops, and social activities. They have more opportunities to participate in decision-making activities in the community while the women have less power in the making decisions. When asked "If there is a chance for both husband and wife to attend the village meetings, who will go?" it is often answered by "men will go". The frequency of men's participation in community activities is higher than women's – men usually attend to meetings at least 3 times per month while women only attend once a month. Though several women participate in the community communications activities, this is not representative the whole community (MCD 2008b).

Family planning information dissemination is taken on by family planning workers and the Women's Union who

are largely women. It is criticized as gender insensitive since information dissemination and training target mostly women members of the community and the Women's Union, by virtue of being a mass organization composed of women, is assigned to implement this task at all levels. The same situation is happening in activities promoting family health care and welfare. By not consciously targeting the males in these kinds of activities, men's roles and responsibilities in promoting reproductive health, family planning and welfare are de-emphasized.

On the other hand, training and extension work on agriculture, fisheries and aquaculture usually target male beneficiaries due to the assumptions of extension workers, NGOs and community organizers that farmers, fishers and pond/cage/pen operators are male. In cases where women attend such activities, they come as proxy representatives of their husbands who have work elsewhere, they have "no voice" in the discussions or their comments and their suggestions are taken lightly.

Leadership in fishing communities is still largely male dominated; when women occupy elected positions, they are assigned "housekeeping" rules such as secretary and treasurer. The case study made by ELAC in several fishing villages in the Philippines indicates that while the number of women elected to occupy positions in the *barangays* (villages) local government is increasing, they still remain a minority. Likewise, they are more likely to assume roles as secretary or treasurer in the *barangay* councils.

g. Community/People's Organizations

Women have less opportunity to form or join organizations. Where women have been given space within fishers' organizations, often times, their interests and needs are not part of the organizational agenda. Where fisher folk have organized, women are not often part of their organization. In many of the case study sites, the impetus to form organizations are results of project and programs implemented by the government, academic institutions, NGOs and in some cases, the private sector. The establishment of the organizations usually centers on issues concerning productivity enhancement, credit access, and fishery resource management. The target participants/beneficiaries of the projects are usually the males because of the pre-conceived notion that men are the economic producers (fishers) and the household heads.

With the presence of mass organizations at the community level in Vietnam such as the Farmers'

Union and the Women’s Union, both women and men are encouraged to join organizations. However, the interviews revealed that there are some women who did not participate in any organization due to the lack of time since they are busy making a living. They argued that the activities of the organization did not address their issues concerning livelihood development.

h. Gender Division of Labor and Culture in Fishing Households

Socialization and the division of labor within households are strongly influenced by cultural values and practices. While there are significant improvements in the status of women in the case study sites, the prevailing expectations and perceptions on the roles and responsibilities of men and women in the households, the workplace and in the community are still shaped by traditional culture. Theoretical perspectives used to explain the division of household labor include (i) the time availability of each spouse – the division of

household labor is determined by the time each spouse is available in the home, the spouse who is not employed or works for pay is expected to do more housework; (ii) the exchange between the husband’s and wife’s relative resources – the spouse with lower earnings does more work; (iii) ideology – the division of labor is tied to gender role attitudes where women and men who have more egalitarian attitude will have a more equal division of labor; and, (iv) gender stratification – the unequal division of labor is part of the larger gendered-stratified system permeating all levels of society and results from the long history of male control over the resources (Shelton & John 1996).

Women and men in typical seaweed-producing household start the day at the same time but the women often stay up late to do other chores or engage in additional livelihood activity. Before men were engaged in seaweed farming, they would return to the shore by 2 pm from fishing, shower and then go out to socialize with neighbors.

Table 1. Daily workload of men and women

Wife	Husband
5am - wakes up and prepares breakfast	5am - wakes up
6am - do laundry	Between 5am to 8am: socializes with the neighbors
7am – eat breakfast	8-11am goes fishing with son
Between 7am to 5 pm: takes care of children or grandchildren; prepares lunch; follows husband in seaweed farm	12noon – eat lunch
5pm - returns home and prepares dinner; eat dinner	Between 1pm to 5pm – tend seaweed farm
Between 6:30pm to 11pm puts the children to bed at 8pm; watches TV and makes seashell handicrafts (earning P15/dozen)	5pm - returns home; socializes, watch TV
Another routine	Between 7pm-9pm – sleeps
Upon return of the husband at 2pm, goes out to the market/ front of the church to sell the fish caught at 3pm	

Source: Tambuyog 2008

However, the case studies that conducted household analysis of gender roles on reproduction work showed that women spend more hours doing unpaid care work (reproductive) work compared to men in their households. This is despite the fact that they are substantially involved in paid (production) work as self-employed or informal workers and bringing in additional income to the households. In some instances, women’s contributions to the household income equal the men’s income or sometimes exceeds especially during the leans months for fishing.

Although women in fishing households perform income generating work within or outside the confine of their homes, they still do most of the household chores with the assistance of their daughters. More often, they spend longer waking hours to fulfill these tasks. Work that needs to carried out involving muscle strength such as fetching water from long distance sources and repairing parts of houses are taken on by the males.

Mothers and young girls in the family carry out more work compared to men and young boys. Mothers, who do not have daughters or have daughters but left the family either

to work outside the village or already married, work doubly hard. They start working very early in the morning and end late at night. Before their fisher husbands go out to sea at 3 in the morning, they have to wake up at least an hour before to prepare the things their husbands need for the fishing trip. Some husbands go back to shore at 7 in the morning to sell whatever they caught (e.g. fish, shrimps), after which, they can rest the whole day. Mothers, on the other hand, have to prepare breakfast, sell fish, prepare lunch, peel green shells from midday until dusk, and then go home to prepare dinner. Girls who are attending school assist their mothers after their classes. Girls out of school assume a large part of the household work and also join their mothers in peeling green shells. (Saragih & Ramanta 2008)

In terms of decision-making within the households, the case studies showed that husbands and wives share the responsibility of deciding on matters involving children's education. Household budgeting is entirely the responsibility of the wives while matters involving major expenses such as investments and purchase of fishing equipment are jointly decided but the final decision is made usually by the husband. If the existing household income is not sufficient to cover the costs of immediate needs such as food, it is women's responsibility to look for credit. Consequently, it is also her responsibility to seek ways on how to pay these loans. One of their coping mechanisms is to scrimp on food purchases and sacrifice personal needs such as clothes.

The division of labor in the case study sites is strong affected by cultural norms and traditions prevailing in their countries. For instance, in Giao Xuan, like the other rural communities in Vietnam, a strong Confucian ideology still exists where both women and men hold strong beliefs regarding the appropriate behavior of women. Women are often required to put their families first, taking more responsibilities for housework and care of family members at the expense of their own health or aspirations. Housework is therefore accepted as "natural" and not perceived as an unequal division of labor. Women's work is seen as "light work" as compare to men's "heavy work" on the fields or on the seas. As a result, women may not be aware of or do not exercise the rights accorded to them by law or policy.

Women in Gendered Fisheries: Issues and Concerns

Women alongside with men perform tasks associated with many fishing activities and their roles in many instances, complement each other. In aquaculture for instance, 50% of the tasks of fish feeding, harvesting and marketing are done by women. In seaweed

farming, women did as much as the men in planting, management and farm maintenance, harvesting, storing and packing especially in farming done in shallow waters. Despite women's participation in these activities and the contribution they contribute in the households (cash in the form of income or savings, food) the gender division generally remains the same: women continue to be mainly responsible for domestic and reproductive activities such as routine household chores and taking care of the children.

Women's activities in fisheries are often times considered as part of their domestic chores; for this reason, it is often not considered as paid work. Women's work, together with the other members of family, are often regarded as the extension of the male's work and as such considered as unpaid, free labor. Despite women's contributions (in terms of cash, kind, services, and voluntary work) to the household, community, and the fishing economy, to a larger extent, women's contributions largely remain undervalued, invisible, and unrecognized. Moreover, the strong patriarchal culture and the gender stereotypical thinking that exist in the community impede women's participation in decision-making processes that impinge on their rights as women and as members of society.

Conclusion: Access and Entitlements to Land and Marine Resources is Limited

Many of the problems faced by women and men in coastal communities stem from lack of and/or limited ownership of land. Differences in land tenure and property rights between men and women contribute to structural inequality and to poverty for women and their families. Aquaculture, for instance, is basically farming; thus, land in pond culture systems is crucial. Likewise, engaging in pen and cage aquaculture and seaweed farming involve the construction of structures in fresh and marine water bodies which necessitate some form of lease agreements with the government who controls these resources.

Poor women find it doubly hard than poor men to access and own land due to cultural and legal constraints. In the Philippines, vast tracts of fish ponds are exempted from land reform which limits the possibility of poorer farmers and poorer women to own aqua farms. The common practice among Filipino families to give land inheritance to men further restricts the possibility of women owning lands. Even if the women inherited land, ownership is transferred to their husbands when they

marry. While there are no legal impediments for women to go into lease contracts with the government, only a handful that possessed sufficient economic capital are able to do so. Most of the aquaculture businesses, whether corporate or household-managed, are usually owned and controlled by men.

In Indonesia the 1974 Marriage Law formally adopts the concept of joint ownership of property purchased during marriage or marital property. Women may feel protected as they are recognized as co-owners in accordance with cultural and customary norms. However, in reality, few parcels of land are actually registered in the joint name of husband and wife. There is a strong tendency for such land to be registered in the name of the husband. Problems arise when land becomes a predominantly marketable asset and land rights are increasingly determined by registered titles. Women's lack of awareness of the opportunity for joint titling also contributes to the low incidence of joint titling to marital land/property (The Asia Foundation et al. 2006).

Fisheries development efforts are mainly contextualized in poverty and social exclusion, as well as ecosystem degradation and resource exploitation. The concerns of women in fisheries must therefore be addressed in relation to social exclusion and poverty and analyzed within the processes of marginalization of artisanal fishers. However, a closer examination of the different analyses of women's situation in fisheries shows that it is analyzed within the context of fishermen's marginalization in general. The extent to which power and gender relations impact the lives of women in fisheries are often times overlooked. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the project interventions, strategies and processes that evolved out of these analyses impact women minimally. Worse, these interventions and processes add up to their already over-burdened situation.

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Endnote

- 1 Women and men have triple roles: *reproductive*, *productive*, and *community managing/politics*. *Productive work* - work done by both men and women for pay in cash or kind; includes both market production and subsistence/home production. *Reproductive* - childbearing/rearing responsibilities, and domestic tasks done mostly by women, required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force. *Community Managing* - activities undertaken primarily by women at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role, to ensure the provision and maintenance of scarce resources of collective consumption, such as water, health care and education; voluntary unpaid work. *Community politics* - activities undertaken primarily by men at the community level, organizing at the formal political level, often within the framework of national politics.
- 2 The Social Relations Framework sees poverty to arise out of unequal *social relations* that result in unequal distribution of resources, claims and responsibilities. *Gender relations* are one such type of social relations. Institutions ensure the production, reinforcement and reproduction of social relations, and, thereby, social difference and inequality. Gender analysis therefore entails looking at how institutions create and reproduce inequalities in there are four key institutional sites: the state, the market, the community and family/kinship.
- 3 Distinguishes between types of gender needs: those that relate to women's daily lives but maintain existing gender relations (practical gender needs), and those potentially transform existing gender subordination (strategic gender needs).

Expression of Gratitude to Reviewers

1. Dr. Pinky Saptandari (Universitas Airlangga)
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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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