

Fisherwomen

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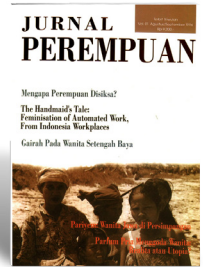
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Fisherwomen

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

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

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Abstract

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

Introduction

Development's impacts on women often go unobserved. Rembang women's fight against the building of a cement factory in Central Java is a struggle to protect their environment from natural degradation and the potential loss of the water source that has sustained their lives for hundreds of years. This at least clarifies the fact that gender inequality happens in the development process. Similarly, a more current situation that is the topic of heated debates is the massive Jakarta Bay reclamation project, which is part of the National Medium-Term Development Planning (RPJPN) 2005-2025 (Indonesia Investments n.d.). This project will transform at least 5,100 hectares of sea into new land in the Jakarta Bay region (Indonesia Investments n.d.).

Like Rembang women's rejection of the promise that the cement factory would positively impact employment in Rembang, Jakarta Bay's fisherwomen reject the argument that the Jakarta Bay's highly polluted waters is why its sea areas must be reclaimed to build new islands. These fisherwomen have, in fact, observed several factories along Jakarta's coast routinely disposing their waste into rivers, which then flow to the sea, causing pollution, particularly in the rainy season. But instead of

disciplining these factories, it's the fishing communities that must lose their income from catching fish. According to the fishers, before the reclamation project began, fish and other sea catch in the Jakarta Bay were enough to sustain their lives.

The Jakarta Bay reclamation project is a project to build new islands by reclaiming the waters of the Jakarta Bay as part of the National Capital Integrated Coastal Development (NCICD). The reclamation of the Jakarta Bay was proposed and planned due to Jakarta's increasingly dense population. The new islands are hoped to be able to accommodate two million residents. NCICD is a partnership between the Indonesian and the Dutch governments, with feasibility studies funded by the latter. NCICD is also hoped to serve as a solution for Jakarta's floods. Unfortunately, in my view, the project has failed to consider fishing communities, particularly fisherwomen, who are severely impacted by pollution to the sea because of development activities.

If we visit fishing villages in the coast of the Jakarta Bay, we'll see areas that seem untouched by development. Ghettos, makeshift houses, damaged roads and the scarcity of clean water. It's as if the city's development has turned a blind eye to these fishing communities. When

parts of the city are developed, fishermen are frequently marginalized, so that fisherwomen must in the end be subjected to layered marginalization. Layered because in an urban society such as Jakarta, fishermen occupy a low "status," are often thought as undignified workers, their voices often not heeded. Fishermen are often more thought of as men, so that government programs are only meant for men. Meanwhile, when we observe fishing villages, we can see the dominant work of fisherwomen. Even so, stereotypes are still prevalent, not to mention a gender division of labor, with more women working long hours and paid lower.

Women play a dominant role in supporting fishing families. Women and men are equal in their social and economic responsibilities (Kusnadi 2003, p. 7). The People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice (KIARA) notes that fishing families in fishing communities are heavily characterized by the multiple burden placed on women as both productive and reproductive workers. Prevalent stereotypes that view domestic and reproductive work as women's work force women to bear double workloads. According to Kiara's 2015 study, the majority of fisherwomen work long hours, between 15 and 17 hours per day. Consequently, the reduced income of fishing communities caused by the reclamation project has led to women bearing double workloads and working longer hours in order to supplement various consumptive needs such as food, clothing, health care and education.

The primary question that this research wishes to ask is: What are the implications of the Jakarta Bay reclamation on the lives of fisherwomen? Questions derived from this primary question are: How does the reclamation impact women's workloads? What are these fisherwomen's strategies for overcoming the various problems that occur as direct or indirect results of the reclamation? This research applies the qualitative methodology with a feminist perspective. Data was collected through in-depth interviews of 10 fisherwomen as primary subjects as well as 10 other individuals as complementary subjects, i.e., husbands, children and local community figures. A study of documents and field observations were also performed to enrich information used in this research.

The Impoverishment of Fisherwomen

According to David Mosse, a community's poverty is often the result of various intersecting causes rather than an internal factor that comes from the community itself. External factors such as the partiality of groups in power

and policy makers—or as Mosse calls it the relation approach—more often perpetuates said community's poverty. This can be observed in the Jakarta Bay's fishing communities, who are often living in worse conditions than other Jakarta communities. Government policies do not yet take their side, so that many fishing villages lack clean water and facilities for bathing, washing, and sanitation. When development enters their area, fishermen tend to be marginalized. In other words, the intersection that causes inequality for fisherwomen is between their poverty, their lack of representation and their sex as women.

I performed interviews with 10 fisherwomen from various socioeconomic layers to see whether the reclamation project negative impacts all strata. Respondents are fish collectors; salted fish producers; and 5 fisherwomen who own/owned *bagan* (bamboo platforms for catching fish or mussels) for mussels. Of the last 5, two still own *bagan*, while the remaining 3 are now fishing labor. The 10 complementary subjects I interviewed were husbands, children and local community figures, with the aim of obtaining a more comprehensive perspective on the impacts of reclamation on the Jakarta Bay's fisherwomen.

Conversing with a fisherwoman, Nani (not her real name), in the Aquarium Village, is like speaking to most hardworking fisherwomen. The 56-year-old's story is an extensive story of her struggles after the reclamation of the Jakarta Bay (Nani 2017, interview February 25). At the end of 2015, she and her husband lost their source of income: catching and collecting fish. Several months later, her home in the Aquarium Village was taken down and she was forced to choose between options that were as unappealing for the sake of her family. The Jakarta Bay reclamation project happened, destroying the entire social order she had already been accustomed to. Her husband Sukri told a similar story. He first found out about the project when he saw that the waters where he would cast his net (location of Island G) was suddenly filled with sand and he was driven away without knowing about how the project even began (Sukri 2017, interview May 25). He also has no idea why fishermen who have fished at this site for decades had to suddenly move. What he does know is that the project has left behind polluted waters, causing fishermen to lose significant earnings and to be robbed of their source of income.

Sukri had to then go to the Thousand Islands to catch fish, but as it turned out, pollution from the reclamation has also reached the area and fish were no longer approaching. Sukri's income has continued to decline.

With a capital of Rp100,000-Rp200,000 to go out to sea, he often has to suffer losses after catching only several kilograms, and cannot fulfill his family's needs. Sukri cannot afford to go out further to sea, to the waters of Banten and Sumatra, which are still abundant in fish because such long journeys would require a lot of time and capital. After several times going to the Thousand Islands and not getting enough income from fishing, Nani asked her husband to stop. Before, they were able to live well as fishers.

Apart from interviewing Nani and her husband, I also interviewed their daughter Tia as a supporting subject in my research. To Tia, Nani is a woman who can take on anything, she believes that her mother is a creative woman who never stops working. She sells fish herself, and if there is leftover, she would process the fish to make salted fish. Although Nani performs various productive work, she does not neglect her domestic chores. In the morning, Nani does her household chores, from cooking, cleaning the house and preparing her children to school. After finishing these tasks, Nani tends to fishermen who supply her with fish while making salted fish. Before noon, she sells fish in the Luar Batang Village neighboring the Akuarium Village. After, on her way home, she buys vegetables at the market while collecting plastic bottles. Because her earnings continue to decline, she has to work as a waste collector so that her family's needs are met. "Not bad. From collecting waste I get up to Rp30,000 per week," Nani told me while laughing. Their current situation has forced Nani to earn money by any means. According to Tia, prior to the reclamation project, her parents would make up to Rp600,000 per day only from selling fresh fish.

Nani is quite well-known, both by local residents and by outsiders who would come to visit the Luar Batang Mosque. They would often stop by Nani's shop to buy salted fish, but now the shop has been razed to the ground. The fishers' fate is indeed unpleasant, as not only have their earnings declined because of reclamation, their homes at the Pasar Ikan (fish market) River delta must also be destroyed. The eviction that happened in April 2016 upended their lives. The homes and businesses that they built were leveled to the ground and the fishers had to agree to being relocated to a *rusun* (low-cost apartments) around 30 kilometers from where they once worked catching fish.

Nani was not willing to be relocated because after she performed a survey at Rusun Marunda, she saw that the location was too far from where they performed their business as fishers. Far from the coast meant they

would not be able to supervise their boats so that they would not sink or get stolen. Furthermore, there was no place at the *rusun* for her to make salted fish. She then chose to live at an eviction-free area so that she would be able to keep her source of income. Nani could only accept this fate with an open heart, because she believes that patience is the key to survival. Being patient is her way of resisting, so that she can maintain her work and livelihood as a fisherwoman whose existence is perhaps unacknowledged in the development of a large city where she has lived for 25 years.

Nani is not alone. There are at least 16,855 fishing households (KIARA cited in Arif 2014) still remain along the coast of the Jakarta Bay, despite their declining incomes. They live in shanty homes while their earnings as fishers continue to drop. But as fishers, they still have hope that the sea will again become abundant with fish, the way it was before reclamation. They only hope to preserve their lives as fishers. In the end, it's women such as Nani who have to experience multiple workload because of the loss of income as fisherwomen. These fisherwomen, like Nani, have to work extra to fulfill their fishing family's needs. In her spare time, Nani has to work as a waste collector to meet daily needs. "I told my husband, '*Bang*, when you go out on the boat, take the plastic bottles, not bad for extra money.' ... Anything to add to (our) income," said Nani. Sometimes she would also sell their used clothes to get extra income.

Meanwhile, in the Kamal Muara Village, my other research site besides the Akuarium Village, there are several research subjects, namely Asnah (56), Nuraini (34) and Umi (55), who have to quit their profession as owners of *bagan* for green mussels to shell peeler labor. Green mussel *bagan* are simple structures where green mussels are farmed. These *bagan* are made by planting bamboo stalks in the water, adjusting the length to the water's depth, and are usually rectangular. Large ropes are tied to each of the stalks, and green mussels will then attach themselves onto these ropes that go in the water. Green mussel spat will approach on their own and are not deliberately distributed throughout the structure, just like fish that naturally live in an area will approach on their own.

After the eviction, Asnah received compensation for her two green mussel *bagan* to the tune of Rp6,500,000, but after, said Asnah, she had to live poor. Likewise, Nuraini and Umi also lost their source of income as owners of mussel *bagan*, although they each only owned one or two.

Oh, it's not just hardship anymore. Before it was nice, we had *bagan*, we had this (and that). ... Before, the green mussels would reach up to hear, now there are not a lot of earnings, just fish. Before, we could get Rp100,000 per day. Now it's uncertain. Around Rp10,000 or Rp12,000. (Asnah 2017, interview 7 May)

Green mussels were introduced by President Suharto in 1995 by planting *rumpon* (artificial fish breeding ground) in the Thousand Islands. As it turned out, fish yields improved significantly, and fishers then invested their assets in green mussel *bagan* in Kamal Muara. Umi was a woman farmer from Jambi, who became interested when her relatives told her about the "gold mine" of green mussels, and she and her husband then sold their home and rice field in 2005. They then moved to Kamal Muara to work as green mussel fishers. According to the stories of Kamal Muara's fisherwomen, an investment of Rp3,000,000 was enough to make one mussel *bagan*, and they could get a gross income of Rp3,000,000 per month. It's no wonder that neighborhoods at the river's delta were then transformed into a center for green mussels, because apparently the area was very fertile ground for mussel spat.

In 2006, mussel *bagan* owned by fishing communities had to be taken down for reasons that were unclear to them. Slowly, they began to learn that the waters where they performed their business would be reclaimed and islands would be built on them. They were paid around Rp3,000,000 per *bagan* by developers for material compensation, including for the bamboo that they used to construct these *bagan*. According to the fisherwomen I visited, the money was gone in just two months, for consumption. The compensation was not even enough to use as capital for making mussel *bagan* in deeper waters. In deeper waters, they would need Rp5,000,000-Rp10,000,000 to construct new *bagan* because more bamboo would be needed.

At this time, Umi still owns two mussel *bagan*. In the morning, she processes her own mussels, but at noon, she works as a peeler for a payment of Rp2,500 per kilogram. She can peel as many as 2-4 kilograms of mussels until the afternoon. Umi chose to remain in Kamal Muara because, in her opinion, working as a fisher offers better opportunities than farming. When she was a farmer, she did not have the opportunity to make money because all work was done by men. This is why she will continue to remain as a green mussel fisherwoman in Kamal Muara, no matter how hard it gets.

Women mussel peelers receive Rp3,000 per one medium-size bucket. The total pay that they receive

for the work that they perform from morning until the afternoon is Rp15,000-24,000. Almost all of the peeling work—cleaning the shell from threads and sea debris, taking off the shell and retrieving the mussel—is done by women. Meanwhile, men who transport the mussels are paid Rp85,000 per day, including Pak Ahmad (79 years old). Despite his elderly age, Pak Ahmad still has the strength to carry tens of kilograms of mussels. He feels that he is paid higher than mussel peelers because his work requires greater energy.

In the Kamal Muara Village, I also met a woman who became my primary research subject—let's call her Ibu Zubaedah (55 years old). Ibu Zubaedah is a famous mussel *juragan* (boss/employer) in Kamal Muara. Before, her income was Rp20,000,000-30,000,000 because she had over 50 mussel *bagan*. Sea eviction for Islands B and C in Kamal Muara left her 7 mussel *bagan* in the deeper waters. From the eviction, she received around Rp150,000,000, which she used to buy land and to build a kiosk on this land. Now, according to Ibu Zubaedah, she only earns at the most Rp5,000,000 per month, which she feels is inadequate because she has 4 children in college. Her life experience taught her to not make her children reliant on fishing. To overcome her financial strife, Zubaedah makes *kerupuk kemplang* (fish crackers), which she sells to tourists who stop by her kiosk. On weekends, she works as a cook at events held by her neighbors.

Farming green mussels was Zubaedah and her husband's strategy for enjoying their old age. Because her husband was growing old, their savings from fishing was invested in green mussel *bagan*. The couple is among the first mussel farmers. And like they predicted, they profited rapidly and soon other fishers followed suit, not to mention newcomers from other regions who also wished to farm green mussels. But the reclamation plan put an end to their heyday as owners of green mussel *bagan* in Kamal Muara since 2006.

So (farming) mussels is easier than catching fish. Pak Haji (her husband) was already old, so catching fish was hard. The only way was to produce green mussels. *Alhamdulillah*, before we succeeded farming green mussels. There is the, what's it called, the development (reclamation). He (her husband) immediately said, 'What are we going to do? What other work will we do?' Because they said there should be no more fishermen (in Kamal Muara-writer). (Zubaedah 2017, interview 7 May)

According to Zubaedah, although 7 of her *bagan* were not destroyed, her harvest was harmed because of the sand reclamation. There is now more trash because of the process of suctioning the sand and reclaiming. Because

of this, often harvesting must be done in a hurry, when the mussels are still small so that they won't die before they are harvested. But these mussels are not yet fit for harvesting.

These islands lower the quality of the shells. So green mussels want clear waters. But here the sand is always processed. There are boats going in and out, so the income from mussels have declined. (Zubaedah 2017, interview May 7)

But Zubaedah does not make an issue of the lowered earnings because of the reclamation. She believes that it's simply her fate, and one that she must endure.

So being a fisher, we (take) what is given from above (God). Sometimes we go out to sea and get nothing, just accept it. Tomorrow we get something. So I don't view it as the result of reclamation or whatever. So now there is no income, well maybe things will go back the way they used to. (Zubaedah 2017, interview May 7)

Zubaedah made the statement while laughing when I asked how she felt about her reduced earnings. She feels that what's making fishers more upset is their potential eviction from their village. She believes that it may soon happen, because Islands B and C are only 100-200 meters from their homes and their slum neighborhoods would disturb the view from these islands. But, she said, it would be impossible to relocate the fishing community to a *rusun* far away from the seaside. Zubaedah explains that fishers cannot possibly leave their boats at the sea because they may have sunk the next day.

Although they're sound, as good as a wooden boat is, there will be water, definitely. That happens because they're on water. A hole as big as the eye of a needle would let water in (laughing). ... Now when we think about it, what are we going to do in a low-cost apartment? ... This is why we don't accept having a *rusun* made for us. Why are we there? Meaning, what will we do there, in the *rusun*, when we have boats. When these boats, Bu (writer), have to be drained every two hours. If not, they would sink. See now, in a few moments, see there's already a lot of water. And now the water is being drained [pointing at workers draining water from her boat]. (Zubaedah 2017, interview May 7)

In her interview with me, Zubaedah expressed her wish for the government to consider her fate and the fate of other fishers, including their seafaring equipment, if they are moved to a *rusun*, because they know that fishing equipment, such as boat engine, nets, bamboo cannot just be stored anywhere.

Well, Bu (writer), but this is still gossip. They're saying that they will make a *rusun* here. But a lot of the farmers don't want it. Why not? Because we have bamboo, Bu. Where

would we put them at the *rusun*? Fishers don't have nice furniture. Just these things, rope, whatever, right? So they have to be hauled up the floors? Impossible, right? Then, engine, rope, where do we put them? Really, we're going to put them at the *rusun*? ... As if (we) don't have work [productive work—writer] to do. We need to eat, to buy groceries. We don't just need a bed. (Zubaedah 2017, interview May 10)

Meanwhile, Asih (not her real name, 54 years old), a woman who sells fish in Kamal Muara, also complained about rumors of eviction in the neighborhood. If she has to choose, Asih told me, she would choose to live in a place with better source of earnings although it's a slum neighborhood, then to live in a decent home but without an income. When she responded my question about eviction in the fishing village, she answered very emotionally:

So now, our place for business is taken down, right? Business place including home, taken down. They make a *rusun*. Well, the *rusun* is Rp90,000 per month, not to mention electricity and water. Now if one's not earning, what will one pay with? Think about it, there's a *rusun* in Lagoa, but if one doesn't make money? Forget Rp100 thousand, even Rp1,000 would be difficult, no one will throw away that Rp1,000. So what do we pay with? 'Who told (you) to set up tents' [mimicking an official]. Oh, he forgot to think. 'I've already prepared a home (*rusun*) [again mimicking an official]. Oh, he forgot to think. Under today's administration it's so hard to make money.' She then started cursing and talking extensively about evictions that happened to traders in her area, which killed numerous food stalls that used to buy from her. (Asih 2017, interview June 1)

Unlike Kamal Muara, the fishing community in the Akuarium Village felt little effort to provide information on the manmade islands in the Jakarta Bay, especially to fisherwomen. As a result, many fisherwomen have not directly seen the process of building these islands and are unaware that they exist—unless they have been told by their husbands who go out to sea to catch fish, as explained by Ridwan (not his real name), a fisherman in the Akuarium Village.

We don't know what happened before. All we know is that suddenly they've been built. What we know is, the fish went away to who knows where. We see the ships carrying sand. We see the sand being reclaimed, for what? Oh, to make islands, the plan is to make islands straight to the Thousand Islands. That's the plan. Before long, they're going toward Muara Baru, and not there (Thousand Islands), to here, to the East. After a while, when we cast our net, there is no fish, the water is murky when we pass by, polluted all the way to the Damar Island, Air Island. We usually go to Damar Island, from here it's almost 38 miles (70.38 km). If we travel over 4 hours, that's 35 liters of diesel. So this is why, we're spending more than we earn. (Ridwan 2017, interview April 25)

Fisherwomen's Strategies to Overcome Lowered Earnings

Although several officials deny that there's a link between evictions and the reclamation project, it's hard to not see the tie, when we see that these reclaimed islands are situated not far from the fishing villages. Fishers believe that elite residences such as apartment buildings, not to mention hotels and malls, will slowly drive them away from their village, Kamal Muara. Especially when we consider the price of property, now at Rp30,000,000 per square meter, or residences at Rp3,000,000,000 per unit. Meanwhile, the taxable value of property (NJOP) where they live, only several hundred meters away from the reclaimed islands, is only Rp464,000 per square meter (Saputra 2016).

Meanwhile, from my interview with another fisherwoman, Herni (62 years old), I received the explanation that the fisherwomen's hardship is not only due to the decline in fish catch caused by pollution, but also the acquisition/eviction of the Fish Market where these women sold their salted fish products.

Before there were still salted fish collectors at the Fish Market. Before, when we had 1 kg of fish, they would take it. After everything's sold, then they'd give us the money. But now, it's difficult, Bu (writer). If we sell it ourselves, it's hard, won't sell, so we salt it like this. ... Before, salted fish would be sold in heaps, one heap Rp5,000. But now, if we sell, it's only a little bit. Plus the market is far (Herni 2017, interview May 26)

At this time, Herni still produces salted fish because her several sons still actively catch small fish at the seaside close to their home. Herni admits that they themselves don't really like the salted fish that they produce. They would usually prepare the fish for neighbors who need food when they don't have money. According to Herni, their neighbors would pay them back another time with their things. I see it as a "pay forward" or barter system, when something is paid once the neighbors have money or when they possess items that Herni's family needs. Likewise, in Kamal Muara, producers of green mussels and salted fish such as Eni and Tuti will allow their neighbors to take their produce for consumption, as needed, just to eat (with rice) when they don't have money. There's a familial bond between the women, so that they help each other during times of need. This is what they fear they would lose if they are relocated. Where they live now, even when they don't have money, they can still get food and rely on their community.

Herni initially seemed reluctant to talk about her experience as a fisherwoman. What came out of her

mouth were expressions of apprehension and the words, "I'm going through a difficult time now." She was evidently upset at her husband, who she believes is unable to earn money for the family.

Headache. When will we get blessings, well for food. Headache, complaining, during the eviction. During the eviction, complaining about everyday food. Now, if dinner is over, that's it, my mind shuts down. I'm calm, then sleep. In the morning, what to eat, more headache. My husband, when he has money, he gives some, if not, just sits still. (Herni 2017, interview May 7)

Herni also complained that she lost her neighbors because they're now scattered everywhere. Several fishermen's wives now have to live apart from their husbands because they chose to return to their hometown while their husbands are staying in the Aquarium Village.

Before, I was close to my neighbors. Now they're gone. Many of them were complaining because they had nothing, who to ask, who to ask for help. Before, I could discuss things with neighbors. Now there are no neighbors. Meanwhile, this person's kid [the child of someone who sat through the interview]. This is a close neighbor, we're both at a loss. Same thing. Both going through a hard time. (Herni 2017, interview April 21)

Meanwhile, Eni and Tuti have lost their earnings as salted fish producers because the raw materials have grown rare. Kamal Muara's salted fish producers once had decent income because of the abundant supply of fish at the Jakarta Bay. Fish prices were low, which meant salted fish had a good price. With the decline in fish supply at the Jakarta Bay, it has become difficult to produce salted fish, and fish prices have soared, which means that the demand for salted fish has drastically declined. Eni experienced extended difficult periods because she could only produce anchovy. But Tuti, on the other hand, was willing to process any type of fish, so that when there was a scarcity of fish supply from the Jakarta Bay, she persevered by buying leftover fish sold at the Kamal Muara auction, from all across the archipelago.

Because of the decline in salted fish demands from traveling salespeople, Tuti finally began selling salted fish at the Kamal Muara Fish Auction (TPI) from 2am. She hopes that there will always be visitors who will buy her salted fish. When selling the salted fish, Tuti got an idea to buy fresh fish in bulk when the market is about to close at between 6am and 7am. She made use of fish salespeople's worry (that their fish would not sell) in order to buy raw materials for her salted fish at low prices. Using this strategy, she was able to keep her business, although she admits to having to work longer hours, from 2am, for the

sake of having buyers and so that she can be ready to buy fish at the auction.

After 7am, Tuti is then busy with both reproductive and productive work. She hires several workers that produce salted fish. But still, her husband, children and in-law(s) still place the burden of all reproductive work on her, such as washing dishes, cleaning the house, and taking the grandchildren to school. Meanwhile, Tuti believes that she is the primary earner in her household. She feels that she is unfairly treated as a woman. Tuti told me that sometimes she feels hurt at the way her family members treat her.

Like Zubaedah, in making extra income, Asnah also attempts to find alternative sources for earning money, by cooking at events/celebrations in Kamal Muara. But Asnah also admits to often having to ask their children for money.

Oh, what to do. ... I'm sad when I'm about to buy groceries and there's not enough. I feel like crying. But there are still kids living at home, still two sons with me. 'Mother wants to buy rice, Son.' And they give me money. Thirty or 40 (thousand). If they get a lot, then more, but if not, then just a little bit. Sometimes they don't go out to sea, when they're tired or when they got with their uncle on trips, loading on an island and another island. That one son, his uncle would give him 50, he would give me 20, he takes 30. When he gives it to me, I keep it in a piggy bank. Five hundred, or 5,000, 2,000, 3,000. (Asnah 2017, interview May 7)

Other fisherwomen, like Eni, Nani and Herni, also told me about their similar experiences. They, too, rely on the work that their children do. Nani, for example, asked her child, who works as a private bank employee, to return and live at the former eviction site so that her child's boarding house rent of Rp600,000 per month can be used to pay for their needs. Likewise, when it's difficult for Eni to find anchovy to make salted fish, she relies on her son-in-law who works as a security guard. Meanwhile, Herni and Asnah also often have to ask for help from their children who work a variety of jobs, from fishing labor to traveling *dangdut* (Indonesian dance music) singer.

The Marginalization of Fisherwomen

In my direct observation of the reclamation's impacts on the work and incomes of fisherwomen in the Akuarium and Kamal Muara villages, I got to see the gender inequality at work. According to Walby, such inequality happens because of a patriarchal point of view that fails to consider women as important entities in society. A patriarchal system is a social system that dominates, oppresses and exploits women (Walby 1990,

p. 20). As an effect of an adherence to this system, men have taken position as the dominant group, and women subordinate.

Walby believes that the patriarchal system was conceptualized through several levels. At the highest level, it manifests in the social relation system; at the lower level, the system is arranged in 6 interconnected structures. These 6 structures include, among others: the mode for household production—women become domestic workers and men provide economic protection; and a gender-based work segregation, which in the end positions women in low-skill jobs. This patriarchal system are strongly tied to the capitalist system and racism, which then produces gender-biased policies. At the next level, this system then places women as subordinates, and in the end produces violence against women. In the next-level structure, heterosexual relationships become the norm, producing the subordination and oppression of women. And at the final level, the patriarchal system is preserved and maintained by the state through policies.

It's already explained above how a patriarchal structure operates in fishing communities. Work segregation, as an effect of the reclamation projects, positions women in unskilled and low-paid jobs. The highly gender-biased reclamation policy in the end upends the lives of fisherwomen and impoverishes them. Said patriarchal system is evident in government policies that fail to see women as entities in the development of coastal regions. An example of such policies is the Environmental Impact Analysis (AMDAL) of Island G, a truly inadequate study on the impact of reclamation on the coastal community's socioeconomy (Environmental Impact Analysis of Island G's Reclamation Plan in the North Jakarta Coast Reclamation Zone 2013). Even the fact that fisherwomen shoulder the heaviest burden as an impact of the Jakarta Bay's reclamation is not present in the study. Furthermore, the Save the Jakarta Bay Coalition also says that the Strategic Environmental Study (KLHS) drafted by Jakarta's provincial government did not go through the proper process and does not take into account socioeconomic problems, including potential impacts to be experienced by the community, women and men (2017, Joint Press Release August 30).

According to Iris Young, marginalization is one of the forms of oppression and abuse of power by the ruling class (1990, p. 42). The socialist feminist thinker identified 5 forms of oppression against women apart from marginalization, namely exploitation, powerlessness, systematic violence against women and cultural imperialism. In observing Jakarta Bay's fisherwomen, I

saw oppression taking the form of marginalization of these women. They were set aside to perform unskilled and low-paid jobs with long work hours. Additionally, some gave in to this attempt to marginalize them by relocating them to locations that would no longer allow them to perform their capacity as fisherwomen.

Young emphasizes that marginalization may be the most dangerous form among the various forms of oppression, because these acts cause some to no longer be able to participate in their social life, resulting in extreme poverty¹, and even potentially causing death due to this poverty, as explained in the following quote:

Marginalization is perhaps the most dangerous form of oppression. Via marginalization, a whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination. The material deprivation marginalization often causes is certainly unjust, especially in society where other have plenty. (1990, p. 186)

The concept of women's marginalization itself came from Allison Scott, who proposes that it can take the form of *exclusion*, or setting women aside to perform work in the margins, as a feminization process or the segregation of women's work, restricting them to certain work roles, and a process for economic inequality (Scott cited in Saptari & Holzner 1997, p. 9). The process of marginalizing women at work, according to Saptari and Holzner, happens because of economic inequality. The reclamation project has eliminated jobs as green mussel farmers at shallow waters, where they can utilize *bagan* using relative low capital. The acquisition of these sea territories have impoverished fisherwomen.

When we visit and directly observe the phenomena occurring at the Jakarta Bay, it's easy to see the marginalization that happens to the area's fisherwomen. I, perhaps, have limitations in expressing in words how the fisherwomen I met there have fought to overcome this marginalization. But by being present in these locations, I was able to clearly see the impoverishment and marginalization that occur. Meanwhile, through the media, I also see how policy makers take the side of capitalist projects that may provide certain benefits such as tax revenues but on the other hand destroys the lives and source of incomes of fisherwomen. Not only that, I also observe the attempt to form a public opinion that it's the fishing communities who are at fault and must obey the government's wishes and move away from Jakarta Bay's coastal areas. We can easily feel and see how the capitalist and patriarchal systems fuse with such clarity in the reclamation of the Jakarta Bay and the

eviction of coastal fishing villages because of this project. Unfortunately, the marginalization of fisherwomen as one of the impacts is not seen as crucial by many stakeholders, particularly decision makers. As an analogy, during a catastrophe it's hard to describe the destruction that is felt (by those affected), unless we see and feel it ourselves

I've also observed the public's responses social media to the reclamation project and eviction, as well as the fate of fisherwomen. What I see is a social stigma attached to the fishing community, which is seen as an obstruct to development. I also see that there are those who label evicted fishers as "thieves of government land" because they were occupying government "property". According to the subdistrict head of Penjaringan, Muhammad Andri, several fishing villages on the coast, although are still in the government property status, can, in fact, be elevated into ownership status for the residents, among others Kamal Muara. This, however, is not the case with the Akuarium Village, because the land is already designated as part of the Kota Tua (Old Jakarta) cultural heritage site.

I also heard stories from my research subjects about the return of occupants of the *rusun* in Rawa Bebek to the eviction site, because they can no longer pay rent. On the other hand, I also observe stereotyping from the public, who have not seen conditions in the field directly. They say that the fishermen are ungrateful citizens, they've refused a clean *rusun* and still insist on returning to the eviction site. Because they've lost their income, it makes sense, in my opinion that they would try to survive by returning to the location of their old home. I learned the fact that at least in their old location, they can still find sustenance through their efforts to catch fish at the seaside, despite their small catch.

In regard to the stigmatization of the fishing community, who have lost their income and have been evicted, I believe that Nel Nodding's "us versus them" analogy is accurate, in that "the haves" tend to show contempt for the poor, who they feel are a group that deserves such a treatment. Nodding explains this phenomenon as the human inclination for victim blaming (Tong 2010, p 235). It's this perception that Tong calls masculine ways of thinking. In this case, the bias of parts of the society has pushed me to look deeper into the experiences of fisherwomen and their life struggles against these injustices.

According to Young, the problems of stereotyping, discrimination and exclusion happen because when some people wrongly believe in certain group labels and this belief causes members of the group to have unequal

capacity. This individualist conception of people and their relationship with each other tend to identify oppression. Via identifying the oppressing group, according to this view, we know that the (unequal capacity) occurs when individuals are qualified or categorized into groups. People should instead be treated as individuals, not as members of a group, and are allowed to forge their lives free of stereotypes and group norms (Young 1990, p. 43).

Young then sees problems of injustice and marginalization as no longer restricted to feminist issues with a focus on women, but also includes discussions of humanism in relation to injustice. Young believes that injustice often occurs as an effect of someone's powerlessness, status and job (Young 1990, p. 56). The powerlessness experienced by fisherwomen because of the reclamation project restricts the development of these women's capacity, which in turn obstructs their engagement in decision making where it concerns their lives, not to mention other discriminative treatments.

Fisherwomen's marginalization in the case of the Jakarta Bay's reclamation shows how the state has not yet been able to execute article 33 in the 1945 Constitution on the fair management of natural resources, that these resources must, as much as possible, be used for the welfare of the people. Furthermore, the lost sources of income of the fishing community, as the result of the reclamation, has violated the constitutional mandate as stated in article 27, clause 2 of the 1945 Constitution, which says that, "Each citizen has the right to decent work and livelihood for the sake of humanity."

The problem of structural injustice, according to Young, also happens in many developing countries, and produced by the systematic domination that obstructs an individual's capacity to flourish, and this is in turn reproduced by many, including, perhaps, ourselves. In regard to the reclamation project, which happens simultaneously with the eviction of the fishing community on the pretext of improving the area, the problem of access to decent homes is a much bigger problem. Meanwhile, some groups, instead of helping, add even larger problems, such as stereotyping and the marginalization of fisherwomen, as already explained above. Based on my interviews and observation, the stereotype attached to evicted fisherwomen has wounded these women. They say relocation would not be a problem as long as they do not lose their sources of income, but they were instead relocated to a location far from the shore. This destroys their livelihoods and can potentially cause them to perish (because of poverty). In my research sites, I saw an old fisherman who lost his

home and is forced to live alone on his boat, and to rely on the generosity of his neighbors. Often, he would have to drink the rainwater that he collects.

Fisherwomen who were my research subjects stress that it would be impossible for them to live without making an income, because all of their family members must eat every day. Reclamation and eviction are an injustice to them. Young believes that such an injustice is reproduced by repressive policies, which cause impoverished women to face the potential of homelessness. Structural injustice happens because of individuals of institutions who are in pursuit of their own ambitions (Young 2013, p. 52). Ambitions, in this case, are the ambitions of decision-makers in regard to the goal of the reclamation project.

Young's explanation above sheds light on the bias of the ruling group in favor of the capitalist group with only profit in mind, and that decision makers tend to pursue their own ambitions. Because of this, to overcome development's impact, i.e., women's marginalization, I recommend building a social protection system that is designed in such a way so that women earners can be protected. This can be performed by the government in partnership with developers, and must be outlined in detail in an action plan—for example, providing capital as compensation for acquired land with funding from the state budget and from developers who wish to use relevant natural resources, causing the community to be driven away. This aid for empowerment must be provided along with a plan for entrepreneurship guidance/assistance and strict supervision.

The use of corporate social responsibility (CSR) funding, such as cash and payment for umrah (lesser pilgrimage) as promised to several fishers by the developer, as reported in *Tempo* daily (Prasetyo & Parikesit 2015), would of course arouse suspicion among fishers. Such funding should instead be allocated to restoring the fishers' lost sources of income. Likewise, relocation should appropriately be done in areas with equal and similar natural resources. Nani, for example, told me that she would be happy to be relocated to the Banten coast, an area that is still abundant in fish. Hopefully, the voices of these fisherwomen, who are now shouldering multiple burdens because of the Jakarta Bay reclamation, can serve as input for future similar projects.

Conclusion

The reclamation of the Jakarta Bay is part of the modern capitalist system supported by those in power

through policies that are biased against fisherwomen and only focus on material gains. In the future, this would only widen the chasm of inequality for fisherwomen, which has certain implications on the grassroots community, namely the reproduction of women's poverty. In the two research sites, I saw the process of fisherwomen's impoverishment and marginalization. These stories still leave me with numerous unanswered questions.

To me, the Jakarta Bay reclamation can be analogized as a massive project that is the product of men's great stories, involving "the greatest" and "the most impressive," which squashes the small stories of fisherwomen about their dream of seeing their children through school, about their dream for a prosperous future. So I agree that fisherwomen are the *subaltern*, as proposed by Gayatri Spivak in her article, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak's essay describes groups of women who are forgotten, whose voices are not heard, and who are subordinated by elite groups in power. In the case of the fisherwomen impacted by the reclamation project, the voices of fisherwomen may have even be obscured by the interests of the elite and the ruling group, who may have made decisions in the interest of the investing group. The subaltern, according to Spivak, are always present in the face of an increasing disparity between two groups, when the wealthy becomes even wealthier and the poor becomes even poorer². Poor women are often seen as powerless creatures, so that they are often neglected in development plans.

To quote Carol Gilligan's book *In a Different Voice*, I also saw how the Jakarta regional government's method of using male norms as a norm for all humans and setting aside women's voices (Gilligan 2003, p. 76) in observing fisherwomen impacted by the regional government's policies. How can one say otherwise, when the government has been acquiring sea territory in Kamal Muara for over 10 years. We have not yet seen meaningful attempts by the government to salvage and substitute these fishers' sources of income. And even though thousands of fisherwomen have been impoverished, the public has instead voiced their defense of the government. Although in actuality, they are siding with the interest of the capitalist group when saying that reclamation must be performed to rehabilitate polluted waters, while at the same time sea polluters are still allowed to operate, without meaningful actions (to stop them). This reminds me of Gayatri Spivak's statement on the subaltern: "No oppressed person can speak. If she is a woman, she will simply be forgotten."

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Endnotes

- 1 This is a quote from my thesis on fisherwomen's strategies for overcoming their reduced earnings caused by the Jakarta Bay's reclamation.
- 2 Maria Hartiningsih and Ninuk Mardiana Prambudi, in their article "Reading Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak," an outcome of their interview with Spivak when she spoke at a seminar at the Sanata Dharma University's Postgraduate Religious and Cultural Studies, Yogyakarta, and at the University of Indonesia's Department of Cultural Studies, June 3, 2009. Taken from www.kunci.or.id

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