

Fisherwomen

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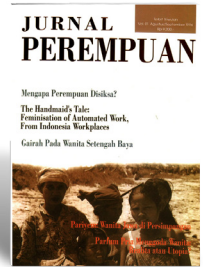
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Fisherwomen

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

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

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Abstract

This study aims to understand the productive, reproductive and community roles of fisherwomen in Muara Angke, Penjaringan Subdistrict, 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, Penjaringan Subdistrict, 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, productive roles, reproductive roles, social community roles

Introduction

Women play multifarious roles in their social, economic and family environments. Women's roles are, for the most part, tied to social construct. Although today many women have taken roles outside the home, social construct still sees women's primary role as within the domestic sphere, i.e. the reproductive role. This is why, although a woman assumes a productive role (with economic value) and works outside the home, she still does not neglect her duties as a housewife who must care for her children and family. Meanwhile, the definition of work that women perform often does not concern the things that women do but also has to do with the circumstances around said work as well as the social value attached to the work. For example, when a woman becomes a fisherwomen by catching fish out at sea and obtains economic value from this effort, the society will still perceive the work as simply meant to "assist her husband" and not as primary work. Or when a woman cooks at home, still that work is valued differently from when a man works as a cook at a restaurant.

In a fishing community, women's roles are very crucial to the family and community. Fishermen are among marginal social groups because fisheries (fishing) relies

resources that come directly from nature. This sector is also extremely influenced by climate and whether. Because of this, all family members of small-scale fishermen play an important role in processing marine and fisheries resources in order to support the fishing family's livelihood. The perishable quality of fisheries products and fluctuating prices make women's functions and contribution very significant. Research on poor fishing families' efforts to respond to meager incomes from the fisheries sector, particularly when catch is low, show that fishing families apply multiple incomes, meaning all family members earn so that in a family, the income comes from the husband, wife and children. Sitorus (1999) applies social economic analysis to see how these families apply multiple incomes to address the problem of poverty in fishing families. His research suggests that fishing families use two strategies, both of which demonstrate the importance of women's roles: (1) household efforts to overcome poverty are not limited to the productive sector, but are also made in the non-productive sector; (2) women play an important function in the efforts to alleviate poverty (Sitorus 1999, p 243). In a poor fishing family, men's and women's roles in the productive sector are relatively balanced, or in other words, they both contribute. In the productive sector, this

research found that 80% of men are involved in catching fish, while women are involved in processing catch (45%) and trade (25%). Apart from the fisheries sector, poor fishing families are also engaged in fish farming and agriculture, with 54% of men involved and 42% of women. Additionally, we noted in this study that women in fishing families play a very crucial role in the efforts to alleviate poverty (Sitorus 1999).

The Indonesian government itself is now attempting to give attention to women's involvement in all aspects of social life, at least as reflected in Law No. 7/2016 on the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish and Salt Farmers published on March 14, 2016. Article 45 of the law also says that empowerment efforts must give attention to women's involvement and roles in fishing, fish farming and salt farming families. This article emphasizes the state's responsibility to improve the engagement and role of fisherwomen in all marine and fisheries businesses to the lowest scale, namely the family. But in its implementation, the law has not yet touched on coastal women because of the deeply rooted patriarchal ideology. Programs for coastal women must be able to overcome unequal access, participation and control between men and women. Women's position and roles in fishing community are crucial, and because of this, every program must engage women's participation, both their ideas and approval.

On the other hand, coastal communities experience pressure on their (working/living) space and economy, including in Muara Angke. According to the Kiara Data and Information Center, over 107,361 fishing households were evicted from their living space because of reclamation. This shows that Indonesian coastal communities' spaces for are under threat (KIARA 2017). As we know, Muara Angke is one of the Jakarta Bay areas impacted by the reclamation project. The reclamation plan for North Jakarta's coastline, covers around 60 km from Muara Kamal Beach (west) to Marunda Beach (east), comprising the Marunda, Cilincing, Kalibaru, Koja Utara, Tanjung Priok, Ancol, Penjaringan, Pluit, Kapuk Muara and Kamal Muara municipal villages (Suprijanto cited in Kurnia 2017). This reclamation will cause transformations in the natural stretch of coast and sea surrounding it, which will cause changes to the socioeconomic of its surrounding communities. As we also know, traditional fishermen heavily rely on marine resources, and their area of reach are, for the most part, close to the coast. As a result, small fishermen are increasingly put under economic pressure and therefore become vulnerable to conflict. On the other hand, reclamation also transforms

social relationships in local communities and impacts social issues (Kurnia 2017).

Another concern in Muara Angke is the large population of migrants from diverse backgrounds. The Penjaringan Subdistrict has a population of 332,864 with a total area of 45,4057 km² and 5 municipal villages, i.e., Kamal Mura, Kapuk Muara, Pejagalan, Pluit and Penjaringan, with the highest population being in Penjaringan with 118,010 residents and a total area of only 3.95 km² (BPS/Central Statistics Agency of North Jakarta 2016). In the meantime, in regard to the environment, there is pollution to the waters and coast of the Jakarta Bay, from industrial and household waste, not to mention the loss of mangrove forests due to conversion into elite residential, office and industrial zones.

Women have low access and control of natural resources and the natural environment of coastal areas, while at the same time public services tend to be very poor, such as healthcare and education, both of which receive inadequate attention from the government. Fishermen's life quality continues to decline with soaring prices of staples, scarcity of clean water and fuel. A study is needed in order to understand how women's roles in productive, reproductive and social work affect families and communities. This small research is then hoped to be able to provide an early portrait of the what and how of women's productive, reproductive and social/community roles in fishing communities.

Methodology

This study applies a qualitative method with a case study approach, or a research model that studies a certain phenomenon in depth by looking into subjects' experiences and by obtaining information directly from subjects. Research with a case study approach is comprehensive, intense, detailed and profound, and is more oriented toward efforts to study contemporary problems or phenomena. According to Smith (1983), as cited in Creswell (2002, pp. 3-9), the qualitative research paradigm makes use of several approaches, namely the constructive or naturalistic approach recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and an interpretative approach promoted by Smith (1983) or Quantz's post positivism or postmodern perspective (1992).

For sampling, this research applies purposive sampling, in short, deliberate sampling by first selecting informants. Meaning, the researcher herself chose the research's sample after weighing certain considerations. Informants or selected subjects in this research are those

who are most informed in regard to the researcher's goal. Based on this criterion, the research's source for data are fisherwomen who work in the fisheries sector, both catch fishers as well as processors of fish catch products—they are the sources of information who can provide data in line with the issues studied. This research is performed in Muara Angke, Penjaringan Subdistrict, North Jakarta, one of the fishing villages in the Jakarta Bay that are threatened by the DKI Jakarta government's reclamation project. Informants in this research are two women who work as green mussel collectors and peelers.

Fishing Families' Socioeconomic Conditions

Fishing families in Muara Angke live in very poor environments, in impermanent huts made of used wood and erected on land that was once the coastline, but because of an accumulation of shells on their land, the soil has become very unstable. The unavailability of clean water and other inadequate facilities are everyday realities for Muara Angke's fishing community. Data suggests that water sources for bathing and washing in the Penjaringan Subdistrict comes from ground water and wells available in every subdistrict (North Jakarta Central Statistics Agency/BPS 2016, p 70). But Muara Angke residents end up buying water for washing and drinking. Meanwhile, the environment is unhealthy because locals often bathe, wash and go to the bathroom at the beach. Additionally, there is proper waste management, and the area has even been turned into a place to collect waste from residential areas around Muara Angke. As a result, the coast's waters is filled with trash, particularly plastic trash, and roads leading to the village smells of trash as well as fish from fishing activities. Fishermen always live in uncertainty. Apart from the significant capital required in order to survive in the fish catch sector, now Muara Angke's fishing community is also threatened by reclamation. Several Muara Angke fishermen say that they now can no longer catch fish around Blok G—their old site for fishing. Fisherwomen used to also find bait for fishing in this location. Now, after the prohibition to fish around Blok G's waters, fishermen have to travel farther to fish, quite frequently causing conflict with other fishermen because of the limited area for fishing.

Fishing households are always plagued by poverty. Meanwhile, fisheries is a business that requires a lot of capital (Bailey & Pomeroy 1993). Tension and competition in the fisheries sector always marginalize small-scale fishermen because they cannot compete with large-capital fishermen. The types of fishing equipment and boats influence a fisherman's social status. There are

three types of fishing families in Muara Angke, based on the type of boat owned and fishing equipment: *mayang* fishermen, or those with a boat that can accommodate more than four people; *sampan* fishermen, or those with a 2-4-person-capacity; and finally, *langgan*, or those who buy fish catch, often those with capital. There are also *juragan* (boss), or those who employ several workers to process fish catch (juragan of mussel peelers) and those who work as peelers are called peeler labor.

Most fishermen have a low education level and a limited set of skills, meaning they truly rely on fishing and are not equipped with skills to take on other professions. Based on the informants' family profiles, we know that the informants only completed elementary school and their son dropped out in fifth grade, while the other informant does not yet have children of school age. Meanwhile, referring to the research on Sustainability of Education of Muara Angke Fishermen's Children, North Jakarta, DKI Province, we can conclude that the level of education of fishermen's children are still low, as evident in the multitudes of fishing household children who have only completed elementary school, as many as 65%. The main factor contributing to this low level of education is fishermen's low income, followed by the parents' low level of education: 5% have never had formal education and 75% only completed elementary school. Factors that determine the various levels of education among fishermen's children are 67.31% income, age of household head, number of dependents, level of household head's education and the business status of household head (Nuraini 2009). According to Kusnadi, social concerns among fishing communities are, among others: the increasing scarcity of fisheries resources, damage to coastal ecosystems, the limited quality and capacity of catch technology, low quality of human resources, unequal access to fisheries resources, and the weak protection from policies as well as weak support in the form of development facilities for fishing communities (Kusnadi 2003, pp. 108-116).

The waters of Indonesia's coasts, with tropical characteristics, are actually rich waters, both in fisheries resources as well as diverse methods for catching fish, or *multispecies* and *multigear*, as Bailey calls them. The abundance of marine resources close to the coast has been at the center of competition and monopoly between those with capital and laborers (Bailey & Pomeroy 1993). Muara Angke's fishermen usually catch fish and green mussel (*Perna viridis*). Fishermen with a green mussel business in Muara Angke usually buy in bulk from fishermen who own *bagan* (fishing platforms),

at the price of Rp11 million. Materials needed to construct a bagan, among others, are bamboo and several types of rope that don't require great cost. A 10x3-meter bagan for cultivating green mussel produces a minimum of 10 tons of green mussels in one harvest. The green mussels will attach to ropes inside the bagan, the fishermen will then collect these green mussels by diving and detaching the mussels one by one, to be moved inside the boat. This research's subject say that they buy a bagan already filled with mussels from a bagan owner with a Rp11-million capital. After the bagan is purchased, the fisherman can harvest all of the green mussels inside the bagan. Usually, it takes 5-7 days to harvest and transport the green mussels.



Image 1. Bagan for green mussels
Source: <http://dutalaut.blogspot.co.id/2016/03>.

Fishermen who own a green mussel business usually harvest mussels from a bagan that has been purchased by going out to sea before daybreak until 12pm. Mussels that have arrived on land are immediately boiled in the sea water, inside drums and using firewood. Women who work as peelers are at this point already gathered at the boiling site and will peel mussels as soon as they are cooked. Mussels are peeled while they're hot and put inside buckets. Green mussel peelers make an average of Rp30 thousand for a three-hour work, from 12-3pm. Peelers are made up of not only adults, but also children, and most are women. Children join to assist their mothers, usually after returning from school.

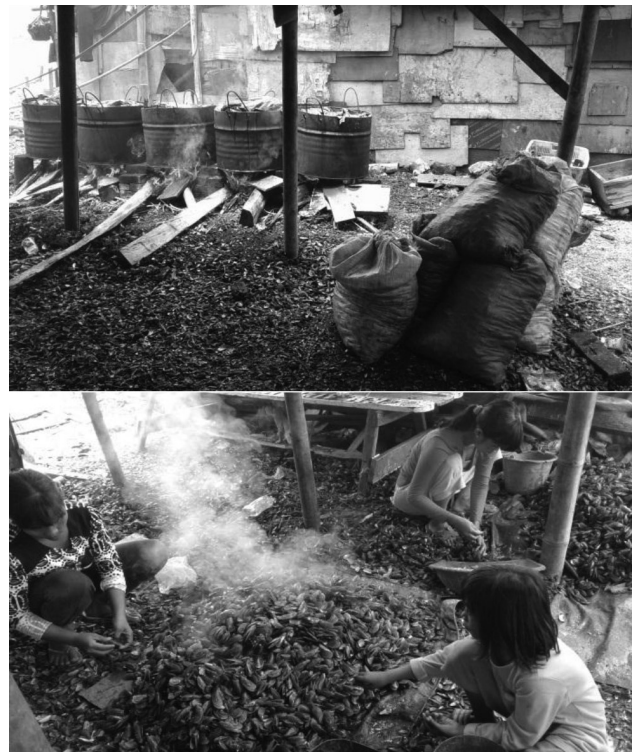


Image 2. Unloading and processing green mussels
Source: Research documentation (personal)

Fisherwomen's Productive, Reproductive and Social/Community Roles

The functions played by women in fishing communities include role in the family as housewives, in the fisheries industry as earners for the family, as well as a social role in the fishing community—among others seen in the patron-client relation between hirer and laborer with mutual need and the relationship with buyers. Women also actively perform social movement to channel their concern in the movement's area of management that is currently under threat of reclamation. Women have three major roles in the fishing community: productive, reproductive and social/community.

"Productive" refers to when the human energy is used to transform and process their natural environment through various means, to produce items for consumption, while the "reproductive" process is when the human energy is reproduced or replaced with something new (through birth) for the continuance and sustainability of the productive process, so that the human life can be guaranteed to endure. Edholm et al. (1997) as quoted in Saptari and Holzner (1997, p. 68), made three distinctions: biological reproduction, or the role of giving birth; labor reproduction or child rearing and nurture; and social reproduction, or the process where social productions and structures are preserved and perpetuated.

a. Women’s Role in Productive Work

As fisherwomen, women take part in the process of catching (fish/other marine resources), from preparing bait, going out to sea to catch fish, to selling to consumers, as explained by a 24-year-old fisherwoman, from here on referred to as Ina (not her real name), as follows:

My husband is a fisherman, a small-scale fisherman who uses a small motor boat. The fishing business is (our) own business, not a group business. Before I had children, my husband and I would go out to sea together. I was tasked with finding *yuyu* (small crabs) for bait, I also helped look in corals here and there, also prepared the bait, placed the *yuyu* on the fishing rod, one fishing lure one bait/one *yuyu*. From one fishing rod we could get 1 bucket from 500 fishing lures. Once there’s a kid no more (going out to sea), before children yes. We’d find the *yuyu*, collect them in a bucket, then when we have enough we bring them to the fish’s location, we take the rods one by one and we cast them. *Alhamdulillah*, here we still would get 20 kg of *sembilang* fish at Rp13 thousand per kg, that was the price when I accompanied my husband. Now the

price has gone up to Rp15 thousand, only Rp2 thousand up in six years. ... So one day Rp260 thousand. In one day I would save Rp10 thousand, and the rest for food and for fishing costs. (Ina 2017, interview April 25)

Fisherwomen can be said to be equal to fishermen, both working together to catch fish in the sea.

If there’s a lot of *yuyu*, it takes one hour to finish, but if there’s no rain. If there is, no *yuyu*, difficult to find. The *yuyu* we get are collected in a container and we can directly bring the *yuyu* to the fishing site and we take the fishing rods one by one and immediately cast. Both my husband and I would cast and pull, at 3am. We return home at 8am, we sleep in the sea, waiting for the fish, if it rains we tent up, if no rain, we stay on the boat. (Ina 2017, interview April 25)

Women are forced to stop their reproductive role as catch fisherwomen when they’re performing the reproductive process. When pregnant and giving birth, women stay at home. Women carry the task of caring for children until they’re toddlers, but while still assuming economic roles, among others as green mussel peelers.

Table 1. Fishermen/women’s activities based on sex and age

Profile of Fishing Activities	Adult		Children	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
A Productive				
1. Catch fisherman	✓	✓		
Preparing bait	✓			
Preparing fishing rods/nets (checking damages, rust and replacing old lures with new rules)		✓		
Collecting and bringing home bait	✓			
Preparing boat		✓		
Preparing food to eat at sea	✓			
Placing bait on lure	✓	✓		
Casting fishing rod/net	✓	✓		
Pulling fishing rod/net	✓	✓		
Selling catch	✓			
Buying needs for going out to sea		✓		
2. Green Mussel Fishermen/women				
a. Juragan				
Preparing boat		✓		
Finding investor/customer	✓	✓		
Buying bagan for harvesting mussels		✓		
Collecting mussels in the bagan		✓		✓
Loading/unloading mussels on land		✓		✓
Preparing firewood		✓		✓
Boiling mussels				✓
Loading and unloading drums for boiling mussels		✓		✓

Profile of Fishing Activities	Adult		Children	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Finding green mussel peelers	✓			
Selling mussels	✓			
Paying mussel peelers	✓			
Cleaning and maintaining boat		✓		✓
b. Laborer				
Boiling mussels	✓			
Peeling mussels	✓		✓	
Cleaning the place for peeling mussels	✓			
B. Reproductive				
Cleaning the house	✓		✓	
Cooking	✓			
Washing	✓			
Child rearing and nurturing	✓			
Taking care of chickens	✓			
Finding water	✓			
Shopping at the market/kiosk	✓			
Health care and examination	✓		✓	
Pregnancy examination	✓	✓		
Giving birth	✓			
After-birth care	✓			
Breastfeeding	✓			
Caring for children and taking them to school	✓			
C. Social/community				
Village meeting to discuss regional elections	✓	✓		
Processing national IDs and Family Cards	✓	✓		
Processing health cards for fishermen Pengurusan		✓		
Involvement in the Farmers and Fishermen's Group (among others performing mangrove rehabilitation planting)	✓	✓		
Engagement with NGOs that reject reclamation	✓			
Total		32	21	3
				6

Source: Processed from field data (interview and observation)

Based on the profile of fishing activities, we can see that fisherwomen perform more activities than men. In productive work, women is significantly involved in the catch fishing sector, while no men work as mussel peelers. Women *juragan's* role in the productive sector seems less significant, but, their responsibilities are in fact not few, namely to foster good relationships with laborers and to be responsible of the availability of mussels to be peeled. Because of the tight competition, when there is low supply of mussels, laborers will work for another *juragan*. The daughters of laborers also help their parents peel mussels, while sons of *juragan* also go out to sea with their fathers to collect mussels. Fishing families are in dire

need of additional income and energy from all family members in order to fulfill the family's financial needs, which is why both sons and daughters are involved.

The data above strengthens Sitorus's finding that fisherwomen play an important role for their family's economy. As follows, the profile of women in the catch fisheries sector. **Ibu Ina** (not her real name), was born in Tangerang and 1992 and is the first daughter of a fishing family. She only completed elementary school. At this time, she lives in Muara Angke with her husband, a *sampan* fisherman. They have two toddlers. Before she was pregnant and had children, Ibu Ina was a

catch fisherwoman who worked with her husband. She learned her fishing skills from her father, who was also a fisherman. After she was pregnant and had a child, she focused on caring for her toddler child. Now Ibu Ina works as a mussel peeler, for the family of her (sibling) in-law. If there's work peeling mussels, she can earn Rp30 thousand per day.

Ibu Ina's statement below portrays the fishing family's life. Her family must help each other to earn an income amid the uncertainty of fish resources, which are increasingly difficult to find, and would have to be found after traveling further out into the sea. Ibu Ina on income and allocation of salary:

First for my personal needs, then children. Not enough for the father. I only get Rp30 thousand. Rp30 thousand in one day is probably for my kids' snacks. There are two kids, one is 5 years old, the other 15 months. In a month, I would peel for 10 days, so Rp300 thousand per month. ... [Income from husband] is uncertain. If Rp120 thousand per day, it's because of catching *kuro* fish, which is like milkfish. The expenditures for fishing is even greater because need supplies, the bait is bought, can't go and collect bait. Bait is Rp5,000 for 1 kg, and we need 20 kg, so we buy Rp100 thousand. If we get a lot, then we can shop, but if we get little, then maybe it won't be enough for costs. (Ina 2017, interview April 25)

Catch fishermen get a daily catch of around Rp120 thousand, but the money must be spent for the cost of fishing the following day, namely to buy bait at Rp100 thousand and diesel fuel. Now the fishing site is farther out, after Island G has been reclaimed and fishermen are forbidden from approaching, so that fishermen must travel farther, which requires around 5 liters of diesel per day at the price of Rp7,000 per liter. This is why sometimes fishing does not break even, with a capital of Rp100 thousand and Rp35 thousand, while the income is only Rp120 thousand. This deficit is covered by the woman's (wife's) income of Rp30 thousand per day. Meanwhile, household expenditure comprises buying clean water Rp12,000 per day, food (non-rice) Rp15 thousand/day, rice Rp8,500/liter and allowance for children Rp42,000/per day. The catch is also consumed by the family. If we compare the income and expenditure of a catch fishing family, they are at a deficit, with their income subtracted by Rp15,000 and added by the wife's Rp30,000 income, their daily income is Rp15 thousand, while the average daily expenditure is Rp42,000—meaning catch fishing families are at a deficit of Rp27,000/day, or equal Rp810,000/month.

The explanation above shows that the incomes of small-scale fishermen are very tight compared to their

needs, and even inadequate during down season, which means that the women's role in processing fish catch is very important. Fish processing performed by women also contribute significantly to the fish distribution chain: aside from creating an added value from processed products, women also help extending the shelf lives of products. As we know, fish products' weakness is that they easily deteriorate, so processing is needed to extend shelf life. In the marine product processing sector, women are also involved as business owners (*juragan*) and peeler labor. Women *juragan* are also involved in selling processed mussels (peeled mussels).

As follows is the profile of a woman who is a green mussel processing *juragan*. **Ibu Tuti** (not her real name) was born in Indramayu in 1981. She left school in 5th grade. Her parents were fishermen. She married at the age of 14 to her husband, who also left school in 5th grade and works as a fisherman. After marriage, she followed her husband and settled in Muara Angke. At the time, she runs a business as a green mussel collector, employing 5-10 women with a pay of Rp30 thousand per day. Ibu Tuti has 2 children, a boy and a girl. Her son left school in 5th grade and is now 14 years old. He helps his father collect mussels at sea. Ibu Tuti and her husband run the business together with a capital of Rp11 million for buying *bagan* along with the mussels from *bagan* fishermen. The *bagan* can be harvested for a week. Ibu Tuti's business is threatened by the reclamation program. At this time, she and other women and men are joined under the Muara Angke KTN (Fishermen and Farmers' Group) to fight for Muara Angke's fishermen/women.

The family income of green mussel processing *juragan*, although better than the incomes of peeler labor and small-scale fishermen, is also uncertain, depending on the amount of mussels that they get, as we can see from the following interview excerpt:

If we live we have to be able to eat. That's why my husband wanted to look for rope, no mussels. But we feel bad for the women (peelers) here, no earnings. We actually just (want to) help. Not much profit, anyway. But here (they) need help, without people helping, we can't, there is no assistance here. (Tuti 2017, interview April 25)

Despite the patron-client relation between *juragan* and labor in the mussel peeling sector, the relation is still familial and based on mutual need: the *juragan* has manpower for her business and also provides jobs for her brother-in-law's wife. "I'm here to persuade (him) to find mussels so (he) has work. I said earlier, find mussels, let me do the peeling." The processing business of buying mussel *bagan* at sea also poses great risk. Often not many

mussels have attached to the bagan so that they can't be immediately harvested.

Based on the explanations of the two research subjects, we know that the incomes of fishermen/women and *juragan* are always uncertain. Mussel peeling truly depends on the availability of mussels and mussels aren't available every day, sometimes there is none in a week. Likewise, yield is also uncertain in fishing. The cost of fishing, both for processing products as well as for catching fish at sea, requires great capital. The woman *juragan* who owns the mussel peeling business works with her husband in supplying mussels for their business. The husband collects mussels at sea by buying fishermen-owned bagan (mussels in bulk) at Rp11 thousand to be harvested in one week. In one day, a fisherman can bring in around 600 kg of green mussels, and after they are peeled, the fishing family can reap profit at Rp500/kg, meaning they can receive a profit of around Rp300 thousand. In one week, they receive an income of around Rp2 million rupiah. But even this business depends on luck, because mussels are not always available. When there are no mussels, fishermen find other work, among others finding rope to sell. A *juragan* is also morally responsible over her laborers. She must ensure that peeler laborers earn from her business, so that they can continue to work for her. This responsibility is also because one of her workers is also part of her extended family (sibling-in-law, younger sibling, nephews/nieces and her mother), meaning the family is heavily dependent on the green mussel peeling business.

The income of a fishing family is better when the woman also goes to sea with her husband than when she does not. When the woman also goes out to sea, a fishing family's income can have a surplus of Rp10 thousand/day and the family can start to purchase a motorcycle in installments. Catch fisherwomen also have an important position as traders for their catch and managers of their family's earnings. Women's involvement in catching fish can cut the cost of buying bait as much as Rp100 thousand/day.

As already explained, a fisheries business requires significant capital and with significant risks. Most small-scale fishermen don't have enough capital to support their business, while government assistance can still be said as difficult to access by Muara Angke fishermen/women. *Juragan* also requires capital from consumers. Consumers are those who receive fishermen's catch or processed products. According to Masyhuri, who observed *juragan* and their role in the catch fishing sector, says that the most prevalent source of capital—

from consumers—forms an interesting pattern of investment: capital from *pachter* (renters) is channeled to *juragan* and crew fishermen (non-boat owners), while consumers mostly channel their money to *juragan*. Consumers, or capital owners, are usually wealthy groups from the local area, such as traders, collectors with capital and boat businessmen, who are usually at the center of local economic activities. They usually form a working relationship with the *juragan* and try to create a debt-receivables relationship between them, so that capital is only channeled to certain groups, i.e., the *juragan*. The debt-receivables relationship is forged so that catch and processed products can immediately be bought by capital owners, of course with certain discounts/cuts. This results in losses on the part of fishermen and *juragan* because they can't obtain better prices (Masyhuri 1996, pp. 181-191). Mussel peeler laborers and fisherwomen are impacted in that they cannot accumulate the required capital.

b. Women's Role in Reproductive Work

From the table of fishing activities, we can see that almost all reproductive roles are performed by women, among others tasks that are seen as "housewife" tasks. In a fishing community, women perform a major role in reproductive role, among others preparing food for going out to sea. When a woman performs as a fisherwoman or as a *juragan*, she still assumes the household (reproductive) role. But their work is not as intense and as varied as housewives in non-coastal communities, among others because the characteristics of a coastal home does not allow women to clean the yard or the home more intensely. Women are more focused on work inside the house, including sweeping, washing, changing sheets and cooking. Meanwhile, men's role is more in preparing fishing equipment.

Society tends to associate roles such as cooking, child nurture, washing and home cleaning as women's work (housewives), while earning money is associated with men (household head), but in reality, in fishing communities, these roles do not have a strict dichotomy, as follows:

I arrive from sea in the morning, at 8, clean the house, cook. My husband takes care of the fishing equipment. Cleaning the house, like sweeping, dusting, changing sheets, that's it, washing clothes. Taking care of fishing equipment is (my husband's) job, if something is damaged, it's replaced; the foam is missing, replace; the lure is black or rusty, replace. (Ina 2017, interview April 25)

Fisherwomen who catch fish, collect bait and crabs among rocks, also process catch, but society tends to

label them as housewives, whose primary role is thought to be as a housewife. This label sometimes makes it seem as if women are “respected,” like “rich women” who do not perform hard labor and are supported by their husbands. The concept of women as housewives and men as household heads is also perpetuated through tradition, religion and state policies, among others Law No. 1/1974 on Marriage, namely chapter 6, article 31, clause 3, which states that, “The husband is the head of the family and the wife is a housewife.”

But when we see fisherwomen’s contribution to their family’s economy, we see that their role is very real. When women are categorized as housewives, they tend to escape attention. Problems faced by fisherwomen are never studied. In the reclamation program, for example, women are severely disadvantaged when her area of management can no longer be entered and its function has changed. Women can no longer collect bait and small crabs, which are very important to small-scale fishermen’s catch fish business. Fishing sites are also increasingly farther from the fishermen’s home, and it requires a significant cost to travel there. The government’s fishermen programs also do not take into account the roles of fisherwomen, such as in women’s obstructed access to the fisherman’s card because they are seen merely as housewives and not as farmers (Wahyuni 2017). Society also perceives fishermen’s work as meant only for men because the work is not only hard but also poses great risks. Furthermore, if we look at laws on fishermen, among others Ministerial Regulation No. 16/2016, a fisherman is defined as someone whose earning is through catching fish. Additionally, the definition of fisherman’s card is the identity card of fishermen who catch fish, published by a regency/municipality marine and fisheries services. This definition ignores the fact that women also catch fish, both at sea and along the coast, such as collecting crabs, mussels and other marine creatures near the shoreline. The labeling of women’s work as the work of housewives places women only in processing and not as fishers.

That women are labeled as performers of domestic work and the fact that women’s work contribute to the economic sector is unacknowledged have been criticized by feminist economists. Domestic work, perceived as women’s work and categorized as care work, has been criticized by comparing it against mainstream economy that describes men’s economics as autonomous, self-interested and never prioritizes care or exhibits the tendency to care (Nelson 2005, p 4). Care functions, although needed and crucial to humans as biological and social creatures, are still often neglected and perceived

as unimportant, intellectually unappealing, valueless, and therefore are categorized under women’s work (Nelson 2005). Women’s economic roles and unique characteristics, with the ability to respond to economic crises because most micro economy actors are women, have been proven to play a great part in overcoming the 1998 monetary crisis (Zulminarni 2000).

Seeing how fisherwomen perform three roles, i.e., productive, reproductive, and social community, it’s no wonder that these roles cause multiple burden on women. Women’s multiple roles result in various consequences. The roles as earner and housewife create a demand for women’s multiple roles, and in consequence, women spend more time and energy taking care of her home as well as earning money compared to their spouse. Women as processors of fish catch also play a part in the stream of information in regard to her village’s political and social situation, considering they have more (free) time on average compared to fishermen/women who go out to sea. Fisherwomen in Muara Angke, like other fishermen and women across Indonesia’s 10,666 coastal villages, are not touched by fishermen’s welfare programs, because they can’t access the fisherman’s card. In several areas, fisherwomen mostly work as catch fishers, collector fishers and processors of fishing products. But they do not benefit from programs meant for fishermen, such as capital and boat assistance, and fishermen’s insurance, including access for fuel, which is important to the fisheries industry. Women cannot access all these programs because the program requires that an applicant owns a fisherman’s card.

c. Women’s Role in Social/Community Work

Aside from productive and reproductive work, Muara Angke’s fisherwomen also take part in social/community work, among others through their engagement in the movement to reject the Jakarta Bay reclamation. Women involved in the fight to defend their living space and work space. Women are more flexible and have more time for obtaining information that is relevant to their area’s social and political situation, compared to catch fishermen who spend more time at sea. But even so, Muara Angke’s fishermen often aren’t legally acknowledged or are still considered as outsiders, both by government officials and surrounding communities. As Ibu Tuti says, they are often still seen as outsiders, but during regional elections, their votes are suddenly important.

For administrative needs in regard to the national ID (KTP) and other identity documents, fishermen still

use addresses that are not their real address. Ibu Ina, Ibu Tuti and their husbands, when they were applying for the KTP through the neighborhood unit, used a different address—an address in Blok L, far away from the fishing neighborhood. There are no neighborhood unit representatives in the fishing village, only names of alleys, each with its own leader. Every fishing family that wishes to stay in Muara Angke's fishing village must first report to local "rulers," or people who had settled in the village first. After reporting to them, they can then report to the neighborhood unit. Because recorded data do not reflect real situations and the village-level political system does not reflect democracy, fishermen's groups often miss information from the government. Additionally, when they are determined to be living legally on a property, they run the risk of eviction when reclamation is in progress.

The housewife role associated with women is also politically disadvantageous in conflicts and competition for resources in Muara Angke. Their engagement in discussions on reclamation is often seen as unimportant. So far, women have taken alternative routes outside the government channel, to express their aspirations, namely by engaging in protests against reclamation organized by NGOs. Some of Muara Angke's men and women are joined in the Catch Fishermen's Group (KNT), an organization assisted by an LSM focused on advocacy for fishermen communities. Through this organization, women are often involved in meetings to protest Jakarta Bay's reclamation.

Conclusion

Fisherwomen play a significant role in productive, reproductive and social/community work. In productive work, women contribute significantly to improving their family's economy. As catch fisherwomen, they help reduce costs for fishing, they collect bait and attach bait to lures, and they pull fish catch onto the boat. In the processing sector, women play a great role in increasing the value of fisheries products and contribute greatly to family earnings. Women as the owners of fish processing businesses are very much needed by those who are reliant on this sector, namely women peeler labor. In the social/community sector, women also play an active role in engaging in a political contract during the gubernatorial election.

Considering the massive contribution of fisherwomen to their family and community, it's time for policy makers to pay greater attention to fisherwomen. Their existence

and role in the fisheries sector must receive appreciation. Additionally, their capacity must be improved and they must be empowered. To this end, protection of their rights as fisherwomen and as citizens must be guaranteed by the state, among others by opening fisherwomen's access to the fisherman's card. Thus far, the labeling of fisherwomen as housewives has caused too many losses to women. It's as if their tangible role as fisherwomen is simply erased. Fisherwomen's contribution becomes invisible in the economic, social and political sectors. Furthermore, there must be efforts to break through the culture that leaves no room to the advancement of women.

The government must also review reclamation policy and resolve small-scale fishermen issues. Besides providing protection and empowerment, the potential for conflict over resources due to competition over control areas must be given attention. Women must be engaged in discussions and negotiations because both reclamation and conflict would impact women and children. A conflict situation would only restrict women's mobility.

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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.

The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labor rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalization, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

JP welcomes contributions from researchers, academia, activists, and practitioners involved in gender advocacy in any of the areas mentioned above. Manuscripts should be written so that they are comprehensible to an intelligent reader, avoiding jargon, formulas and extensive methodological treatises wherever possible. They should use examples and illustrations to highlight the ideas, concepts and practical implications of the ideas being presented. Feminist theory is important and necessary; but theory — with the empirical research and conceptual work that supports theory — needs to be balanced by integration into practices to stand the tests of time and usefulness. We want the journal to be read as much by stakeholders as by academics seeking sound research and scholarship in women's study.

JP appears annually and the contents of each issue include: editorials, peer-reviewed papers by leading writers; reviews, short stories, and poetry. A key feature of the journal is appreciation of the value of literature, fiction, and the visual narrative (works of art, such as paintings and drawings) in the study of women's issues

Submissions

To discuss ideas for contributions, please contact the Chief Editor: Anita Dhewy via anitadhewy@jurnalperempuan.com. Research papers should be between 5000-10000 words. Please make sure to include in your submission pack an **abstract outlining the title, purpose, methodology and main findings**. It is worth considering that, as your paper will be located and read online, the quality of your abstract will determine whether readers go on to access your full paper. We recommend you place particular focus on the impact of your research on further research, practice or society. What does your paper contribute? In addition, please provide up to **six descriptive keywords**.

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