

Fisherwomen

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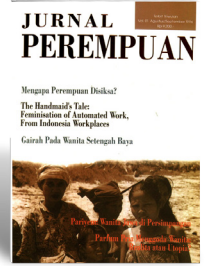
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Fisherwomen

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 Penjarangan, 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 Penjarangan, 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

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

Gadis Arivia & Abby Gina

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Abstract

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

Introduction

The classical instrumental piece played back by Bapak (Mr.) Tanjung, an official at the Association for Regional Shrimp Farming Entrepreneurs (P3UW) Lampung, accompanied our trip to Dipasena, Rawajitu Timur Subdistrict, Tulang Bawang Regency, Lampung. The 207.5-km trip took 8 hours, from the Lampung airport via Jln. Lintas Timur Sumatra. Although tunes played throughout the trip were soothing, we did a sense of calm. Songs that would more appropriately describe our mood would be *dangdut* (Indonesian dance music), or as the Dipasena people call it: "goyang Inul" (the Inul shake; Inul is a famous dangdut singer). Although the roads were severely damaged, we were still eager to reach Dipasena, a place famous in the 1990s.

Dipasena once experienced its heyday. In 1997, PT Dipasena was Southeast Asia's, and even the world's, largest shrimp farm. The farm had a total area of 16,250-hectares and involved 9,033 plasma/smallholder farmers with over 11,000 employees (Fadilasari 2007, p. 1). PT Dipasena Citra Darmaja, owned by businessman Sjamsul Nursalim, popularized Dipasena among international business actors and managed to earn the country US\$167 million in 1998. Its success in exporting shrimp won the company the Primannyarta

export prize in 1995, 1996, and 1997. But in the early 2000s, the Dipasena shrimp farm saw its demise. The company abused its authority, the management was not transparent, it forced its wishes and restricted freedom (Fadilasari 2007, p. 2). The rebellion of shrimp farmers saw its peak and a riot broke out in March 2000, when conglomerate Sjamsul Nursalim instructed his security personnel, mobile brigade members, to shoot. One farmer named Ruswandi was shot and injured. The situation spiraled out of control and Sjamsul Nursalim escaped overseas.

Dipasena's rehabilitation after the incident did not run smoothly. The government sold Dipasena's assets at low prices to the Neptune Consortium. These assets should have been sold for Rp2.3 trillion, but the consortium was only required to pay Rp668 billion, and the sales were counted as the sales of public facilities. CP Prima, member of the Neptune Consortium, established PT Aruna Wijaya Sakti to manage Dipasena through a concept of partnership with shrimp farmers. But along the way, the partnership concept caused more issues and shrimp farmers wanted to stand on their own. Meanwhile, because there was no collaboration with the company, Dipasena's condition grew worse—electricity was pulled out and maintenance wasn't run properly. Furthermore,

Head of P3UW Nafian Faiz was sent to prison for 2.5 years. On August 3, 2011, Dipasena's shrimp farmers expressed their wish to cut ties with the company and to become independent. Dipasena was established as a *minapolitan*¹ in Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's era, with independent farmers with no need to partner with companies that tend to enforce a monopoly on prices, mark-up budgets, have "bad credit," and can one-sidedly end its working relationship with farmers.

Dipasena shrimp farmer's independence brought about positive impacts. They succeeded in independently running shrimp farms, although with a lot of hardwork. And their efforts were paid off by the quite significant earnings. Fadilasari's book (2007) describing the 22-year Dipasena conflict concluded with a statement on the importance of achieving a partnership that is based on a respect for human rights and in line with the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Ekosob) ratified by Indonesia in 2005. In 2011, the National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas HAM) also underscored the importance of a human rights basis in partnership and expressed its support for the full empowerment of shrimp farmers.

Unfortunately, Fadilasari's book does not explain the role of women shrimp farmers. Shrimp farmers are assumed to only be men. And indeed, PT Dipasena and PT Aruna Wijaya Sakti perceive farmers as men²². Even Haeru Rahayu, assistant in maritime education and training the Coordinating Ministry of Maritime Affairs (cited in Artharini 2016, p. 11), firmly believes that women cannot yet go out to sea and that women's role are best restricted to supporting their husbands.

The statements of public officials on the role of fisherwomen, especially in this article on women shrimp farmers, are worrisome. Why is the profession of women (fish/shrimp) farmers unrecognized? What development concept should the government implement? This writing attempts to answer these questions by interviewing women shrimp farmers in Dipasena, Lampung, and performing a feminist perspective analysis, using particularly Martha Nussbaum's idea on capabilities.

The Capabilities Approach

The capabilities approach was first used by Indian economist and thinker Amartya Sen in the 1980s. Sen's capabilities idea was acknowledged by the United Nations as a whole definition of development, as it does not only measure development merely using economic indicators—for example GDP per capita—but takes into

account a wider range of elements. In Sen's view, "poverty" is understood as a hurdle for attaining a good quality of life, so "development" is when a person's capabilities are expanded so that the person can live happily and flourish³. Sen, who won the Nobel prize in 1998, wrote his ideas on capabilities in his famous book *Development as Freedom* (1999), departing from the concept of freedom.

Development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy. Expanding the freedoms that we have reason to value not only makes our lives richer and more unfettered, but also allows us to be fuller social persons, exercising our own volitions and interacting with-and influencing-the world in which we live in. (Sen 1999, p. 363).

Sen's departs from the idea of human freedom, because for him, development does not only concern economic growth but all aspects of human life, including our desired freedoms. Sen weighs in on the value of human life and how a person's social life can be wholly fulfilled according to personal wishes. Freedom depends on other determinations, such as social and economic management (educational and health facilities), and political and civil rights (freedom to participate in discussions and public activities, and to have a critical attitude) (Sen 1999, p. 179).

Development, in this case, is the process of expanding the desired freedoms of human beings. Meaning, development also aims to eliminate sources for the absence of freedom: poverty, and including tyranny; the lack of economic opportunities, including social impoverishment; neglected facilities; intolerance or oppression by the state. An absence or lack of freedom also includes no government concern for public and social facilities and the absence of health programs. Women in Dipasena complained about Dipasena's poor public facilities, because they felt that the severely damaged roads had impaired their access to healthcare, particularly reproductive healthcare.

Have three children. One died because we're far from doctors. I had already checked at the doctor, who said must go immediately, but there are no hospitals here, only a midwife and public health clinic. I had to immediately leave for Bandar Lampung for a caesarean. Twelve hours of journey because I was in my late pregnancy, couldn't hurry. What (I) feared really happened. My baby's position was already good, but because the roads were bad, the baby's positioned was horizontal. The doctor came, I asked for a surgery. I couldn't stand it any longer. Then I knew that my baby was no longer (alive), was not moving. So immediately caesarean (was performed). My baby had died. I had two surgeries then, first when for delivery, and second to take out my uterus. Everything was taken out. So now I'm in early menopause. (Ida 2017, interview 26 August)

The capabilities approach challenges development that applies the utilitarian principle, i.e., development to maximize benefits for many. It also criticizes the Rawlsian idea that recommends government intervention in development in order to fulfill society's basic needs (departing from the theory of justice). I believe that Sen's argument is superior to both ideas. Sen emphasizes the quality of human life, and not simply the need to fulfill society's basic needs. But in my view, even Sen's thoughts are not yet adequate for looking at Ibu Ida's case as described above, which portrays not only the need for proper healthcare, but signals a gender dimension when it comes to reproductive health. Here, Martha Nussbaum proposes the capabilities theory, because she believes that the capability approach must be understood as a non-singular approach. Meaning, Ibu Ida's problem is not only a problem of restricted capability (quality of life) due to the lack of public services such as the missing hospital in Dipasena, but has to do with the lack of concern for reproductive or women's health on the part of society and government.

Capabilities, according to Nussbaum, has to do with human dignity and the dignity of justice. Capabilities proposes two important questions, "What can be done by everyone and what can everyone become?" Two issues, to do and to be, that have to do with human dignity. In other words, "Everyone is perceived as an end result," not only where it concerns an individual's physical welfare but also opportunities. The focus is on choice and freedom, as a person may not use the right to choose, but the opportunity and freedom to choose must be present. Meaning, there is a commitment to respecting individual decisions for self determination (Nussbaum 2011, p. 18).

Nussbaum differentiates between internal capabilities and combination capabilities. In her view, it's possible for a community to have internal capabilities, for example with educational facilities to teach them to form opinions and express their opinions—internal capabilities—when in practice, they're forbidden from voicing opinions and from free expression. It may be the state that creates the restriction, but it may also be culture. In the context of gender, the patriarchal tradition restricts women from voicing their opinions, it's only normal for men to be heard and to often speak in public. Everyone can internally participate in politics (allowed by the government), but in combination capabilities, they can't do so because they're an ethnic minority or illegal citizens, for example. It may be that a person, in her internal capabilities, may criticize the government but does not yet have the capacity for critical thinking nor to speak in public (Nussbaum 2011,

p. 22). A person's incapability is not because the person is inherently incapable but rather because the person was not provided with wide opportunities to flourish.

Table 1: Capabilities

Internal Capabilities:	Internal capabilities come from humans' basic capabilities, for example basic education, training, experiences, etc.
Combination Capabilities:	Internal Capabilities plus. External conditions that can help a person function as a whole in life. The aim of public policies is to promote combination capabilities by: (1) providing internal capabilities (education, training) and (2) ensuring that external institutions support the functions of human life as a whole, including material conditions.

Source: Processed from Nussbaum (2011)

Returning to the 2016 statement from Haeru Rahayu, assistant in maritime education and training, Coordinating Ministry of Maritime Affairs, that women are not yet ready to become fisherwomen—the statement shows that there are hurdles from the government in acknowledging a woman's capacity to become whatever she desires, in this case, to become a fisherwoman. Here, both women's internal and combination capabilities are ignored. In terms of internal capabilities, the government does not guarantee the recognition of women as fisherwomen (both according to the definition in the government regulation as well as the low number of women who are issued a fisherman's card). In terms of combination capabilities, women are not given access to recognition as fisherwomen. Meanwhile, Head of P3UW Nafian Faiz has acknowledged women shrimp farmer's great contribution to Dipasena. They not only help their husbands' farm, but they are truly farmers themselves.

Dipasena women's activities are almost at 80% at (shrimp) farms and people don't believe it. In Java, (fish/shrimp) farms are far from home. Farms are farms, and home is home. But us, the farm is right in front of our home. So women, from when they wake up until they sleep, are in those farms, sometimes longer than the husbands. As they say, there is only one thing that these women don't do, which is *nyipon*. *Nyipon* is discarding mud. But now there are women can discard mud. Going into the (shrimp) farm at an elevation of 100 m, discarding mud—this isn't done by women (fish/shrimp) farmers elsewhere, this is why friends from other places are surprised when we tell them. Not to mention women's courage, (our) women farmers are different from other women farmers in terms of knowledge, courage and other things. We who become farmers here are people who have passed a selection process. So these women of course have passed, too. Isn't that so? (Faiz 2017, FGD 26 August)

Women shrimp farmers in the Dipasena PPNI (Indonesian Fisherwomen’s Sisterhood Group) Baretta (Women Volunteer Group) gathered on Saturday, August 26, 2017, eager to join the focus group discussion (FGD). The FGD was opened by Ibu Khotijah, head of PPNI Baretta. Twenty were in attendance, representing 8 villages:

Table 2: FGD Participants

No	Name	Representing
1	Ibu Ezra Dwi Lestari	Bumi Dipasena Agung (Block 4-5)
2	Ibu Sukamti	Bumi Dipasena Abadi (Block 14-15)
3.	Ibu Sumarsih	Bumi Dipasena Sejahtera (Block 12-13)
4.	Ibu Theresia	Bumi Dipasena Makmur (Block 10-11)
5.	Ibu Haeni	Bumi Dipasena Mulia (Block 8-9)
6.	Ibu Lamian	Bumi Dipasena Jaya (Block 6-7)
7.	Ibu Sri Wedati	Bumi Dipasena Utama (Block 2-3)
8.	Ibu Yuliana	Bumi Dipasena Sentosa (Block 0-1)

Source: field data, August 2017

The women explained their very busy activities as shrimp farmers. They claim to work over 17 hours per day because they have to stay up at night when the engine stops. Work as a shrimp farmer in Dipasena is very difficult, especially because electricity is not yet available (taken out by the company when the company

left and the state electricity company is not yet present), so they use a generator. When the engine dies, one can almost be certain that all shrimp will die, meaning the harvest would fail. In the FGD, the women were divided into three groups when explaining their daily activities. According to the feminist theory, “work” does not only refer to work in the public domain, but also in the private sphere. Women’s work can’t be gauged only in public productive sectors, but must also be measured entirely, including their work in the private domain. The separation between public and private spheres, is seen as discrimination, according to feminism. Patriarchal culture assigns a higher value to public work and does not consider domestic and reproductive (giving birth, breastfeeding, taking care of children) as valuable. The dichotomy between the public and private results in sexist public policies. Nussbaum criticizes existing perceptions that do not care for work that contributes to the care of family and does not observe the inequality that emerges because of the public-private dichotomy. As a result, the government does not concern itself with activities in the private sphere and does not create policies while taking into account the value of the private domain (Nussbaum 1999, pp. 61-62).

It’s very clear that Dipasena women’s farming activities involves activities in the private sphere. The three gorups of women were asked to map their farming activities, and all mentioned domestic work elements.

Table 3: Women Farmers’ Activities

Time	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Notes
4:30	Cleaning the house, Fajr prayer.	Cleaning the house, Fajr prayer.	In the kitchen, preparing breakfast, making coffee for husband.	
6:00-6:30	Preparing food for children and making coffee for husband.	Preparing food for children and making coffee for husband.	Take children to school. Feed shrimp ⁴ .	
8:00-9:00	Take children to school, check <i>ancho</i> ⁵ .	Take children to school, check <i>ancho</i> .		Husband does <i>nyipon</i> . ⁶ Ibu Sumarsih does <i>nyipon</i> herself because she manages her farm alone. ⁷
9:00-12:00	Gardening, pick children up from school, feed shrimp.	PPNI activities, such as knitting, cooking and feeding shrimp.		Husband works elsewhere because they do not only rely on the shrimp farm. Wife also does extra work, for example selling/trade.
12:30-16:00	Prayer, lunch break and communal exercise. Prepare dinner.	Exercise, feed shrimp. Feed cattle or chickens if they have them.	Check <i>ancho</i> , PPNI activities.	Husband also does sports (volley) or goes fishing for extra income.
18:00-21:00	Maghrib prayer, dinner, help children with homework or studying.	Prepare dinner, help children with studying.	Prepare dinner, supervise children while they study, house work.	Mother’s role in the children’s education is very significant, as evident in the high rate of college-level education among the children of Dipasena shrimp farmers, as many as 80%.

Time	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Notes
21:00-24:00	Putting children to bed and accompanying husband supervise the waterwheel. Planning tomorrow's cooking. Feed shrimp.	Guarding the shrimp, checking shrimp, checking waterwheel.	Taking turns feeding shrimp with husband.	
24:00-4:30	Light sleep while checking engine in case it dies because there is no electricity.	Taking turns light sleeping and staying alert.	Checking farm with husband, checking waterwheel.	Shrimp must be checked to see if they're active or floating at the center. Floating means problem. Or if there are monitor lizards, otters, etc.

Source: Field data, August 2017

As we see in the table above, Dipasena's women shrimp farmers' farming activities are mixed in with domestic activities. They work as professional shrimp farmers and care for their family, meaning one can't say that Dipasena women are simply supporting their husbands in farming shrimp. They are free, aware and knowledgeable in their choice and work as shrimp farmers. In every activity, from morning until the next morning, they are aware and are responsible over supervising their shrimp. They even have double work, as described in the table above. Another side of capabilities is the functioning capabilities. Functioning is when capabilities are realized. In this case, functioning is not always active in nature, but rather concerns the welfare (both physical and mental) of an individual (Nussbaum 2011, pp. 25-26). So, if, based on the data of women shrimp farmers' activities (table 3), these women show that they see themselves as shrimp farm workers, then the functioning of these women shrimp farmers must be given attention. Can the capabilities of women shrimp farmers produce happiness within them, as shrimp farmers? Capabilities to produce, in this case, does not only refer to material things, but also involves human dignity. Nussbaum gives the example that there is a significant difference between creating policy to promote health and a policy to promote health capabilities—the latter promotes free choice. Health capabilities equal the acknowledgement of human dignity, and respect for an individual's opinions and existence. In other words, respecting pluralism, for example differences in religion, world view, politics, gender, ethnicity, etc.

The Dignity of Women Shrimp Farmers

Capabilities are focused on human dignity. When Dipasena's women farmers engaged in an FGD in PPNI's farming site, some poured out their concerns.

- JP (Indonesian Feminist Journal) : Women, in the FGD, you said almost 17 hours every day are devoted to farming. Do you women here feel that you are (shrimp) farmers?
- Group : Yes.
- Waidah : Yes, we feel that we are farmers. We spend almost 17 hours per day on our farms, although not all (of the 17 hours), but almost 100% of our time is spent on the farm.
- Ida : Of course. It's very much a profession. That's it, no? No need to offer an argument?
- JP : So what is the profession on your KTP (national ID)?
- Group : Housewife, not Ibu farmer.
- Sumarsih : (They) said the farmer is the husband. We're just supporting our husband's work. When our husband's busy, we take his place. We have to learn, so that when the man can't, we can. Why can't we (women) do it when men can't? We women have to be able to.
- JP : Ibu Marsih is also listed as a housewife on your KTP?
- Sumarsih : Still housewife.
- JP : But you work on the shrimp farm 100%, yes?
- Sumarsih : Yes, 100%. But I don't have the P3UW membership card, because only male farmers own P3UW membership cards. There aren't cards for women farmers yet. But now they're saying it's been proposed, but we don't know yet. Meanwhile, if something happens, they'll ask, where's the P3UW card that says that you're a farmer? Well, there isn't one. Because we women don't have (cards). P3UW membership is only for men.
- JP : That's the organizational rule in P3UW?
- Sumarsih : Yes, that's the rule.
- Esra : Me, I work full time at the farm. From waking up in the morning, preparing food and children for school, I take (them), then that's it, I'm busy with the farm. From checking, simulation, do the shrimp need more food or not, then do they need vitamins or not. I'm involved.

The protest of Dipasena's women shrimp farmer is interesting, because they feel that their work is unacknowledged. Especially because the P3UW is a community platform that was initially formed to fight the company's abuse of power and to protect the rights of independent shrimp farmers. But until today, P3UW does not accept women shrimp farmers. Nafian Faiz argues that P3UW has yet to accommodate women farmers in its budget. He says that the spirit for P3UW's establishment as initially the spirit of youth.

There aren't widows yet, farmers that are no longer with husband. Because it's not accommodated yet in our budget, we made an informal organization, the Bareta P3UW, or Bareta PPNI. (Faiz 2017, interview 26 August)

In this case, Nussbaum's argument becomes clearly important. First, the capabilities of Dipasena's women shrimp farmers are unrecognized (especially their dignity and self-determination as shrimp farmers); and second, the functioning of women farmers is only perceived as "only fitting as shrimp farmers if they no longer have a husband (widowed)" or it's seen as enough to form Bareta P3UW.

In upholding justice using the framework of work capabilities, Nussbaum departs from the question: "What is human dignity?" The short answer is that the government has the responsibility to ensure that its people live in dignity and live flourishing lives. In order to full this requirement, Nussbaum offers 10 categories:

1. Life. Is able to live for a normal period of time; does not experience death prematurely, or to have the meaning of life reduced to nothing.
2. Physical health. Is able to have good health, including reproductive health; has adequate sustenance; has a home/living space.
3. Bodily Integrity. Can move from one place to another freely; distanced from violence, including sexual assault and domestic violence; is satisfied sexually and has reproductive choices.
4. Five senses, imagination and thought. Can use five senses, thought imagination and common sense, and to use it all in a humane way, in a way that is informed, including and not limited to literacy and a background in science and mathematics. Can use imagination and thought in regard to with experiences, productive work and personal choices, religion, literature, music, etc. Can use own thought, which is protected by a freedom of expression by respecting the method for

expressing opinions politically and artistically, and the freedom to practice religion. Has pleasant experiences and can avoid pain and suffering.

5. Emotion. Can affiliate with and possess items and people outside the self; love someone that we care about, mourn when they are gone; in general, the ability to love, grieve, feel loss, gratitude and reasonable anger. (To support this capability is to support all forms of human associations, which may be important in a person's growth and development).
6. The capacity for ethical thinking. Can formulate a concept of goodness and can critically reflect in planning own life (including protecting the freedom of awareness and to practice religion).
7. Affiliation. (A) Can live with others, acknowledge and care about others, can participate in various social interactions; have the capacity for imagining and understanding other people's situations. (Protecting this capability is to protect institutions that form and maintain these forms of affiliations, and also protect to freedom to associate and the freedom for political expression). (B) Possesses a social basis for dignity and is not ridiculed; can be treated as a human with dignity, with equal value to others. This includes providing non-discriminative facilities—race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, origin.
8. Other creatures. Can live with other creatures, is concerned for animals, plants and the environment.
9. Play. Can laugh, play and enjoy recreational activities.
10. Control of one's own environment. (A) Political. Has the ability to effectively participate in political choices that fits one's own life; has the right to political participation, protects freedom to speak out and to associate. (B) Material. Can own property (land as well as moving items), and possess ownership rights that are equal to others; possesses the right to find work that is equal to others; free from raids and seizures. At the work place, one is treated humanely, has the ability to apply practical thought, has meaningful working relationships, and is acknowledged by fellow workers.

The capabilities are meant for the individual and not groups. The capabilities principle is that each individual is viewed as an endpoint, not a means to achieve an

endpoint. The goal is for everyone to be able to use their capabilities wholly. This is important for policy makers, because many countries view the family as homogenous, for example, and does not check nor promote everyone's different capabilities (Nussbaum 2011, p. 397). We can then relate Nussbaum's categories to the problems faced by Dipasena's women shrimp farmers. Their primary concern is not income, because their incomes are above average if we compare them with the incomes of other categories of fisherwomen (see studies in Demak

and Gresik in the Indonesian Feminist Journal Vol. 95, 2017).⁸ The problem of Dipasena's women shrimp farmers is an unrecognized dignity as individuals with a profession. Referring to Nussbaum's analysis, this is an urgent problem. The state tends to view the material and cultural aspects of problems (group as opposed to individual lens), when Dipasena's women shrimp farmers are facing a problem of recognition and existence and the ability to determine their own life paths. A discourse analysis of Dipasena's shrimp farmer, using Nussbaum's analytical tools:

Table 4: An Analysis of the Statements of Women Shrimp Farmer under Nussbaum's Framework

Statements from Women Farmers:	Unrecognized Nussbaum Category:
I work from morning, prepare food for children and husband, prepare children for school, take care of the shrimp farm 24 hours.	<i>-The capacity for ethical thinking:</i> Has the ability to formulate concepts of goodness and can critically reflect in the process of planning one's own life.
I'm a shrimp farmer. Well, I stick to it, I take care of everything, from preparing shrimp fry, feed, harvest, and setting prices.	<i>-Affiliation:</i> Treated as a human with dignity that is equal to others <i>-Controls one's own environment:</i> Can effectively participate in political choices that fits one's own life
Why are we not acknowledged? Unrecognized? Have not yet received facilities such as work and health insurance?	<i>-Affiliation:</i> Possesses a social basis for dignity and is not ridiculed; treated as a human with dignity that is equal to others. This includes providing nondiscriminative facilities.
The man is called farmer, the woman is called "Ibu (Mrs.) Farmer," meaning (she's) following her husband. Why?	<i>-Affiliation:</i> Possesses a social basis for dignity and is not ridiculed; treated as a human with dignity that is equal to others. <i>-Five senses, imagination, thought:</i> Has the ability to use imagination and thought in regard to own's experiences, productive work and choices.
Farm property is under the husband's name.	<i>-Has control over one's own environment:</i> Can own property (land as well as moving items), and possess ownership rights that are equal to others
We're farmers, not housewives. Why don't we have P3UW membership cards?	<i>-Affiliation:</i> Possesses a social basis for dignity and is not ridiculed; treated as a human with dignity that is equal to others. <i>-Has control over one's own environment:</i> has the ability to apply practical thought and is acknowledged by fellow workers.
We demand to be given KTNs (Fisherman's Cards), gender equality must exist.	<i>-Affiliation:</i> Possesses a social basis for dignity and is not ridiculed; treated as a human with dignity that is equal to others.
I want my ID to say shrimp farmer.	<i>-Affiliation:</i> Possesses a social basis for dignity and is not ridiculed; treated as a human with dignity that is equal to others.
We're actually the same. The only difference between women and men is how we're shaped. Men have an adam's apple and a penis, and women have breasts and a uterus. The difference is in our sex, but the rest is the same. Why is our work not acknowledged?	<i>-Emotion:</i> Not hindered by emotions due to fear and worries (supporting this capability means supporting all forms of human associations that may become important in one's growth and development).

Statements from Women Farmers:	Unrecognized Nussbaum Category:
We want women to be invited to discussions, to be able to make discussions. This is an association but women can't be leaders.	<p><i>-Affiliation:</i> Possesses a social basis for dignity and is not ridiculed; treated as a human with dignity that is equal to others.</p> <p><i>-Has control over one's own environment:</i> has the ability to apply practical thought and is acknowledged by fellow workers.</p>
We like being involved in organization. PPNI is not like PKK (Family Welfare Movement). In PPNI, we learn about gender, we know our rights.	<p><i>-Emotion:</i> Not hindered by emotions due to fear and worries (supporting this capability means supporting all forms of human associations that may become important in one's growth and development)</p> <p><i>-Play.</i> Can laugh, play and enjoy recreational activities.</p>
Inadequate health facilities, no hospitals. Our roads are severely damaged, takes 8 hours to get to the city. There are no maternity hospitals, specialist doctors.	<p><i>-Physical health:</i> Has the capability to have good health, including reproductive health.</p>

Source: processed from field data, August 2017

Conclusion

Development, in Sen's and Nussbaum's definitions, does not refer to a nation's physical and instrumental development. The focus of Sen's and Nussbaum's arguments is human development. Nussbaum, in particular, highlights women's workload, both in the public sphere and the private sphere. Dipasena's women shrimp farmers have pointed out their heavy burden and a total of 17 hours of daily activities, because the majority of women also supervise their farms at nighttime.

In Nussbaum's view, to view development issues is to consider problems of human lives, development, and in how humans can contribute at a maximum while maintaining a dignified life. Nussbaum then emphasizes the respect for human existence. In the case of Dipasena's women shrimp farmers, clearly they want recognition as shrimp farmers. Their entire existence as workers is not supported by a formal recognition as members of a profession, for example through P3UW membership, or even nationally, through the fisherman's card. This recognition would have practical implications, namely that these women can receive support for developing their shrimp farms, work insurance, training, etc. But further more, their recognition as professionals in the shrimp farming sector would humanize them by giving attention to their capabilities.

The government often relies on a cost-benefit economic framework for thought, when such a framework would not help grasp the idea of development that is based on humanity. Nussbaum emphasizes that development should depart from an analysis of justice. In

other words, humane development is development that considers women's entire existence.

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Endnotes

- 1 Minapolitan is a concept for region-based marine and fisheries development through a regional management approach under the principles of integration, efficiency, quality and acceleration.
- 2 Fadilasari's book describes the recruitment process of PT Dipasena's shrimp farmers. The criteria were: men and military-trained, physical strength.
- 3 Sen took the *flourishing* concept from the Nicomachean Aristoteles Ethics.
- 4 Shrimp feed: feeding shrimp requires special technique. Feed has the highest-cost item in shrimp farming, which means controlling and managing feed must be performed meticulously. Overfeeding can damage the shrimp.

- 5 Checking Ancho: an equipment for controlling shrimp feed. It's used every feeding time at certain hours. A small amount of feed must be spread on the ancho net, according to the shrimp's weight. If the feed is gone, more must be administered, if not then it must be reduced, meaning continuous supervision is necessary.
- 6 Siphon: the technique for disposing waste/organic waste from shrimp, dead shrimp, dead plankton and other creatures that may turn poisonous if not disposed of. Discarding dirt that has turned into mud is done by sucking the mud using a pipe/hose at the base.
- 7 Ibu Sumarsih is the widow of a shrimp farmer. She has managed her shrimp farm on her own since 2012.
- 8 A shrimp farmer's earning from a traditional pattern of production is around Rp12-15 million, a semi-intensive pattern Rp25-50 million, and an intensive pattern over Rp50 million per cycle (a production period tenor of 3 months).

Expression of Gratitude to Reviewers

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

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