

PUSPITA BAHARI FISHERWOMEN'S STRUGGLE AGAINST PATRIARCHAL CULTURE IN MORODEMAK (2005 – 2017)

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Article received July 25th, 2023; Article revised October 20th, 2023; Article approved November 11st, 2023

Abstract

This article presents research results about the development of the Puspita Bahari fisherwomen movement in realizing gender justice. This research uses historical methods: heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography, supported by historical sources from textual and cartographic archives, contemporary newspapers and magazines, and image archives. Study results revealed the efforts to increase economic capabilities and intellectual capacity to escape patriarchal domination. Patriarchal culture has placed women in a disadvantageous position. They experience injustices such as discrimination, marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, double burdens, and violence. Both methods effectively form new awareness in the community that the activities of Puspita Bahari fisherwomen have become a milestone in improving the regional economy and making a significant contribution to coastal communities' economic and social progress. These conditions change patriarchy conceptually. However, the culture did not collapse; it only appeared with a new, slightly friendlier face to women. Still, Morodemak's fisherwomen have come closer to justice.

Keywords: *fisherwomen, patriarchy, gender, women's movement*

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between women and men is a theme that never ends. Psychoanalyst Erich Fromm stated that the conflict in the relations between the two sexes has been going on since six thousand years ago (Fromm, 2000). This conflict becomes increasingly complicated when inequality and a relationship of subordination occur. Women's opposition to men's power cannot be separated from the unfair patriarchal system that places women in men's shadows (Nurcahyo, 2016). Various forms of injustice include discrimination, marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, double burdens, and violence.

In Java in the 19th century, conflicting relations between men and women were described "wittily" in a classic Javanese

literary work, *Suluk Lonthang*. Depiction of gender relations is built with the ideology of men who want to dominate women. Through the spread of images, the male elite hope can calm themselves, or more than that, push down their fantasy (aiming can be accepted) to women (Florida, 2020). An almost similar picture is also written in Centini Fiber, which describes an actual gap relationship between both genders related to sex.

System culture patriarchy is rooted firmly in the culture of Javanese society. Therefore, a woman is placed as subordinate or inferior. This culture can be found in various aspects of life: politics, economics, education, law, and society. Culture makes men have dominant roles and influential positions in society (Melati, 2020). This motivates women's movements to fight for equality (gender justice).

One of the interesting movements related to gender justice is the fisherwomen movement in Morodemak, one of the fishermen's villages in Bonang District. Other villages are Margolinduk and Purworejo. Since 2005, fisherwomen in the village have formed a gender justice organization called Puspita Bahari. According to Masnuah, the organization's founder, the birth of Puspita Bahari was based on the spirit of liberating fisherwomen from confinement culture patriarchy, empowering the economy, and giving access to the public.

Puspita Bahari's main activism program is to create an empowerment economy for fisherwomen, women heads of families, and women victims of violence (Pratiwi, 2017). Because by empowering them economically, they can live independently and not be trapped in violence. Economic activities carried out by Puspita Bahari are becoming a milestone in increasing the regional economy and contributing to progress in economic and social public cost (Pratiwi and Gina, 2017). However, the economic initiative is still challenged by the public, such as stigma, violence in the family, and gender-biased religious interpretations.

Puspita Bahari's consistency in deep work for justice and prosperity for fisherwomen has become an essential milestone in the birth of the same type of organizations and communities in Morodemak. In addition, various non-government partners are also joining to support various organization's activities. Different types of support are offered, including funding, training, mentoring, and services. In conclusion, fisherwomen in the village experience a lot of change. One significant achievement was when Puspita Bahari was admitted administratively as the first fisherwomen organization in Indonesia in 2017. Hence, fisherwomen can access card health insurance and other development programs, so their rights can be guaranteed like a fisherman.

The government's acknowledgment of fisherwomen's organizations brings hope that the government start to grow awareness about gender justice since gender discrimination in Indonesia still exists and is classified as high. It is revealed in the labor force participation rate in 2020 that men (82.41%) were higher

than women (53.13%) (Kemen PPPA, 2021). One of the government's efforts to respond to the demographic bonus for Indonesia's sustainable development is through a gender equality program. Therefore, this problem becomes interesting and relevant for discussion.

Apart from the reasons above, because some argue that academic history writing is still accused of marginalizing women, our intention to write women's history is even more robust so that women have their history, particularly gender-friendly (feminist) writing, not history influenced more about patriarchal ideology.

Literatur Review

By taking the research context in three regions, namely Demak, Dipasena, and Gresik, the *Jurnal Perempuan* institution describes the lives of fisherwomen very well. This journal includes articles by Andi Misbahul Pratiwi and Abby Gina (2017) about the lives of female fishermen in Morodemak and Purworejo. Even though the two articles above have differences in the subject matter, both journals present the same common thread that the dominance of patriarchal culture has had a negative impact on the lives of fisherwomen. The two studies also reveal the challenges, strategies, and efforts made by fisherwomen to gain recognition, protection, and empowerment.

Naufaludin Ismail (2017), taking the context of Ujung Pangkah, Gresik Regency, explains the results of his feminist analysis of the experiences of two fisherwomen who succeeded in gaining access to legal identity in fishermen's cards and insurance as legitimacy and recognition of political identity. This article also focuses on the feminist analysis of Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers and the Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 16 of 2016. These regulations are the government's legal basis for determining Fishermen's Card and Insurance policies. The solid patriarchal culture at various levels of society is the main thesis of this article in explaining why it is difficult for fisherwomen to gain legal identity recognition.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used method history, which consisted of four stages: heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. At stage heuristics, we collected sources--administrative data, photos, and newsletters from various publishers: Kompas, Suara Merdeka, Jawa Pos, and Tribun News. We also directly interviewed fisherwomen (founders and members of Puspita Bahari and those involved) in Morodemak.

We also used magazines, books, articles, literary works, and journals. Furthermore, in stage verification (criticism source), we sort or select sources to determine the relevant sources as research data. Then, the data is analyzed, synthesized, and poured into written form (historiography).

DISCUSSION

Establishment of the 'Puspita Bahari' Fisherwomen Movement

The movement usually begins with awareness of injustice. Social activities are conducted to change the scope of society. The change may be in the form of new reform or conservative change. Social movements are usually realized through protest, rebellion, coup, or anarchist behavior (Martono, 2016).

Almost the same as other social movements, socio-economic Puspita Bahari fisherwomen are also motivated by anxiety and a desire to change. As written in the *Suara Merdeka* newspaper, Masnuah's concern overflowed because of watching poverty and cultural patriarchy shackling fisherwomen daily (*Suara Merdeka*, 11 November 2012). A social movement usually initiated by elites or educated figures, while the movement in Morodemak seems different since Masnuah, the movement pioneer, graduated only from elementary school. She was born and grew up in the coastal area of the Rembang Regency, which is very patriarchal.

Masnuah lives in a narrow house in a fishermen's residential area, which is crowded and muddy due to floodwater and rain. Still, instead of limiting Masnuah's movement, conditions ignite creativity in her mind (*Cempaka Magazine*, 16-22 February 2013). With these limitations, she devised big ideas, empowering fisherwomen: field economics, equality, and environmental care (*Jawa Pos*, 31 October 2011).

Masnuah's critical views, of course, did not just come. As a village woman at that time (early 2000s), Masnuah was active in activities and open to new insights. Biased views (stereotypes) regarding women who are engaged in space public occurred in her environment. A woman who often leaves the house is considered not good as she does not care for the household. However, she remained diligent in following various activities organized by NGO (Non-Governmental Organizations) groups, such as mangrove nurseries and processing training rubbish on the area's coast. She also actively follows the law study by LBH (Legal Aid Institute) Semarang (*Cempaka Magazine*, 16-22 February 2013). Her critical attitude to reality in her village was fertilized by such activities.

Since 2004, Masnuah began actively encouraging people to save money to press consumer culture. She went from house to house to pick up their savings, IDR 1,000 to IDR 5,000 weekly. The reason is that fishermen go to sea every year in cycles, and fishermen face seasonal famine, resulting in a daily income stop. This condition triggers some fishermen to be trapped by loan sharks. They owe high interest rates (*Suara Merdeka*, 27 December 2012). As a result, there are more women disadvantaged. As written in *Cempaka Magazine*, the fishermen's wives became the victims when the famine suddenly occurred. They have to hesitatingly look for debts and pawn their goods to meet needs (*Cempaka Magazine*, 16-22 February 2013). Women bear food, clothing, education, health, and so on. This condition also triggers domestic violence.

In 2005, Masnuah met Bibik Nurudduja (a woman activist) and friends. Bibik's role is essential and significant in Masnuah's activism. She asked Masnuah to join the KPI (Indonesian Women's Coalition) in Morodemak (LBH Semarang, 2011). She also asked Masnuah to join and chaired *Mustika Bahari*, a pre-cooperative group established in Morodemak. The main activities of this group are managing member savings of IDR 1,000/month and results from gathering squeezed rice. The group had 100 members when it was founded but gradually decreased to about 30 people because of various obstacles (*Life Magazine*, 21 August 2011).

All the socio-economic challenges above have sparked Masnuah to move to make

changes. On 25 December 2005, in Morodemak Village, Bonang District, Demak Regency, together with 30 fisherwomen, assisted by KPI and LBH Semarang, she formed the Puspita Bahari organization (*Suara Merdeka*, 11 November 2012). This organization is a continuation of the old organization, Mustika Bahari. The change of name aims to create a new color and spirit in the organization.

Networking, Fighting Violence

The condition of fisherwomen in Morodemak is seen as very worrying. Patriarchy became the primary emergency. The Woman has a lot of problems. Discrimination even happens in the smallest unit of society, the family. A woman's opportunity to have a better and more decent life has been taken away from the moment she was born. Women always get different treatment from men. Women are required to be "feminist," a category social resulted from society's construction, which does not need to be highly educated, must be doing domestic work, and take care of affairs family only (Pratiwi and Gina, 2017). However, from existing facts, discrimination in education is a serious threat for Woman. This practice has indirectly impoverished women and restricted access to a better and more decent life in the future.

Improving Personal Abilities

The condition of women in Morodemak does not allow them to move forward from discrimination and oppression because of the belief that what is happening is natural. However, some women who realize injustice choose to fight. They are fisherwomen who are members of the Puspita Bahari organization. They need a partner to work with to move forward because their capacity is insufficient. On average, they are elementary school and junior high school graduates. The patriarchy keeps them away from access to education, knowledge, and information. Therefore, several NGOs and Government institutions help them improve their personal qualities.

Fisherwomen in Morodemak increase their ability to access various public services provided by the government, survive independently, and be beneficial to other women. Improved personal quality will enable

them to accompany women's multiple problems in the neighborhood. This also gives them ownership potential to realize room safer and more prosperous lives for other women. At the beginning of Puspita Bahari's founding at the end of 2005, its first activity was learning about basic stage public policy advocacy accompanied by KPI (Kompas, 18 January 2018). In this process, they are informed about their rights to women as human beings (whole) and citizens. Women's rights were unequal and discriminatory at that time, still understood as something natural. Thus, the first activity of Puspita Bahari was about awareness of women's rights, which was considered natural by a social construction.

However, unlike most women in Morodemak, Masnuah already had progressive thinking. She explained to Puspita Bahari cadres what had been considered naturalized by society are gender roles that are constructed by society (Pratiwi, 2017). It made Masnuah labeled negative because she was supposed to invite other women to leave its nature. In a patriarchal society, women are active in social, organizational, or even demand their rights. They are considered a devastating disease order of society considered ideal and established.

However, it does not dampen Masnuah's enthusiasm to continue the struggle. In 2007, Puspita Bahari received support from Layan Nusantara and LBH Semarang for investigative and advocacy training, including when they captured fishermen because of crossed territorial boundaries or experienced accidents (Ibid: 380). Those two cases are equally important because such incidents frequently hit the fisherwomen. Fisherwomen who go to sea outside territorial boundaries, even if unintentionally, because of limited access to technology, will be arrested and held hostage in several areas. With that training, they are equipped with the ability to negotiate and knowledge of legal matters. If the agreement liberation cannot be obtained from the negotiation process, they will go against the law. Puspita Bahari's role is to provide advocacy assistance by accessing free legal aid.

The process of cadre continues. 2008 became an essential history for Puspita Bahari members in the personal capacity improvement process since they met LBH

APIK Semarang. Through LBH APIK Semarang, Puspita Bahari cadres received basic paralegal-level training that prepares cadres to become companions for violence victims. Jawa Pos newspaper reported that this year, violence cases against women, especially domestic violence cases, are pretty dominant as one of the patriarchal culture's effects (Jawa Pos, 31 October 2011). Therefore, this year, preparing Puspita Bahari cadres to assist violence victims is the main agenda. They were given knowledge about advocacy cases procedurally, starting from the community level, police, and even the courts (Pratiwi, 2017).

The stack continues, considering the new fisherwoman's problem keeps increasing. In Puspita Bahari management, there is a Council of Interest. This council is in charge of expanding Puspita Bahari's work network. In 2009, they networked with the People's Coalition for Justice Fisheries (KIARA), a non-governmental organization committed to strengthening group fishermen to obtain protection and welfare. KIARA helped a lot in analyzing public policy that is not gender friendly, starting from the village, sub-districts, districts, provinces, and even countries. KIARA also provides reasoning training critical as activism provision in facing public problems.

Considering the similar problem in various coastal areas in Indonesia, Puspita Bahari, KIARA Center, and the Coastal Area Development Network (PKP) Buton, Southeast Sulawesi, as well as a diverse group of other fishermen, initiated the establishment of a new organization that provides a platform for fisherwomen throughout Indonesia to fight for their rights, which was Indonesian Fisherwomen's Fraternity (PPNI). This organization was inaugurated on Liwuto Island, Baubau City, Southeast Sulawesi Province, on 25 November 2010, with a focus on activities in the empowerment of women economically and socially. Management at the level center consists of 16 PPNI members spread across 11 provinces in Indonesia. This organization becomes a fraternal network of fisherwomen to help each other and compare studies to various member areas. PPNI and other institutions above also help Puspita Bahari's activities in learning fishermen's advocacy and assisting women and children victims of violence.

Advocacy in Violence Cases

Without networking, the fisherwomen movement in Morodemak may not have achieved any progress. Change certainly happened but is less progressive without networking. The social order of Morodemak society, which places women as inferior, makes it challenging for them to grow. This situation has prevented women from using their capacity to make free choices, and women will always have little chance compared to men (Ismail, 2018).

The highly discriminatory and closed social order gradually became flexible and open with networking. It started in the 2010s when many women actively took economic and organizational roles. Puspita Bahari's various programs impact the characteristics of fisherwomen. In 2010, their attitudes of inferiority changed to become more courageous and confident. Although faced with layered problems (family, community, market, country), they still survive and are even able to break through solid foundations by fighting biased religious interpretations, stigma, and impoverishment of women. Indeed, this process still needs to be completed. However, the process has changed the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the Morodemak fisherwomen. Socially, women are starting to be bolder in speaking and reporting injustice because of easy access to free legal aid and a supportive social environment.

Still in 2010, for the first time, Puspita Bahari received a violence case report from a Morodemak fisherwoman, Mrs. Hidayah. She gets violence from her husband. This report also started Puspita Bahari's advocacy work on violence cases (Jawa Pos, 31 October 2011). Most local society could not accept this case since ordinary citizens, even the village government, demonstrated Puspita Bahari in front of the secretariat (activity post) after bringing this case to the realm of law (Tribun Central Java, 6 September 2020). It was considered too intrusive to other people's household matters because men or husbands who commit violence against their wives are still regarded as usual in Morodemak. Therefore, questioning a husband's violent behavior towards his wife is still taboo and inappropriate.

Advocacy work rivets the attention of various other social institutions. Thus, Puspita

Bahari expanded its collaboration network quickly. In 2011, Puspita Bahari partnered with the Social Service for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Prihatiningsih, 2019). They are trusted to bridge Social Service programs, such as mentoring disabled children, neglected children, elderly problems, and domestic violence victims (*Suara Merdeka*, 11 November 2012). Puspita Bahari is the only organization trusted by the Integrated Service Center for the Empowerment of Women and Children (P2TP2A) to assist victims of domestic violence cases. The Demak Regency government has also trusted them to run the Community-Based Rehabilitation program. They were assigned to restore the functioning of the person experiencing disturbances and obstacles, mentally, physically, and socially, by maximizing the role of family and group in society.

The advocacy work continues. Violence cases are reported almost every year. This makes Puspita Bahari even more serious in handling its cases. Recorded throughout 2014, 21 violence cases entered the Puspita Bahari complaint center, which are domestic violence cases. Their seriousness in advocacy work gets full support from several partners, including LBH APIK. In September 2015, together with LBH APIK, they conducted Basic Level III Paralegal training and inaugurated several potential cadres to become paralegals. Several paralegals were assigned to accompany them to solve the problem of women and children, which occurred not only in Morodemak but also in other coastal villages within Bonang District, namely Purworejo and Margolinduk Villages. The assistance includes legal, psychological, spiritual, medical, and provisional in safe house facilities. Until 2017, they had advocated case violence in about 250 cases.

Seizing Identity, Breaking Patriarchy

Women as individuals who live within a patriarchal sphere are often considered as individuals who are not autonomous and limited to spaces that have been determined by misogynist and sexist societal conventions, forcing women to become passive and subordinate individuals in society (Ismail, 2017). Almost all women's interests are not accommodated in a particular policy because women are not always involved in

policymaking. Thus, resulting policies always focus on the women's role in the family as housewives. This policy applies within a broad spectrum, the state, and within the narrowest unit, the family. Starting from this issue, the polemic regarding women's legal identity began. This sub-chapter discusses the issue of recognizing the legal identity of fisherwomen in Morodemak and Purworejo, which is difficult to recognize due to the strong patriarchal culture in various social layers and how fisherwomen seize their identity by breaking down the solid bureaucratic walls, which patriarchal bias.

At the beginning of 2016, Puspita Bahari had lots of new members. They become members because they feel the positive impacts of Puspita Bahari's activities on their lives, particularly in their economy. Although some of their husbands initially forbid them, this year, their husbands began to provide space for them to experience the positive benefits of Puspita Bahari's activities. The old perception, which tended to be negative regarding Puspita Bahari, is gradually changing because husbands are aware of the economic benefits of these various activities. Even so, Puspita Bahari does not want the new members to only take advantage of economic benefits but also to be educated on gender issues. For this reason, Puspita Bahari and LBH APIK founded the Pioneer School for Justice.

Women's community intelligence activities start again from the most fundamental stage in the Pioneer Justice School. However, in its development, this activity became increasingly complex. Women are taught about basic rights as citizens, sex and gender differences, accessing public services, writing letters to government agencies, and reporting when they are victims or companions of violence cases (Pratiwi, 2017). Through these activities, women not only have new knowledge in law and justice but also personal skills in communicating, negotiating, and making decisions. At the Pioneer Justice School, they are also trained to discuss in a group, aiming to learn to express opinions and speak in public spaces. Puspita Bahari has a lot of networks, so this ability is needed when they are required to talk, negotiate, or be involved in decision-making.

After the first few months of the intelligence activities, Puspita Bahari heard the

news about a new legal product published on April 14, 2016, namely Law No. 7 of 2016, concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Farmers, and Salt Farmers, as well as Ministerial Regulation of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 16 of 2016. The news came directly from the KIARA center, assuming this law is discriminatory. Thus, KIARA did not merely report it. KIARA also discussed these legal products using feminist analysis. However, quickly collecting various partners was difficult, so the discussion was postponed until mid-2017. From this discussion, they concluded that the legal products of the state, which were created as a basis and legal guarantee to provide social security protection to all fishermen in Indonesia, are still gender biased. These two legal products must be reviewed from a gender perspective so that they do not discriminate against women. Therefore, the struggle began.

This legal product was ultimately rejected because it did not accommodate women's interests. In Law No. 7 of 2016, fishermen's definition is limited to people whose livelihood is fishing. This public policy was born because of gender stereotypes; those who are called fishermen are men. Based on historical facts, fisherwomen have a significant role in the economy of coastal communities. Women are only mentioned once in article 45, but this negates the existence of fisherwomen because it only wrote about women's role in fishing households, not their public role. Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation Number 16 of 2016 is similar, which does not include the presence of women. Contrarily, every fisherwoman in Morodemak is involved in the fishing industry process at the pre-production, production, and post-production stages. Thus, fisherwomen must undergo a highly complex process to gain access to legal identity through fishermen's cards and insurance as a form of legitimacy and political identity recognition.

Starting from the problems above, they are fighting to gain legal identity through administrative recognition as fisherwomen. A clear legal identity can prove recognition of the fisherwomen's work. This recognition is significant because many development and social security programs can only be accessed if the occupation column on a person's ID card is a fisherman. It is also crucial for the existence of fisherwomen. However, the

struggle is complicated because the legal basis does not support gender justice. Armed with the skills gained from the Pioneers of Justice School classes and accompanied by various networks, they began to move forward to fight. In September 2017, they began holding audiences with the Morodemak Village Head. A letter of recommendation from the Village Head is required to change identity. Thus, recognition from the village government is the first step towards the following long process. All application documents (change of identity) were accepted for further processing. However, even though the Head of Morodemak Village portrayed himself as if he understood the concept of emancipation in the hearing process, women had to meet the requirements to provide a letter of recommendation. In this case, the applicant must have a validated statement from local residents that she is a fisherwoman in her daily life, which is not required for a man since a man is always believed to be a fisherman.

For Morodemak fisherwomen, these conditions are not difficult to fulfill because all the women applicants carry out fishing activities in their daily lives. Some go to sea alone because they don't have a husband. Some become crew members for husbands who cannot go to sea themselves. Zarokah is one of the Morodemak fisherwomen who has been at sea for three years (until September 2017) with her husband, Subeki, because her husband does not have a crew member. She accompanied her husband for economic reasons. If she had to employ crew members, the catch would be shared, and the results were usually insufficient to meet daily living expenses and supplies for going to sea again (Pratiwi and Gina, 2017). A similar case also happened to Surotun. She went to sea with her husband for economic reasons. On the ship, she served as a helmsman and net spreader. Another couple, Solekah and Musahadi, also went to sea together for financial reasons. Solekah becomes the 'eye' for her nearsighted husband and the ship's helmsman (Tribun Jateng, 30 April 2017). Many more women in Morodemak suffer the same fate. Thus, the Morodemak Village Head considered they deserved to be called fishermen because they jumped directly into the sea. However, according to the agreement of Puspita Bahari members, the definition of fishermen should not be that narrow, but rather all workers who

work in the maritime and fisheries sector, including those who cultivate, process, and market. The struggle to change this perception will certainly take a relatively long time.

While waiting for the results of the file submission, Puspita Bahari also helped fishermen claim their Fishermen's Cards and Insurance. Puspita Bahari cared about the welfare of women and men. The process was straightforward, with no structural challenges, which is very different from advocating for fisherwomen. As has been explained, gender bias has even occurred since public officials at the village level so that all forms of access for men have always been made easier, while for women, it has been made more difficult.

Gender bias from village-level public officials also occurs in Purworejo Village. On 4 September 2017, Puspita Bahari and fisherwomen from Tambak Polo Hamlet, Purworejo, assisted by the Women's Journal organization, held an audience with the Head of Purworejo Village. This was because, previously, Hidayah and Solekhah had come personally to submit the documents but were rejected. The hearing is the hope of the fisherwomen of Tambak Polo Hamlet to find a way out. However, the fisherwomen who had traveled a long way from the village faced the bitter reality because none of the documents they submitted were accepted. During the hearing, the Purworejo Village Head did not dare to decide. He asked the fisherwomen to wait while the village coordinated with the relevant agencies: Employment Service, Population and Civil Registration Service, and Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Service. However, the Purworejo Village Head has a biased perspective on the issue of women's work. Women who go to sea are considered only to help their husbands, not their main source of income. Therefore, the view was born that women do not do their job as fishermen.

This biased viewpoint also occurs at the provincial level, combined with a biased religious interpretation. At the same time, on 4 September 2017, the Central Java Fishermen's Forum held an audience with Commission B of the Central Java DPRD at the Central Java DPRD office. Masnuah was the only woman representative of the Central Java Fishermen's Forum. The representatives of the Central Java Province Maritime and Fisheries Service and members of major party factions with the

authority to make regulations were also present at the hearing. On that occasion, Masnuah expressed the importance of recognition for fisherwomen. She also asked all relevant agencies to simplify changing employment status from housewives to fishermen. However, the walls of injustice are too thick to be torn down because policies that have been biased are supplemented by the biased views of public officials. They believed that recognizing women as fishermen was the same as placing women in a place of shame. Masnuah denied it by admitting that the fisherwomen in Morodemak and Purworejo villages were proud to call themselves fishermen and that fishing was an honorable job, not a despicable one. However, these public officials remained adamant about prohibiting women from going to sea as a protection and respect. This perspective is called gender bias. Women are not free to make choices based on their considerations. Women do not have autonomy over themselves. Instead of positioning women in a "noble" place, these public officials turned a blind eye to fisherwomen's existence and production activities (Pratiwi and Gina, 2017).

The struggles of fisherwomen in Morodemak and Purworejo are indeed very complicated. However, on 13 October 2017, at least two Morodemak fisherwomen succeeded in receiving recognition from the Demak Regency Government. Two temporary ID cards, in the names of Surotun Nadliroh and Zarokah, were successfully issued by the Demak Regency Population and Civil Registration Service. The job status has changed to Fisherman/Fisheries. This is a sign that the state is starting to recognize the fisherwomen. Even though it is complicated, this struggle has made new history.

Efforts Towards Economic Independence

KIARA's study in 2011 stated that 48% of fishing families' income in Morodemak was generated from the economic activities of fisherwomen (Suara Merdeka, 28 October 2011). It resulted from Puspita Bahari's hard work in seeking financial independence. This success made Masnuah, on the occasion of receiving the Kusala Swadaya award, confident in conveying her criticism and aspirations in public to the government. Masnuah conveyed the importance of the government [2012] changing the paradigm of

human resource development in the maritime and fisheries sector to improve family welfare by involving fisherwomen more proportionally, from the decision-making to implementation. It is no longer possible for women to be sidelined or left out of development plans because their contribution is enormous to the economic and social progress of coastal communities.

Even fisherwomen in capture fisheries work an average of 17 hours per day and 15 hours per day in aquaculture, while those who are only involved in post-production activities are usually more flexible; they work after all domestic and reproductive work has been completed. However, they still only rest when sleeping, almost the same as female fish catchers and cultivators. Even though it is difficult, they believe it is better than living in poverty. They can have a better life since husband and wife work in the public domain, which has economic value. However, problems arise as the welfare of fishing families continues to improve. The consumption of fishing families continues to increase. The culture of consumerism is spreading in fishing villages. They start consuming beyond their needs. Masnuah and several Puspita Bahari cadres worried it would become a long-lasting habit. They also have monthly responsibilities that are very urgent and must be met, such as monthly school fees for their children, house operating costs, and so on. Thus, Masnuah revived the saving tradition to suppress the consumerism culture. Masnuah divides the savings into *rendeng*, Eid, and basic food. Each member must pay IDR 2,000 per day for basic food savings, while contributions for other savings are waived.

The success of Puspita Bahari has increased the interest of residents, not only Morodemak residents but also Morgolinduk and Purworejo residents. At the beginning of 2012, Puspita Bahari members increased to 29 official members and 5 participants. Upon welcoming new members' arrival, Masnuah and friends prepared facilities to support fish cracker-making activities. They submitted a proposal requesting assistance for equipment for making fish crackers to the Head of the Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Service, the Governor of Central Java, and the Head of the Department of Industry and Trade and SMEs of Demak Regency (Proposal, 17 January 2012). With adequate equipment and many

workers, they can produce fish crackers on a large scale. In the production process, they were assisted by the Demak Regency Political Communication and Advocacy Forum (FKPAP). Through the Women's Empowerment-Oriented Life Skills Education Program in 2012, FKPAP helped improve skills in processing marine waste products into various kinds of products and food, preparing a reliable and professional workforce, and exploring the entrepreneurial spirit of the Morodemak community to create more jobs. FKPAP also helped set up a shop that could be used to display Puspita Bahari products (Puspita Bahari Document, 24 April 2012).

On the sidelines of training activities with FKPAP, Puspita Bahari prepared the formation of a new saving and loan cooperative. The cooperative was formed to manage finances and business development. In the minutes of the cooperative formation document, it is stated that they held a meeting to form the new cooperative on 29 May 2012. The meeting was attended by 20 fisherwomen from Morodemak, Morgolinduk, and Purworejo, who are members of the Puspita Bahari group. In that forum, they named it the All-Business Cooperative, with Masnuah as chairman, Umi Zulfah as secretary, and Susanti as treasurer. They also set a principal deposit of IDR 30,000 for each member, payable in 2 installments, and a mandatory deposit of IDR 2,000. They submitted a request for a deed of establishment of the cooperative and legal entity status to the Regent and Head of the Department of Industry and Trade and *Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah* (UMKM) of Demak Regency for the cooperative to be officially established and able to operate immediately (Puspita Bahari Document, 29 May 2012). Unlike the usual steps, which involve more obstacles when dealing with the government, it is running as it should. Puspita Bahari's Multi-Business Cooperative was officially legalized on 19 July 2012 with Legal Entity Number 245/BH/XIV.8/VII/2012.

As a legal entity, cooperative members become more enthusiastic about developing their business. They have no worries about bankruptcy due to bad credit because of a strong legal guarantee. The distribution of rights and obligations is also clear and binding, so fraud is impossible. Legal entity status makes it possible to raise capital from outside,

not only from basic and mandatory savings from members. This enthusiasm can be seen from their seriousness in increasing production and marketing scale. The productive activities of the Joint Business Group (KUB) "Puspita Bahari" were carried out in one house belonging to a very limited member, after the bamboo production house was damaged. The secretariat or learning activity center is the same, still based on one member, with narrow meeting rooms. To optimize the production potential of various marine products and improve quality and social activities, they plan to build a particular house to make various products and a center for learning activities for members and the general public. Thus, they collected assistance funds from multiple parties and institutions to create an ideal production house.

Before receiving aid funds that could be used to build a production house, Masnuah first donated some of her personal assets to help speed up the construction process. She donated IDR 10,000,000, which she got from the prize for being an inspirational woman in 2012, according to Sunlight, and added with donations from Tupperware. At the end of 2012, they used that money to start building a foundation on land covering an area of 9 x 6 meters. Building the foundation was completed in January 2013, but the process did not continue because no aid funds had yet been received. They continue to get funding. They sent several proposals to various government and private institutions. They sent a proposal for assistance in building a production house to the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. They also sent a proposal for help creating a community learning activity center to the Regent of Demak (Proposal, 7 March 2013). They asked for help from the Catholic church in the Archdiocese of Semarang and National areas to cover the cost of completing the construction, which at that time was still half-finished.

The incomplete construction of the Puspita Bahari production house and learning activity center has not dampened the members' enthusiasm for productive activities. In addition, they had just received many new members from the milkfish farmer group. The Morodemak water environment is improving thanks to the good efforts of various parties, making fish farmers who once gave up enthusiastic about cultivating milkfish ponds

again. They increasingly believe Puspita Bahari's activities are for the long-term common good. Thus, they decided to join to gain benefits from various activities and contribute to good causes. The arrival of the milkfish farmers encouraged Puspita Bahari to provide training assistance for removing milkfish thorns. They produced processed milkfish ranging from 10-20 kg/day without training. Through training, they were expected to increase the production to approximately one quintal per day with more varied types of processed milk. This training is not only for those from a milkfish farming background but also for anyone interested. Thus, a proposal was made to request thorn removal appeal training and equipment assistance for training participants. The completed proposals were dated 19 September 2013 and sent to the Head of the Department of Cooperatives and MSMEs of Central Java Province and the Head of the Department of Cooperatives and SMEs of Demak Regency (Proposal, 19 September 2013).

A total of 25 members of KUB Puspita Bahari took part in training to remove milkfish thorns and various food preparations from milkfish for several days. After completing the training, they were motivated to immediately produce various milkfish preparations, such as thornless milkfish, soft thorn milkfish, shredded milkfish, milkfish meatball tofu, and fried bread stuffed with milkfish. However, amid productivity, they experienced marketing obstacles. Productivity is hampered because they do not understand how to market their newest product. Unlike other Puspita Bahari products, milkfish is more challenging to market. Therefore, they asked for marketing training assistance from the Head of the Central Java Cooperatives and MSMEs Service. In marketing training, they are taught how to use appropriate marketing strategies. One way is to introduce the Demak Puspita Bahari brand to the broader community to achieve customer and sales targets. On another occasion, they also learned how to make attractive product packaging because the packaging was still one of the biggest obstacles to Puspita Bahari products at that time. In order to be able to compete on a national scale, they also received training on expanding the application of SNI for all products from the Demak Regency Department of Industry and Trade and UMKM located at KUB Mina

Makmur, Tambakrejo Subdistrict, Semarang City (Perindankop Certificate, 10 October 2013).

Armed with the skills obtained from various trainings and a great desire to develop the business, at the end of 2014, Puspita Bahari attempted to access the Development and Empowerment Program from the Ministry of Social Affairs, Joint Business Group (Kube) for six small groups that were part of Puspita Bahari. As a program, Kube was formed to improve the community's quality of life and social welfare (Widayanti and Hidayatulloh, 2015). The 70 members of Puspita Bahari were divided into six Kube because, according to the terms and conditions for the formation of Kube, each Kube consists of 5 to 20 people with different Family Cards in one village. The six Kube are Mekar Wangi, Mutiara, Sekar Samudra, Muara Indah, Sari Laut, and Tarissa Jaya. The first Kube comes from Morgolinduk Village, consisting of 18 members. The other five Kube come from Morodemak Village, with ten members in each Kube. The other remaining members, who are not registered with Kube, are Masnuah and Umi Zulfa, who hold strategic positions at Puspita Bahari and are chairman and secretary. After completing the organizational structure and design of the Kube management plan, they submitted approval for forming the six new Kube to the Village Heads of Morodemak and Morgolinduk. The application was approved or ratified on 1 December 2014 (Decree Letter, 15 December 2014). Then, these proposals are proposed to the Demak Regency Social Service to be verified and validated as Kube recipients. After being approved by the Ministry of Social Affairs, aid funds were distributed in 2015, IDR 2,000,000 for each member. At the same time, they also received assistance with their activities from the Social Service, who was assigned to accompany the maximum implementation of Kube.

The existence of Kube has made the Morodemak fisherwomen, who are members of Puspita Bahari, more skilled at processing fish. They can make various preparations very easily because of the training they continue to receive. The products produced are in accordance with interests and skills. In previous years, they only made processed products according to Puspita Bahari's directions because of limited production equipment and the limited number of products

marketed. They were still in the pioneering stage of building a Puspita Bahari brand. After Kube's financial assistance, they purchased personal production equipment to process it at home according to their wishes and abilities. Even though they produce independently, there is no competition between individuals or Kube. They still work together by lending each other limited production equipment and sharing information during MSME exhibitions in Demak and Semarang. However, even though they can be called independent in production, they remain under one Puspita Bahari management in distribution and marketing to a broader scope, except in a few cases, they sometimes sell privately. In marketing, they still use the Puspita Bahari brand for any products they produce.

As women's economic role strengthens, the legitimacy of patriarchy becomes increasingly weakened. Women, who were initially considered to have no contribution to the economy, were supposed to be one of the critical agents of the family economy at the end of 2017. It is evident in the state starting to recognize the existence of fisherwomen in Morodemak. They are no longer excluded from public policy. Since the state recognized them as fisherwomen, access to various welfare improvement programs became open. The state has recognized women's work as equal to men's. However, gender roles in the division of labor are still not very fluid. Despite working hard in the public sphere with economic value, women are still the only ones who bear the tiring domestic work. The weakening of patriarchal legitimacy does not change the division of labor, which is still rigid. The crucial point is women's economic independence has reduced poverty in coastal communities, making women no longer subordinate to men. A woman is in the same important position as a man in the family. Now, women no longer experience violence from their husbands. They have the right to autonomy over their own bodies. Patriarchy may not have completely collapsed, but Morodemak fisherwomen are closer to justice. A gender-fair society is still an ideal that continues to be pursued.

CLOSING

This study has produced a picture of the struggle of Morodemak fisherwomen to break down patriarchal domination. The long

historical process of this movement has given rise to major changes. Activities in the economic, social, and educational fields have significantly impacted the quality of fisherwomen who are members of the Puspita Bahari organization. Through support from various parties, both private and government institutions, Puspita Bahari has grown into a movement that can lead fisherwomen to become essential agents in the family economy and a milestone in improving the economy of coastal areas. Puspita Bahari also contributes to the liberation of women from the cycle of violence.

However, the struggle towards a gender-equitable society is complicated, as illustrated. The various challenges and obstacles facing gender issues from the family, community, to the state, are part of a long process that must be continuously pursued. Without it, gender equality in society, even the country, will not be realized. Puspita Bahari has been an excellent example in illustrating the struggle for equality and justice. It will be an important contribution for the country that continues to strive for gender justice through gender equality programs as a response to the demographic bonus for Indonesia's sustainable development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thank you to all Puspita Bahari cadres and parties involved in the long history of this movement. Thank you also to my beloved Emi Rahmawati, who was always willing to accompany the author during the very tiring research process.

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