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## **Poverty, Lack Of Awareness Of Gender Education, And Patriarchy Among Javanese Coastal Women**

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### **Abstract**

**This study aims to examine the poverty, awareness of gender education, and patriarchal culture in Javanese coastal-dwellers. The study applied a qualitative approach by interviewing 70 informants. The results showed that education for coastal-dwellers was not recognized as an important aspect. In addition, they believed that the wheels of the economy were running because of the role of men ignoring the role of women in marine and fisheries economic activities. They were also married at a young age because of their insufficient awareness and understanding, thus these women could not escape from poverty and their cultural shackles. These women need to be empowered, at least in order to give them enough skills to manage their maritime potential. In addition, they deserve a better education so that they can escape from the poverty zone.**

**Keywords: Women, Gender, Education, Poverty, Patriarchy**

# **Pobreza, Falta De Conciencia Sobre La Educación De Género Y Patriarcado Entre Las Mujeres Costeras De Java.**

## Resumen

Este estudio tiene como objetivo examinar la pobreza, la conciencia de la educación de género y la cultura patriarcal en los habitantes costeros de Java. El estudio aplicó un enfoque cualitativo al entrevistar a 70 informantes. Los resultados mostraron que la educación para los habitantes de la costa no era reconocida como un aspecto importante. Además, creían que las ruedas de la economía funcionaban debido al papel de los hombres ignorando el papel de las mujeres en las actividades económicas marinas y pesqueras. También se casaron a una edad temprana debido a su insuficiente conciencia y comprensión, por lo que estas mujeres no pudieron escapar de la pobreza y sus grilletes culturales. Estas mujeres necesitan poder, al menos para darles las habilidades suficientes para gestionar su potencial marítimo. Además, merecen una mejor educación para poder escapar de la zona de pobreza.

Palabras clave: Mujeres, Género, Educación, Pobreza, Patriarcado.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Gender equality between men and women is a social issue that is widely discussed by various groups. The struggle of discrimination against women is widely discussed in society. In 1979, the United Nations approved the elimination of injustice or gender discrimination against women. A convention established in 1975 in Mexico City acknowledged that equality between women and men should implicate education and employment (ARJANI, 2008). Then, Indonesia ratified it into Law No. 7 of 1984 declaring the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. In Law Number 18 of 2014 it has also been stressed that every woman is entitled to protection of her human rights, equal opportunities to achieve justice and prosperity, and admission of respectable education. Unfortunately, the government has not notably broadcasted the Law. As a result, discrimination against women is still commonly found in Indonesia.

Indonesia is also known as a maritime country, where the percentage of the sea area is greater than the land. As a maritime country, a part of Indonesian society is coastal-dwellers who depend on marine and fisheries economies. Dwellers living on the coast are composed of various backgrounds and social classes, from upper, middle, and lower classes. Social problems are commonly found in coastal communities, especially since they are highly related to slums and poor education, including problem of women submission. Inadequate infrastructure makes it difficult for coastal areas to get out of poverty zones, not to mention that it is compounded by poor urban planning (ADELEKAN, 2010).

Women in coastal areas are poorly educated. What is widely known of coastal women is not only their miserable education, but also their main capacity as housewives without any additional earnings (KURNIADI et al. 2017). Actually, they all have access to education, however the social and cultural aspects there influence their mindset. Women who live on the coast also play a role in the family economy. They do not remain at home, instead they help their husbands collect sea products to be sold in markets or at auction sites. Moreover, these women occasionally go out to the sea and process the marine commodity to be peddled in the market. This portrays the life of coastal women, that is always occupied with fisheries and is deprecative to the importance of education.

The people who work as fishermen are classified into four divisions. The first ones are commercial fishers (*nelayan tangkap*) who possess production vessels, instruments, and fishing equipment both modern and traditional. The second ones are collectors (*pengumpul*), a group of fishers who work at the auction sites. The third are labor fishers (*buruh*) who do not have sources of production working for commercial fishers. Fourth are the fishers who farm, and processing fishermen. Meanwhile, female fishers are identified in the second and third categories. The harvested fish or aquatic population are the property of the husband because they capture them directly, in this case the women or wives do not have the control over the fruitage that is processed and sold to the market because the commodities rest on the husband's ownership (BRITWUM, 2009). In the collector division, female fishers portray the function of collecting, processing and selling the fish. While for those underprivileged coastal women coming from penniless families, they are not supported by a decent education and

so they are cornered in the fourth category, namely the labor fishermen.

Female coastal-dwellers generally are not able to enjoy their lives, because they are shackled by two conditions. First is the culture, and second is the economics. The poverty engulfing them has always forced them to embrace hardship. They do not get a decent education, or at least be equal to men. The assumption of children being assets for parents as helpers becomes a factor driving the lack of enthusiasm of fishermen households in planning the future of their children's education (RAHMAN & YUSUF, 2012). Oftentimes, they continue to depend upon their earnings in the less profitable marine economy sector, because they are not qualified with proper knowledge and skills.

Davis and Gergen in their theory suggest that the formation of the identities and roles of women and men is a product of the cultural construction and dominant ideological values of certain groups. The development of human behavior and individual identity is more influenced by culture. In addition, Herbert Mead explained the communicative activities carried out by human individuals and understand what they mean in their cultural life.

Because they have a life on the coast that contains distinctive social values from other regional societies, coastal-dwellers have an insignificant way of thinking. Thus they are not able to appreciate the importance of education for future careers. The moderate literacy competence has obstructed their development and limited the women's agency (MADDOX, 2007). Coastal-dwellers conclude that by earning from sea commodities, they do not need to get a higher education. This shows how their knowledge is still underdeveloped. What is more, they are lulled by natural products into not considering how to properly sustain the marine resources. As a result, they are reluctant to facilitate themselves for respectable education, thus they are discriminated against and subordinated.

Most coastal-dwellers do not have higher education because they think that fishing simplifies their earnings. Because of this, it is quite common for them to underestimate the education aspect. Children who drop out of school are then affected by monetary reward so there is no more school will (IRIANI, SURYANINGSI, & ASIS, 2019). This has been robustly passed on from generation to generation, especially for women. The coastal-dwellers believe that being fishers is predetermined for them, therefore

they have no intention whatsoever to obtain a better education.

One scheme of discrimination against coastal-women is the trouble of fishing cards obtainment and fishing vessels permits. Women's struggles will be recognized through a card, which facilitates them to have access to health, education, and other rights guaranteed by the government (WARDJO, 2019). The bureaucracy argues that women are not built for fishing and they are less capable of being fishermen. But in reality, there are women who capture fish and other animals from a body of water to meet their family's needs. In this case, women experience double oppression, namely the inability to empower marine potential and the non-recognition of women as fishers due to gender bias.

Javanese women are commonly identified as gentle, affectionate, and obedient, and this figure has been formulated into a socio-cultural system. Criteria for an ideal woman for a husband is to have tenderness and humbleness, therefore they are constrained to submissiveness (AJRIN, 2017). This image generates the role of a good housewife by serving her husband to support his career. Javanese women are traditionally regarded as second class dwellers because their existence is considered inferior to men. Women raised in Javanese families have limited capacity compared to men who are granted with immense privilege to determine their choices in life and to produce reliable children.

The concept of a true woman is also recorded in various classical Javanese literary works in the form of texts (*serat*), *wayang* stories, and in modern Javanese literary works. As in the text of *Panitisastra*, women only function as child-bearers, especially boys, who are highly glorified. Women without children are considered *unne*. This is fibered and unimportant. The text says that tenderness and devotion are women's healing agents to soothe the displeasure of their husbands (WULANDARI, 2006).

Other Javanese women's concepts are recorded in the text of *Candrarini*, described in 9 items: 1) Faithful to men, 2) Agreed to multiple spouses, 3) Loving others, 4) Skillful, 5) Smart dressing and caring for themselves, 6) Simple, 7) Good at pleasuring men, 8) Caring for in-laws, 9) Craving books of wisdom. (A.P Murniati in BUDI SUSANTO, et al; 2000: 24). The text of *Candrarini* mentions that women who are divorced by their husbands are blasphemous because they are not able to take good care of

their husbands and therefore they must accomplish more and work harder (marsudi) to save their marriage (mrh widadaning palakrama) (PIKATAN, 2012).

Although the point of the teachings mentioned above are intended for Javanese women, the thought patterns have wide influence. Therefore, the traditional norms have been taken for granted by the majority. The fact is that the essence of the text tends to spoil and relish men. There is a sentence saying that women's manners and heart are fully devoted to her husband and they must also be compliant (susileng tyas sumawiteng male, dumulur sapakon) (WAHJONO, 2004). In addition, the public has almost the same opinion about what a true woman is, due to the stereotyped views which they generate. As a consequence, it suggests a proper attitude of women that becomes the nature of women, which is likely to be problematical and irreversible (A.P MURNIATI in BUDI SUSANTO, et al; 2000: 25).

When a socio-cultural system running in the Javanese community is associated with coastal life, it produces a single-minded social system. The insignificant education awareness of the coastal-dwellers, particularly for women, is worsened by the Javanese cultural system that excludes women of coastal communities from education. Men are granted to take part in the public sector while women are hampered by domestic affairs. In a further study, a coastal woman is known to encounter a double burden, namely not only does she have to perform her domestic chores as a mother and a wife, but also must sell their fish captures and participate in local social activities (MASITHO, LESTARI, & SUSANTI, 2013). Hereafter, this gender construction is inseparable from coastal communities for they have been affected by unwritten formal legal rules. This study aimed to examine the poverty, awareness of gender education and patriarchal culture in Javanese coastal-dwellers.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study adopted a qualitative approach, namely by obtaining qualitative data through interview guidelines. The study was conducted in four regencies clustered by each cultural characteristic: (1) Blitar and Tulungagung regencies represent the southern coast (Javanese-Mataraman Culture), (2) Lamongan and Tuban regencies represent the north coast (North-Javanese Culture).

The 70 informants interviewed were the ones who had the following criteria: girls who dropped out of school, parents of girls who dropped out of school, teachers, and community leaders. The analysis of the data that the researcher applied was qualitative, interpreted by clarifying social reality carefully and thoroughly through the presentations of the research subjects and presented in narrative form. This qualitative data analysis was drawn up with a series of words to describe the construction of each research subject. The data was obtained from in-depth interviews, and later on it was transcribed into written form and interpreted and linked with theory.

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 Patriarchal Culture of the Coastal Communities of Java

The patriarchal system has become a system of existence in which men are seen as the center of control, all forms of power and authority are inherent in men. Gender domination of men over women has the basic ability to control, use, and conquer women (AMINAH, 2012). The assumption that men are stronger than women is also a value that has become entrenched in society. Men are seen as ideal leaders and counsellors of society or life. Meanwhile, women's capacity was limited due to the patriarchal social system.

Almost all stratum of Javanese society still hold a patriarchal culture system. For both poor and elite families, patriarchal values still exist. The difference is, in the lower class or in poor society, women are entangled in the patriarchal zone because of their economic factors. In addition, there has been a solid conception that men had greater social status and roles than women. The key to patriarchal hegemony in the poor prevails in women's economic dependence on men, especially in the public (RICE, 2001). Coastal women in particular regard that education is immaterial, therefore it is not surprising that coastal women are seen as underdeveloped dwellers.

For Javanese people embracing a patriarchal culture, women do not need to get a higher education because eventually they will be engaged with work in the kitchen. In Javanese culture, women are determined as domestic workers from a young age and they have been advised that men are

higher than them (DAUD, 2016). This stereotype has discouraged women from developing their capacity. In addition, when women's education is higher than men's background, it means men's self-esteem is low because they fell a sense of inferiority to women. This situation has a severe impact on strong Javanese families as they believe men bear the family responsibility.

In Javanese culture, there are terms indicating that women are second-class dwellers, namely posterior friend (*kanca wingking*), a term that describes a woman as friend for a man who manages a household, takes care of the children, handles the laundry, cooks, amongst other domestic chores. Actually, the term *kanca wingking* emerged from the culture of elite traditional Javanese society (*Priyayi*) treating the women as their subordinate subjects (WIDAYATI, et al. 2018). *Kanca wingking* is a term that identifies a woman as someone who is behind, not someone who appears in front or more specifically an individual who plays a role in public. Despite the fact that in coastal societies the economic life of the family rests on men capturing fish or other aquatic populations, coastal women have an important role in their household economy, namely selling and processing seafood, and some even go fishing.

Javanese values have many concepts about real women. The concept of a true woman is always associated with the shape of the body and the nature of women is passed on from generation to generation that later on forms an order that is complex and undeviating. As told by Nyi Hartati to her daughter Rancangkapti about "five fingers", symbolism of women tends to weaken the position of women (PURNANINGRUM, 2015; BUDIATI, 2010). Her guidance reveals that: a) *Jempol* (thumb) means *Pol Ing Tyas*, that a wife should surrender completely to the husband. The husband's request must be obeyed, b) *Penuduh* (index finger), means a wife must never break the husband's instructions and this is not to be questioned, c) *Penunggul* (middle finger), means a wife must always maintain the dignity of the husband, d) The ring finger, means a wife must always be nice and sweet in serving the husband, e) *Jejentik* (little finger) means a wife should be skillful and resourceful in any work serving the husband without prolonging the time (BUDI SUSANTO, et al; 2000: 24). This conception means that a woman's body must represent the charisma of a leader, housewife, to the male administrator (JATI, 2015).

Women are underestimated both by the customs of society and by the state. Separation of work between men and women arises from the socialization of gender roles stressing that the work of fishing is a male task (YODANIS, 2000). There are some female informants who go to sea to capture sea products to fulfill the demands of the economy. However, they remain underestimated because it is believed that true women should stay at home. In fact, by participating in fisheries jobs, women have an immense chance to support their households.

Women are underestimated, in addition to the customs of society as well as by the state. Separation of work between men and women as a result of the socialization of gender roles states that the work of fishing is a male task (YODANIS, 2000). There are some women informants who go to sea to catch sea products so that the family economy is fulfilled. But women who go to sea are underestimated because of the view that women are actually at home. In fact, by joining the sea workforce, women play a big part in their families.

Coastal women in the four districts are dragged into structured poverty scheme implemented by the state. Apart from cultural factors where they are still shackled by the socio-cultural system, they also do not get any protection. Female fishers are vulnerable to development policies that prioritize increased production of marine fisheries as a source of state income by ignoring the marginalized poor fishermen (SUYANTO, 2011). The Javanese coastal woman seemed to be very relaxed and do not make any efforts to strengthen and empower women.

Fishermen is a type of profession that is built for men who wish to explore the seas. The fishers are represented by the image of men because they are strong, brave, and able to break waves. Nevertheless, women also have important roles, namely capturing the fish or other aquatic populations in the sea, and then sort, clean, and finally process them. In addition they also perform marketing efforts. During this time, female fishers struggle against their hardship, and they may have to walk long distances, or think about how they are going to fulfill their households needs, yet they remain silent due to access limitations (VUNISEA, 2008). In 2012 the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) noted that fish trade chains in the world have not fully sustained the small-scale fisheries communities, particularly in developing countries where female fishers contribute 40% of total

global fisheries production. Despite the fact that coastal women in Blitar, Lamongan, Tuban, and Tulungagung have an extraordinary impact on the family economy, they remain in the zone of poverty and conservatism due to their lack of knowledge and education awareness.

In addition, Javanese culture also introduces terms that exclude women. The term “swarga katut neraka nunut” suggests that the husband determines whether the wife goes to heaven or hell. In other words, men still dominate the women, for women will always appraise men as their leader. This expression portrays the function of a woman as the husband’s personal companion and submissive individual (ARVIANTI, 2011). What is more there are other terms, namely masak, macak, manak which indicate that the nature of women is to dress up, cook, and give birth, including the terms dapur, pupur, kasur, sumur point out their domestic roles.

### 3.2 Lack of awareness of the importance of education among Javanese coastal women

Javanese coastal women still hold traditional values, thus they are not aware of getting a higher education. They also believe that with or without education, they can still survive and make earnings. Not surprisingly, underage marriage is still found in coastal-dwellers. This happen because they do not have the awareness of the importance of education, therefore they believe that marriage should be done at early age, a conception that must come to an end. The cultural factor is triggered by economic factors and because coastal-dwellers encounter poverty and insignificant education (KHAN, et al. 2013).

“The majority of children’s education background is in high school, while the ones who are in college number only 5 to 7 people, regardless, they are still far from success. They would probably work overseas as migrant laborers after they graduate, or maybe work as fishermen. We are hesitant to continue our study”.

This fragment of information shows that people are less aware of the importance of education due to their mindset. The coastal-dwellers view that education cannot lead someone into a success. Being a family fisherman is considered adequate to support the household. Such a mindset is derived from poverty that affects the way this fatalist society thinks. (KADRIANI

& HARUDU, 2017). Apart from the marine field, they also rely on their additional profession as Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI), as a result they still strongly believe that their main earnings come from fisheries.

Women who live on the coast and belong to a fisher family bear a heavy burden. Those who were married off in their early years eventually remain in marine activities and do not have enough knowledge. Parents are bold enough to marry their daughters at a young age because they do not understand the importance of adjourning marriage at a young age and are unaware of the risk of early marriage (Rochadi). Coastal women not only have limited access to education but also bear an immense duty taking care of their household and economy demands at a very young age.

One of the fishermen's wives in Tulungagung revealed that in coastal communities girls who have graduated from primary or secondary school do need to continue their academic journey to higher education, because they are expected to get busy in the kitchen, meanwhile the men may continue their pursuance of higher education. In a study conducted by KUSUMO, CHARINA, and MUKTI (2013) on the coast of Pangandaran, they explained that the coastal-dwellers find it unacceptable for a woman to be a leader, and a wife should be less dominant than the husband. They believe that women do not need higher education when they eventually decide to be fishers. However, men are expected to achieve more and to have a better profession. Because of that reason, parents are less aware of their children's education because they assume it is not the main importance.

Javanese coastal communities also involve women in fisheries and marine activities. No matter whether they graduated from primary or secondary school, women are obliged to help their husbands to sell their captures. Some informants from the four districts are secondary school graduates, but they choose to help their husbands sell fish in the market or process them. This is done to support the household and to have their captures easily bought by the end-user.

The role of coastal women in promoting the economy cannot be underestimated. Although they really depend on men to capture marine products, they still contribute their assistance to support the households. Unfortunately, their lack of knowledge and skills makes them unable to give more value than the fish captures. A number of informants claimed that they only

know how to sell both raw and processed captures that have been cured and flavored by the smoking process. They do not realize that the captures can be processed into various types of products, including preservation storage methods, so that more selling value would be obtained.

In most cases, coastal dwellers do not have sufficient knowledge of the potential that can be developed. The portrayal of slum coastal communities and dense settlements and their hesitancy in obtaining higher education is a condition that actually challenges them. They are less moved and motivated to become independent and creative communities due to lack of knowledge. In addition, women as the major influence of education for children do not get broad educational opportunities. Should the expansion policies damage the sea, coastal women would experience a heavy burden, because they would be affected and less likely to survive. Since they are not equipped with adequate knowledge and skills, they may not be involved in the expansion process.

The coastal-dwellers constantly believe that girls who have become teenagers must be immediately married. If the soon-to-be husbands come from fisher families, then the lives of the girls will be driven to the coastal economic activities. They will act as the women who go to the market every day or process their captures, regardless of the background education they carry. In fact, they should be able to escape from this patriarchal territory since they are secondary school graduates. However, they are confined to the social and cultural system.

Education facilities in the coastal areas are generally available from kindergarten, primary, and to secondary school. But sometimes they are remote, and what is more the secondary and higher education institutions are located in the center of the districts. Owing to that reason, these women are too lazy to attend the academic session and to give themselves more chances to obtain better education. Because of their low enthusiasm, these women are unable to motivate their children.

The acceptance that women are second-class dwellers seems to have become a dogma for the Javenese coastal communities for not sending their daughters to higher levels of education. For them, women have weaknesses and it will be dangerous if they are too far away. In terms of education, they can compromise by sending their sons to school, but they will not

grant their daughters to have the same circumstance for they are too compassionate to them. They are just girls, therefore they do not need higher education. I cannot let them go too far from me either, for I feel pity for them. Even if they were granted with a scholarship, I would not allow them to go. I do not want them to misbehave.

In coastal communities, especially in Tuban and Lamongan, female Muslim residents in the area are better off attending boarding school than public schools. The dwellers are afraid that their children would change when they have contact with the outside world. This fear is also worsened by the stigma that women do not have to go far and achieve higher education. Because of that, coastal women are difficult to develop.

The coastal-dwellers have more trust in the religious educational institutions to educate their children, rather than go into public institutions that provide various academic skills. This is also supported by their environmental and social factors that have been passed on from generation to generation.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The Javanese fishermen's family still upholds the unwritten rules of women's roles in the public sector. The fishers do not generally get higher education, instead only lower education. This reality is reinforced by the social and cultural systems advising them to be fishermen rather than taking higher education. In addition, women's access to education is also very limited. Fishermen in the four districts believe that children are assets, training their children to work to earn money is considered easier than providing adequate education for them.

Women in the Javanese coastal communities encounter subordination, first because of the cultural factors, second, because of the economic factors. In addition, these women maintain a patriarchal culture that obliges them to obey their husbands whatsoever, to accept the constraint, and to speak softly as they do not receive better education, what is more, they have no right to object.

From the research, there is a need for empowerment and protection for Javanese female fishers. These women need to be empowered at least in

order to give them enough skills to manage their maritime potential. In addition, they deserve better education so that they can escape from the poverty zone.

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