SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF WOMEN FISHER IN MUARA SELOTONG

Riadi Syafutra Siregar
Sociology Anthropology Education Study Program, Sebelas Maret University

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Abstract
This paper aims to identify and describe the survival strategies of women fishers in meeting the needs of family life in Muara Selotong and the distribution of marine products. In their role, women fishers do not only play a role in the domestic space but also participate to fulfill and increase income, so that they are sufficient for the family economy. This research uses a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach, research techniques include; participant observer and in-depth interviews. The results of the field research show that in helping the family’s economy, women fisher in Muara Selotong work looking for shellfish, crabs and helping their husbands in looking for fish and shrimp. The technique of looking for shells and crabs uses the traditional way, namely by using a "Gancu" tool and watching the tides. For the sake of getting additional economics, some dare to do this work, even though they are not good at swimming. Economic demands and low levels of education are the main reasons for women to participate in helping the family economy because the income earned by men as heads of households is deemed insufficient. Women also have wider access and networks than men to distribute marine products. Because women take on roles from the production stage to distribution in the market. It can be seen that the dual role of women is very helpful to meet the needs of the family.

Key words: Survival Strategy, Multiple Roles, Women Fisher

*Corresponding author: riadisyafutra@staff.uns.ac.id

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INTRODUCTION
Poverty and women still need attention, because until now there has been a lot of data that concludes that women and poverty are very high in percentage. This situation is in line with Santi (2007), who said that according to UN data, one third of the world’s population lives below the poverty line and 70% of the poverty rate is filled by women. According to the BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics) in 1998, more than 79 million people, or 40 percent of the population, are below the poverty line. Many of the poor are characterized by women with low education and even illiteracy. This indicates that women’s participation in education is still low, giving rise to a culture of poverty, especially in rural areas such as Muara Selotong.

The culture of poverty can be manifested in various historical contexts, but is more likely to grow and develop in a society that has a set of conditions where a strong set of values in the ruling class emphasize the accumulation of wealth, and the possibility of vertical mobility and frugality, coupled with the assumption that low economic status is the result of personal incapacity or is basically already low in position. (Lewis, 1988).

This condition is seen in the lives of women fishermen in Muara Selotong, which requires women fishermen to have ways and strategies to survive, so that the continuity of family life can be carried out. The survival strategy carried out by women fishermen in Muara Selotong is an active survival strategy. Suharto (2009) said that an active strategy is a strategy carried out by poor families by optimizing all the potential of the family (e.g., doing their own activities, extending working hours, and doing anything to increase their income).

Female fishers optimize their potential by participating in fishing with their husbands. In their activities, women fishers will be lowered along the edges of the channel or estuary that has receded to look for marine resources such as shellfish and take “bubu” (a tool to catch crabs). Meanwhile, fishermen will head to the estuary to install “ambai” (a traditional way of catching shrimp). After getting the desired results, they will sell it to the market, buyers and collectors (or "toke"), who usually come around or deliver directly. The purpose of this study is to describe the lives of women fisher, who have multiple roles in the family, survival strategies, distribution of marine production, and solutions that can be provided to the government or policy makers.

METHODOLOGY
The research method in this paper uses descriptive qualitative research with the Spradley ethnographic method approach to understand and reveal the issues raised and to be investigated by the author. Spradley (1997:1) says that "ethnographic fieldwork is the hallmark of cultural anthropology." Furthermore, Spradley (1997) said that the ethnography used was an ethnographic method sourced from the schools of cognitive anthropology, ethnoscience, or new ethnography. In analyzing the data in the study, the researcher used an ethnographic data analysis model. According to Spradley, it includes domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, component analysis, and cultural theme analysis. The theme analysis looks for relationships between domains and how these domains are related to the culture as a whole. Theme analysis, or discovering cultural themes, is actually an attempt to find a "common thread" that integrates across domains (Spradley, 1997). In this study, the author took part as an observation participant, following all the activities carried out by women fishermen so as to obtain appropriate field data. The informants in this study were female fishermen, while the key informants were male fishermen and people who live on the outskirts of Muara Selotong.

DISCUSSION
Result
The women fishers who live in Muara Selotong live a difficult life because they find it difficult to meet their food needs alone, especially their clothing and tertiary needs. In order to survive, conditions like this are chosen to survive. Plus, women fishers already have families, so to support and meet the economic needs of their families, they automatically participate in helping the family's economy. The wealth of abundant marine resources is used as land to seek sustenance to meet the needs of the family.

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Women fishers make their daily work looking for fish, shrimp, shellfish and crabs. This activity is one of the survival strategies they can do, so they are called fishermen. Participating as a fisher requires expertise and habits based on experience, because they already have previous experience, so they easily know the position and place (lapak) to get marine products.

In this study, it can be seen that there are several reasons for women's participation in solving family economic problems, namely by utilizing the availability of marine resources around their place of residence. This availability encourages more women to work as fishermen, so that they unwittingly have a double workload. Dual work roles can be interpreted in the form of various roles that must be played or played by women at the same time, namely: domestic roles (in the form of housework), and public roles, which are usually involved in earning a living for family needs (Rustiani, 1996). In the life of an established family, the role of women has led to the realm of public roles because household work can be done using the services of a household assistant (ART), but it is different for those who live as women fishermen like in Muara Selotong. Working as a housekeeper is carried out simultaneously with participating in meeting household needs.

The dual role of women is a form of discrimination and is included in gender inequality because some activities are carried out by one gender only, namely women. With the development of insight from a gender approach, it should have an impact on the development of women who take part in an activity, namely with the development of jobs that are more prosperous. We need to pay attention together that the development of women in a gender approach is not as easy as turning the palm of the hand due to the social construction that has lasted a long time and is even entrenched among traditional societies, namely the role of women in life, always in the scope of taking care of household affairs.

**Role in a healthy family economy**

The role of women fishers as actors in economic activities is marked by the activities carried out by women fishermen in utilizing marine resources, starting from the production process of marine products, such as searching for fish, shrimp, shellfish, and crabs, to processing and distributing their catch. The background of participation as a fisherman is due to difficult economic conditions and the lack of income from the husband, as the head of the household, is considered unable to meet daily needs.

In daily activities, especially in fishing families, the division of labor between men and women in the household is divided into two categories, namely: (1) the production sector, wherein in the production sector, men carry out shrimp and fish catching activities in the estuary or the sea, and (2) distribution, namely, women carry out catch processing activities or distribution to collectors (toke) or markets, but on a smaller scale. In other words, in the use of marine resources, it can be said that men are only involved in the production (fishing) stages, while women are involved in the post-production stages, namely the processing and marketing of fish catches. Over time, women have entered the production sector. In addition to the lack of government intervention in socializing the importance of education in the Muara Selotong area, the role of the government is also not visible in taking over or facilitating the distribution and processing process after catching marine products. This is one of the factors driving the increasing number of women fishers.

When viewed carefully, in order to fulfill their daily needs, women fishers will go through a process of utilizing natural products (food gathering) to establish a business using common sense (food production) that is adapted to the surrounding natural environment. Traditionally, classifying human livelihoods consists of: (a) hunting and gathering; (b) raising livestock; (c) farming in the fields; (d) catching fish and growing crops with irrigation (Koentjaraningrat, 2002). This activity is also not much different from that carried out by the ancestors of the Indonesian people. This condition continues and is passed down from generation to generation from one generation to the next, until now, so that
the lives of women fishers will not be separated from cultural and structural poverty.

Structural poverty is poverty suffered by a group of people because the social structure of the community is not able to utilize the sources of income that are actually available to them. Structural poverty is poverty that occurs not because of the inability of the poor to work (lazy), but because of the inability of the system and social structure to provide opportunities that enable the poor to work (Suharto, 2005:78).

The participation of women fishers to meet economic needs cannot be separated from the income and expenditure factors experienced by the family. Income is a form of appreciation in the form of material received by someone for the energy they give. In this case, the community's income comes from fishing at sea and is added to the results of looking for shells or crabs on the outskirts of the estuary channel.

The amount of income generated by a fisherman varies, depending on the number of catches and the condition of the price of fish in the market, as well as crabs or shellfish, due to the lack of interest in the market compared to fish. The ebb and flow of sea water, whether it's luck or not, can't do it, digging a hole to cover the hole, is a term used by women fishers to describe their income in Muara Selotong. It is impossible to measure with certainty the income of a women fishers if it is averaged over a month.

Women Fishers Survival Strategy

The low level of education and the lack of skills mastered affect the economic life of the fishermen's families, so the number of women who work as fish, shellfish, crab, and shrimp seekers is increasing. With the increase in the dual role of women, it will automatically affect the production of marine products themselves. This can be seen from the comparison of production results in the past with the present. Due to the increase in the number of women fishers, plus the decreasing number of lapak (locations for finding marine resources) available, the catch production decreases the longer it is available. This affects the price given for the production.

The absence of other jobs that can provide additional costs for the family's economic needs, makes women in this area choose to join fishermen as a daily job, this is one of their active survival strategies. In utilizing marine resources in Muara Selotong, women who want to become fishermen must-have skills and habits based on experience, because being a fisherman is not obtained through one or two fishing trips, but must be done as often as possible to gain experience. Because looking for sustenance (fish, crab, shellfish, and shrimp) is an alternative job for women, therefore, like it or not, they must be experts in finding it. The experience gained started from childhood, because the parents of female fishermen, usually take their children to sea at certain times, such as the sorong sea currents 1,2,3 and 4. marine resources.

The produce is distributed retail, in other words selling to traditional markets or waiting for buyers to come, buyers who come will usually resell seafood by traveling around. It's different when the product is sold to toke or collectors, they often come to pick up seafood, but the price given is cheaper than the market price and the buyer, if the market price and buyers are around 15,000/kg, the "toke" will give a price of 12,000 or 10,000/kg. When compared to this price, it will look cheaper, but selling to a toke has to be done, because it is easier for distribution matters and considering that other matters must be resolved priority, namely household (domestic).

Currently, the need for staple food prices for household needs is getting higher, this has an impact on family consumption expenditures which automatically increase, while the income or income earned remains constant. As we know that income from areas occupied by the majority of fishermen is always not fixed because sometimes it can be a lot, but it can also not be done at all, this can happen when there is a famine or unfavorable natural conditions.

Women participate in work because the family's economic demands must be met, so that daily food needs can be covered. When viewed in the upper-middle class economic community, work is considered as an increase in prestige (pride) who are more likely to be able to meet their own needs, for example for women to get cosmetic equipment and
satisfy the desire to shop for branded goods, while in the middle-class economy especially for women, work is considered as a necessity that must be carried out to be able to meet the primary needs of the family, if they do not participate, the family's economic needs may be disrupted.

Women fishers are included in the family of the lower-middle-class economy because they play a role in fulfilling household needs. The work of housewives in managing the house, cooking, washing, and guiding and raising children cannot be measured in terms of money. The mother is the most decisive figure in shaping the child's personality, as well as in the household of female fishermen, still dominated by women who are always responsible for running the affairs of taking care of their household needs after going to sea.

Role in Production and Distribution process

The social construction of the community, especially those who live in Muara Selotong, the role of women is still influenced by skepticism, namely placing women in a weaker position, when compared to men in daily work activities, especially related to the production and distribution of resources. Sea power. It is undeniable that women should be one of the most important factors in the distribution of marine resources, because of their position in the fishery and marine-based activities, they can be traders, retailers, fish collectors, wholesalers, wage laborers, and fishery product processing workers. Various aspects of studies or development programs for fishermen's lives, they are not touched much, so the position of women remains in the domestic role (housewives).

Conditions like this are considered a natural thing in the layman's view because women have long been socially and culturally constructed to become individuals who are only in the position of housekeepers (domestic), even their movements are limited within the scope of the household, so the role of fishermen women in socio-economic and cultural life in Muara Selotong become less or less visible. The existence of family economic limitations that require women including children to work in the production of marine resources. In fishing activities, women fishermen play a very strategic role, especially in the realm of distribution of marine products. In some areas, for example, the role of women fishermen often touches areas that are considered men's work area, namely fishing, as is often found in fishing activities for crabs and shellfish. This productive role, for women fishermen, often outperforms their reproductive or domestic roles.

The results of this study also show that the roles played by women such as cleaning the house, washing, caring for children, and preparing food every day, do not affect their time when doing marine resource production activities. The role can be left temporarily or ask other family members such as children, their mother/grandmother to do it. The contribution of women fishermen to family income can be said to exceed half of the husband's income, so it is very helpful in providing for the family economy reproductive or domestic roles.

Besides that role, women here have social capital that is useful for the formation of relations and networks in production and distribution. There are three types of social capital, namely as follows:

1. Social bound (social glue). Social bonding is a type of social capital with the characteristics of a strong bond (the existence of social glue) in a social system. Social bonding is generally in the form of values, culture, perceptions, and traditions or customs.

2. Social bridging (social bridge). Social bridging is a social bond that arises as a reaction to various characteristics of the group. Social bridging can arise because of the various kinds of weaknesses that are around them, so they decide to build on strengths from weaknesses.

3. Social linking (relationships / social networks). 362 tis a social relationship characterized by the existence of a relationship between several levels of social power and social status in society. For example The relationship between the political elite and the general public. Various programs carried out by the government that aims to improve the quality of human beings should focus on the conditions of women and men, because with this, the role of women in helping the family economy can
be optimized so that economic inhibiting factors can be identified properly. (Woolcock, 2001)

From the above statement, it can be seen that the social capital of women fishermen in Muara Selotong is the same social capital as Woolcock’s statement, where bounding social capital is seen during the hurricane season, the women fishermen will join in flocking or flocking along the sea lanes to find the “lapak” (where the clams and crabs live). Then social bridging capital is social capital that is carried out by forming groups of fishermen, so that they have access to assistance from the government, while social linking capital is seen between “toke” and fishermen.

Based on population data, the number of women is more than men, the development program plans carried out by the government should be based on the needs of women, not the other way around. The development of development programs by the government that does not refer to women, by itself provides obstacles to the development of women’s thoughts, making it increasingly difficult for them to change their destiny and lives. In addition, the program was not right on target, causing jealousy towards other women.

The participation of women in various marine resource production activities has been proven to be able to maintain the sustainability of the household economy. The opportunity is given to women in helping the family economy results in the role of women who have quite good opportunities because husbands also have a good habit of handing overfishing products to women and at the same time giving full trust to women to manage household finances. This process can provide separate lessons for women, making women more independent and brave in making important decisions for their families and even themselves.

Internal support is more optimal if intervention programs from the government can touch women fishermen. Various development programs in the future need to provide opportunities for women who are job seekers to have opportunities that are equal to men. Optimizing the role of women job seekers in the development of women fishermen can only be done through the integration of development policies and women's empowerment into national, provincial, or district/city policies in the realm of planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development.

**Welfare Improvement Strategy**

If we look closely, the implementation of this development planning program is not easy if it is not supported by the awareness and sensitivity of policymakers about gender equality and justice. The programs provided should guarantee an increase in welfare or the involvement of women in the production of marine resources. Equal distribution of roles, especially from the economic aspect, where the role of women is given only to take care of the results and marketing of products, including preservation, processing, distribution and marketing of products, while men are devoted only to the production aspect through fishing, shrimp, shellfish and crab activities as well as resources other resources, so that this method can be used as a strategy to encourage better women’s participation.

The strategy to improve the welfare of women fishermen must be based on looking at the various difficulties experienced in marine resource production activities, so that they must prepare themselves to have the strength to work at sea, coupled with strengthening aspects of results and distribution that are not only meant for women fishermen. Strengthening programs can be carried out through the provision of assistance, strengthening group-based business institutions, and socializing the importance of education. Such strengthening will have a positive meaning, because it can strengthen the bargaining position of women against competitors, which are generally men with larger capital, facilitating access to capital, markets, information, and technology.

In the end, the development of programs based on production and distribution must be integrated with other activities, thus providing a great opportunity for the actualization of the role of women fishers. In the production and distribution of marine resources, it can be said that men should be involved only in the production (fishing) stages, while women are given a role to be involved in the post-production stage, namely processing and marketing the catch.
or distribution. The need for an understanding of the existing social conditions, especially women, can be used as a reference in community development to overcome poverty and other economic difficulties. Poverty conditions of women fishers can be seen as follows:

1. Low education
   - School fees that are considered expensive.
   - Considering education is not necessary so that you accept fate from God
   - Most of the time is spent going to sea
   - Considering the sea is more important than school

2. Natural Condition
   - Alternative work that is not suitable for meeting needs
   - With unfavorable natural conditions, they cannot make a living
   - Go to sea depending on natural conditions
   - Unexpected results due to ignorance of changing seawater

3. Lifestyle
   - Lazy
   - Wasteful
   - Have no future savings
   - Not interested in looking for another job because they don’t have the skills
   - There is competition in meeting needs such as furniture and electronic equipment

One of the government's programs through the National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM) Mandiri in the marine and fisheries sector implemented by the government, is expected to reduce the poverty rate of fishermen such as the people of Muara Selotong. Through the development of community economic activities based on local resources, both community and natural resources, fishermen can develop businesses according to their abilities and needs.

Thus, it is expected to increase welfare, create jobs, and encourage regional economic growth, especially among fishing communities, so that women who previously increased in fishing jobs are reduced by this program. The author offers designs that can be used as a reference in improving the welfare of women fishers, such as:

a. Socialization of the importance of formal education in survival
b. Facilitate the community in choosing a variety of formal education
c. Socialization to parents not to invite or allow children to participate in helping the family's economic life
d. Access or cost of education adjusted through government policy
e. Training and learning in mastering access to and information on natural conditions and the location of marine resources
f. Existence of targeted physical assistance
g. Building a creative economy strategy for women
h. Provide skills training to anticipate unfavorable natural conditions for fishing
i. Training and provision of job diversification institutions
j. Changing people's mindsets about work and life that can manage finances to prepare for the future
k. The government must involve community participation in making decisions in implementing policies
l. Government assistance adapted to social conditions.

In addition, the government must also participate in the capital sector, so that it can overcome the difficulties of fishermen when the catch does not meet expectations. In addition, the function is to have a government-owned office that can provide funds for fishermen's needs at sea. With the difficult conditions of the social life of fishermen, it seems very difficult to carry out this function without adequate collateral from the fishermen, so the Government should be able to provide special funds as collateral to the office to distribute funds to fishermen. There is nothing wrong with that from now on, the government will start trying to allocate retribution funds from transactions at a TPI (auction fish) to be directed towards providing capital for fishermen. Thus the
budget channeled to fishermen can be realized, this means that the government participates in encouraging the rise of the economic strength of fishermen, following the fifth principle of Pancasila.

Overcoming fishermen’s poverty should begin with data on fishing communities, then look at the factors that cause poverty, whether due to debt or other factors. Then a more focused way or design in tackling it. The causes of poverty are not the same in different regions, because different regions have different cases and environmental conditions so that even poverty alleviation designs cannot be generalized to all regions or all sectors. The fishermen poverty alleviation program requires a special strategy that can answer the reality of poverty, and the strategy described by the researcher is a strategy that deserves to be used as a reference in making policies by the government for the socio-economic welfare of the fishing community so that fishermen who incidentally help the family’s economic life change with better jobs.

CONCLUSION

The survival strategy for women fishers is to make fishing, shrimp, crab, and shellfish their main job. As a livelihood in supporting and meeting the economic needs of the family. This is obtained since childhood because they have been side by side with poverty and the sea. With the source of marine production, it is used to be able to find a source of income. Along with poverty, they also participate in meeting the family’s economic needs, because there are no other activities to do except go to sea with their parents. The amount of education costs that cannot be borne by parents, requires them to quit school and look for other activities. In other words, quitting school makes them think to take an attitude to participate in helping their parents in meeting the economic needs of the family. At first, they came only to fill the void of time or rather than just staying at home, it was better to go for a trip to the sea, but the development of the times and economic demands made them automatically take the attitude to go to sea. This activity becomes a habit that is carried over to adulthood so that when they get married and do not have the skills or education, they make the habit of going to sea as their main job in providing for the family's needs.

Poverty is a social problem that always exists in people's lives, it should be homework for the government and stakeholders because poverty is the reality of the low welfare of society. Poverty is also inseparable from low levels of education and skills and less able to compete in work. There need to be programs that can alleviate poverty in a society. Suggestions are prepared based on the research findings that have been discussed. Suggestions may refer to practical action, the development of new theories, and/or further research.

REFERENCE LIST


