

## LADIES RUN A GOLD MINE IN JUWANA'S FISH AUCTION MARKET

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### ABSTRACT

For the past twelve years, the river of Juwana has seen many changes. The harbour has been updated and accommodates a larger number of boats, namely the big Javanese purse seiners. Fishing activities expand towards a semi-industrial fishery exclusively reserved to men. The production of fish increases considerably and gives rise to numerous new activities directly connected to this fishery.

Within this new context, women seized new opportunities. Their gold jewellery provides a secure capital to run their enterprise. Today, part of the distribution of fish is mainly in the hand of those ladies. Over the years, some of them have become real entrepreneurs and play an active role in Juwana's fish auction market. Whether from the formal or the informal sector, women from Bendar occupy a central position in their community: some supply the market with informal fish production from the purse seine boats while others supply the fish processing home industry both at formal and informal level.

KEYWORDS : women in fishing economy, formal sector, informal sector, development.

### ABSTRAK

*Selama dua puluh tahun terakhir, banyak perubahan yang terjadi di Sungai Juwana. Pelabuhan sudah diperbaiki dan dapat menampung lebih banyak perahu, yaitu pukat cincin besar Laut Jawa. Kegiatan penangkapan berkembang menjadi semi-industri, yang terutama melibatkan kaum pria. Produksi ikan meningkat pesat sebagai akibat munculnya berbagai kegiatan baru yang langsung berhubungan dengan penangkapan. Dalam kegiatan baru inilah kaum wanita membangun usahanya. Dewasa ini eksploitasi ikan terutama ditangani oleh kaum wanita. Selama itu, beberapa wanita telah menjadi pengusaha yang sesungguhnya dan memegang peranan aktif pada pasar lelang ikan di Juwana. Apakah berasal dari sektor formal maupun informal, wanita Bendar menduduki posisi penting dalam masyarakatnya. Kaum wanita inilah yang mengeksploitasi sumber daya dan mengolah hasil tangkapan memegang administrasi, mendorong penangkapan, dan menyumbang pendapatan untuk keluarga.*

KATA KUNCI : wanita dalam perekonomian tangkap, sektor formal, sektor informal, pengembangan.

According to the fish auction market's (*TPI*) statistics, out of all the registered fish traders or *bakul ikan*, in Indonesia, 70% are men and 30% are women. Their geographic origins (Fig. 1) show that few come from East Java and that most of them come from neighbouring villages or towns from all over Central Java with a high percentage of female traders originated from Bendar, the fishing village located right across the *TPI* (Fig. 2).

Although the pelagic fishery is a relatively new subject and the fishery in itself starts to be well known in terms of biology and exploitation (Potier and Sadhotomo, 1995) this is not the case for the description of economic or human activities, which remains an area where little information is available. This paper deals with the women trading activities in the Juwana fish auction market.

#### JUWANA : A FISHING HARBOUR

Harbour infrastructures permanently stand along the riverside : a cooperative (*KUD*) which offers a recognised status to its members as well as savings and loans services and all working facilities such as a spare parts garage, dry docks to lift the boats and ships handlers who supply with equipment, fuel, ice, salt and food before vessels go at sea. It has a fish auction market divided in two parts. One for the pelagic production and the other part for demersal fishes (Fig. 2).

The harbour of Juwana accommodates for three different kinds of fishing boats :

- the medium and large purse seiner employing between 40 to 50 men and going at sea between 15 till 40 days depending on the season. This type of boat lands a production of pelagic fishes (Potier and Sadhotomo, 1995);
- the mini long liner employing 5 to 6 fishermen and going at sea between 15 till 40 days. Most of the time for 20 days. The mini long line land demersal fishes;
- the traditional boat that goes at sea in the morning and comes back late afternoon. Depending on the net on board, fishermen may bring coastal fishes, crabs, squids and shrimps.

In 1995, some 56 purse seiners were registered in Juwana as well as nearly 200 mini long liners. Still, the proximity with the fishing grounds encourages purse seiners usually based in Pekalongan and Tegal (Fig. 1) to land their catch in Juwana. Over 1995, the harbour has recorded a turnover of some 1 381 purse seiners' landings.

The small-scale fishery remains an informal activity and the *TPI* does not record its production. It is therefore very difficult to refer to that type of fishing or to report on this type of fishery from a formal point of view. The present paper will deal with the activity at the *TPI* and will mainly focuses on the purse seine fishery.

In term of production landed in 1995, the total pelagic catches at the *TPI* amounted to a total of 54,888 tons with a value of 39.9 milliard rupiahs.

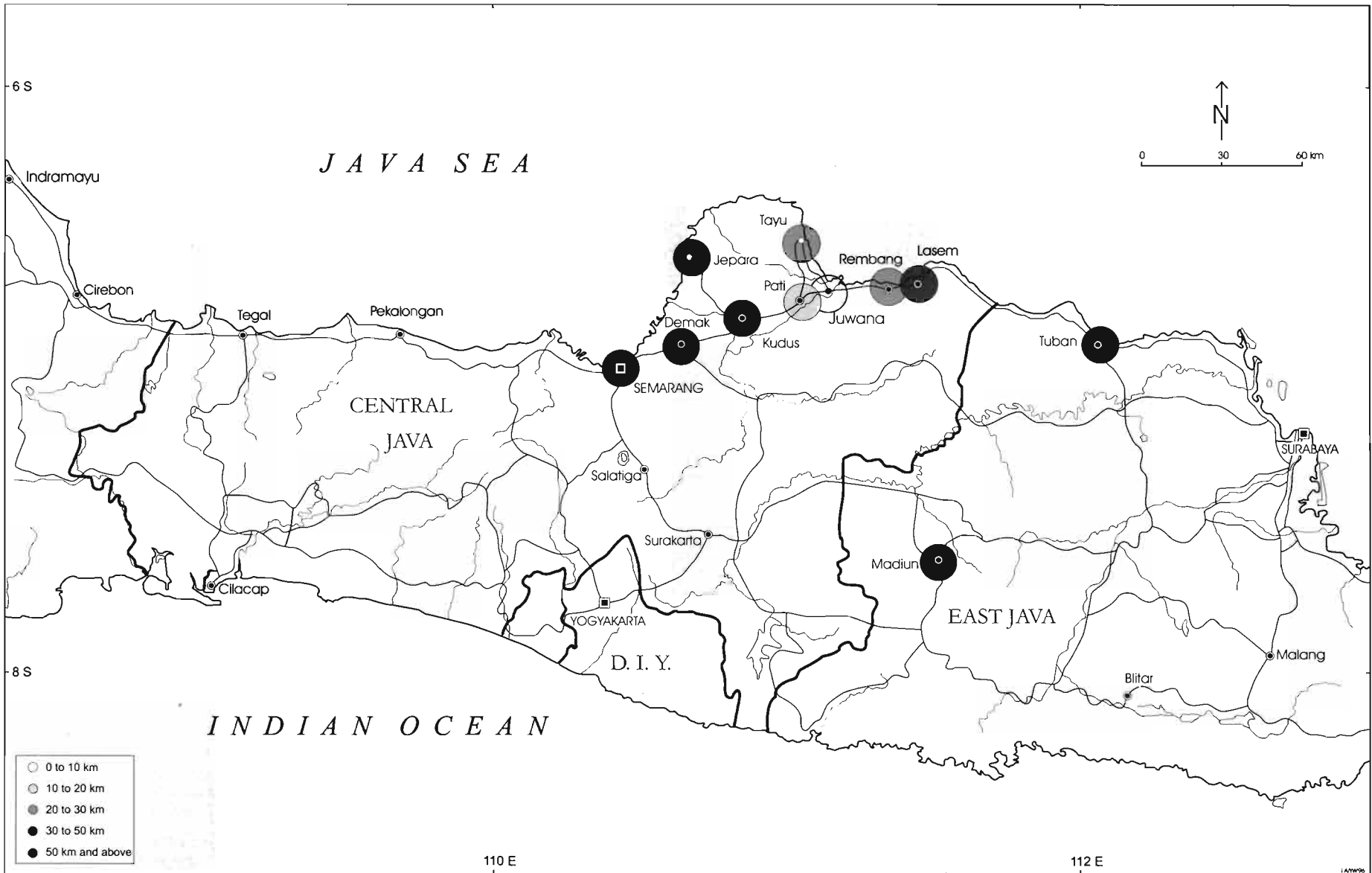
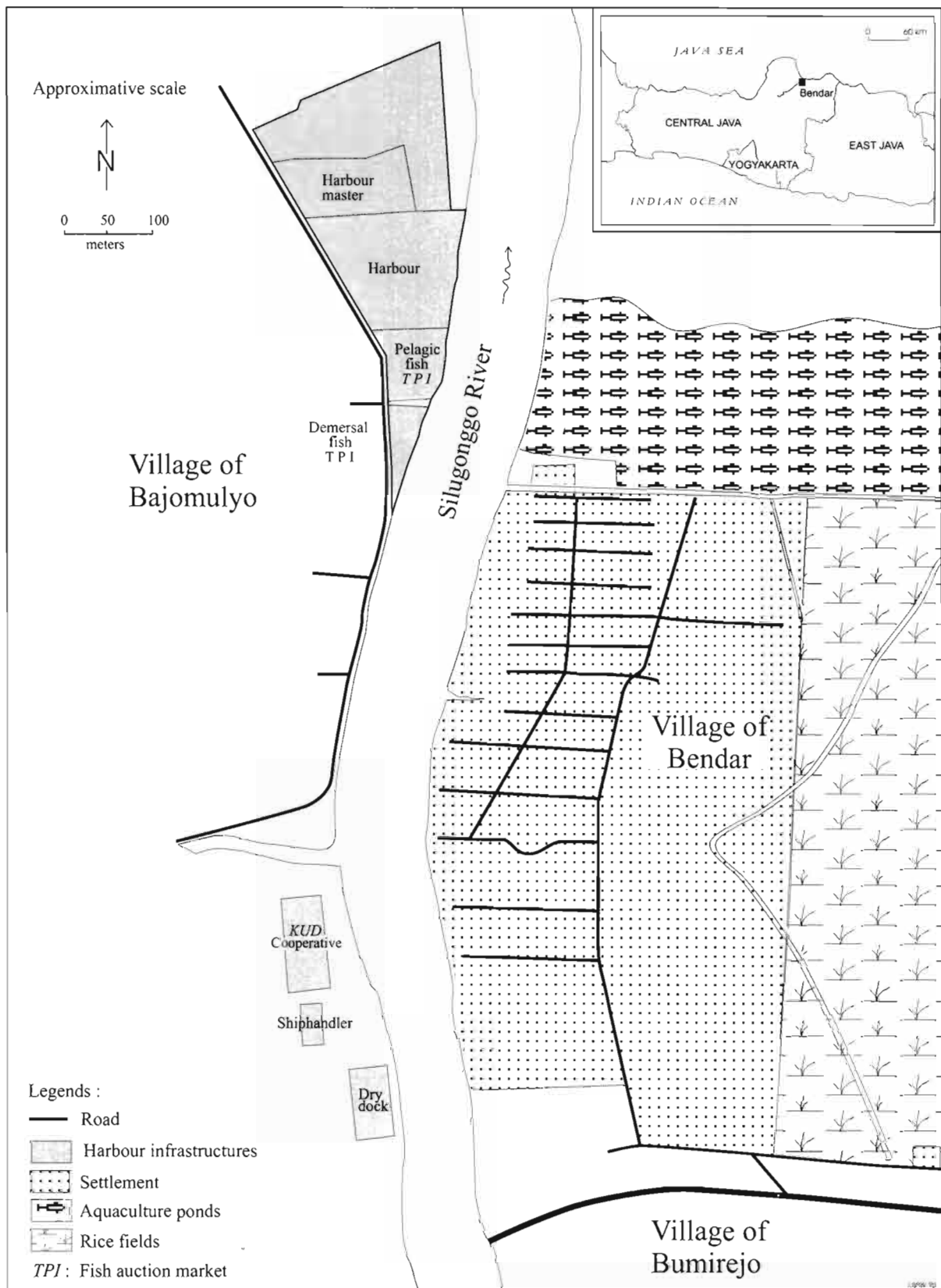


Figure 1 : Geographical origin of fish traders operating from the Juwana fish auction market (Central Java)  
*Daerah asal pedagang ikan yang beroperasi dari pasar lelang ikan dari Juwana (Jawa Tengah)*



**Figure 2 : Juwana harbour facing the village of Bendar**  
*Pelabuhan Juwana yang menghadap desa Bendar*

## PRESENTATION OF THE DATA COLLECTED

Data come from two main sources: formal and informal questionnaires, surveys, interviews with the women, observations on board boats and at the fish auction market as well as statistical data from the *TPI* that are still being collected. For this reason, we limit our argument to women officially involved in the fishery.

The sampling has recorded approximately four days with reference date the 5, 10, 20 and 30th for each month for the year 1995 except for the month of May as data were not available. A total of some 7,000 surveys were distributed over 42 days. This sample involved 287 fish buyers approximately one third of which are women. If two thirds of the women are originated from the area, only 15% of male traders live in the villages bordering of Juwana. Those 7,000 surveys correspond to a volume of some 5,700 tons of fish with an economical value estimated a little over 4 milliards rupiahs. Compared to the 1994 production figures, it represents about 10% of the production that passes through the Juwana fish auction market.

## THE FISH DISTRIBUTION NETWORK

The observation on the field both at the *TPI* and on board the boats, together with the various censuses that were done and the statistics collected at the *TPI* enabled to present an average system that may be subject to changes depending on situations.

Five different networks of fish distribution were identified :

- from the ocean to the *bakul* (fish trader),
- from ocean to the *bakul*; from the *bakul* to the *TPI*,
- from the ocean to the *TPI*,
- from the *TPI* to the *bakul*/fish process,
- from the *TPI* to the *bangkel*/fish process.

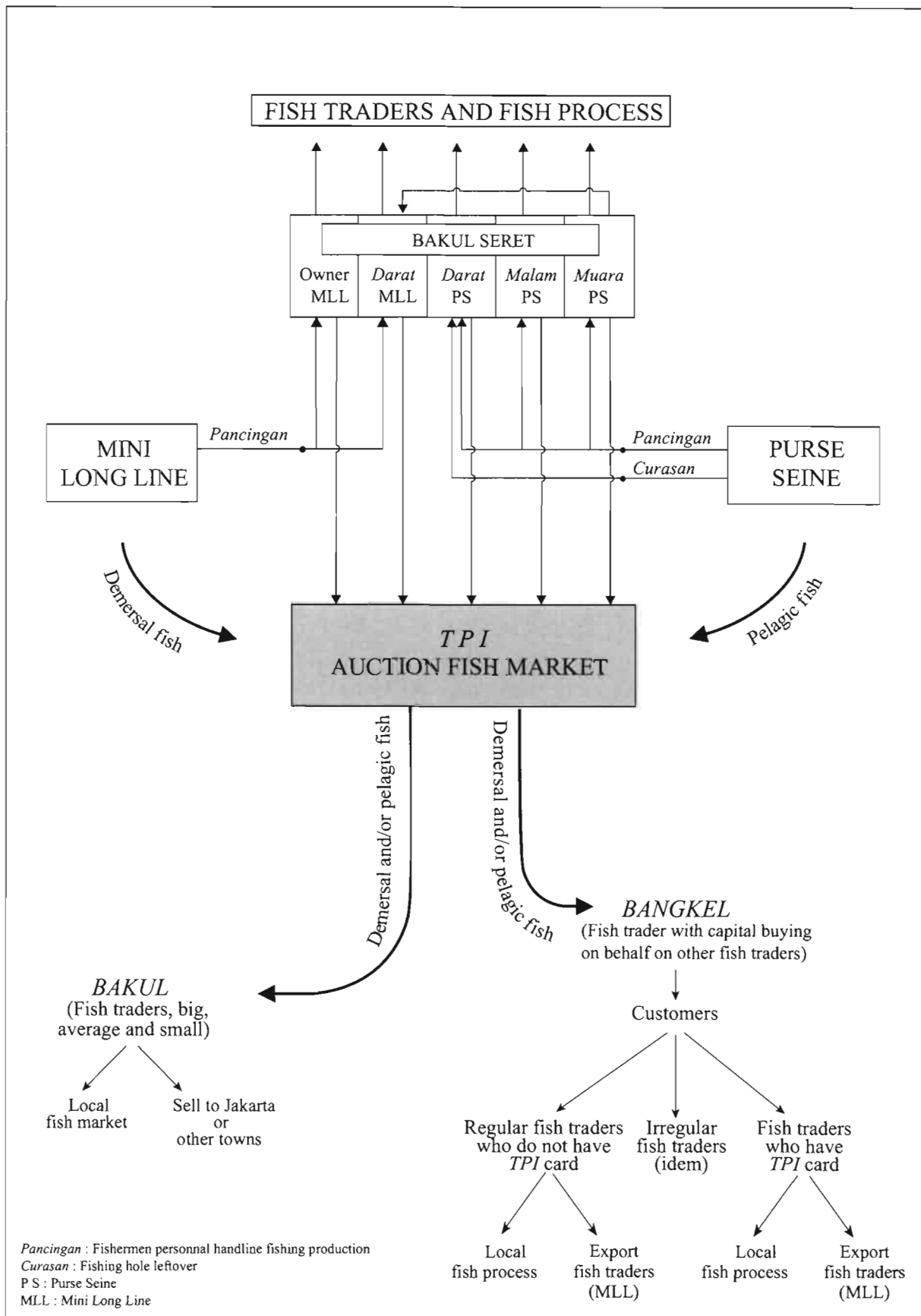
Figure 3 shows the fishermen personal handline fishing production directly sold to the *bakul seret*, the local name given to fish traders, mostly women. In some cases, the *bakul seret* also buy the end and bit leftover in fish holes (in Indonesian *curasan*) after the purse seiner has landed its catches. Then, they bring their fish to the market or they sell it directly to the fish traders.

There are five types of *bakul seret* in Juwana grouping together 2 to 25 persons :

- *bakul seret muara* wait for the boats directly at the river mouth from 7:00 till 16:00 every day;
- *bakul seret darat* purse seine operate from the pelagic *TPI*;
- *bakul seret darat* mini long line operate from the demersal *TPI*;
- *bakul seret* boat owner work like the *bakul seret darat* buying fish from their crews and from other *bakul seret*;
- *bakul seret malam* operate directly from the river mouth at night.

Once the production of fish is directly landed in the *TPI* with respect to species, it is redistributed between the *bakul* and the *bangkel*, the official fish traders who get cards from the *TPI* allowing them to buy and pay fish at the auction market. According to regulations, anybody offering solid guaranty and in the case of large quantities bought is able to deposit cash prior the auction is entitled to that card or is just given the authorisation to go ahead with the auction. In exchange, each fish trader will be taxed 3% on the total price of their buy and will be charged a commission for the use of baskets. The card holder may apply for fish credit, a loan that enables her/him to pay for her/him buy if the initial funds are not enough. This loan is given to established fish traders on the decision of the fish auction place's directors.

*Bakul ikan* refers to fish traders who directly buy fish and either sell it to a particular customer in Jakarta or other towns or process the production locally. They can be large, medium or small fish traders depending on the quantity of fish they buy each day.



**Figure 3 : Juwana fish distribution network**  
*Jaringan distribusi ikan di Juwana*

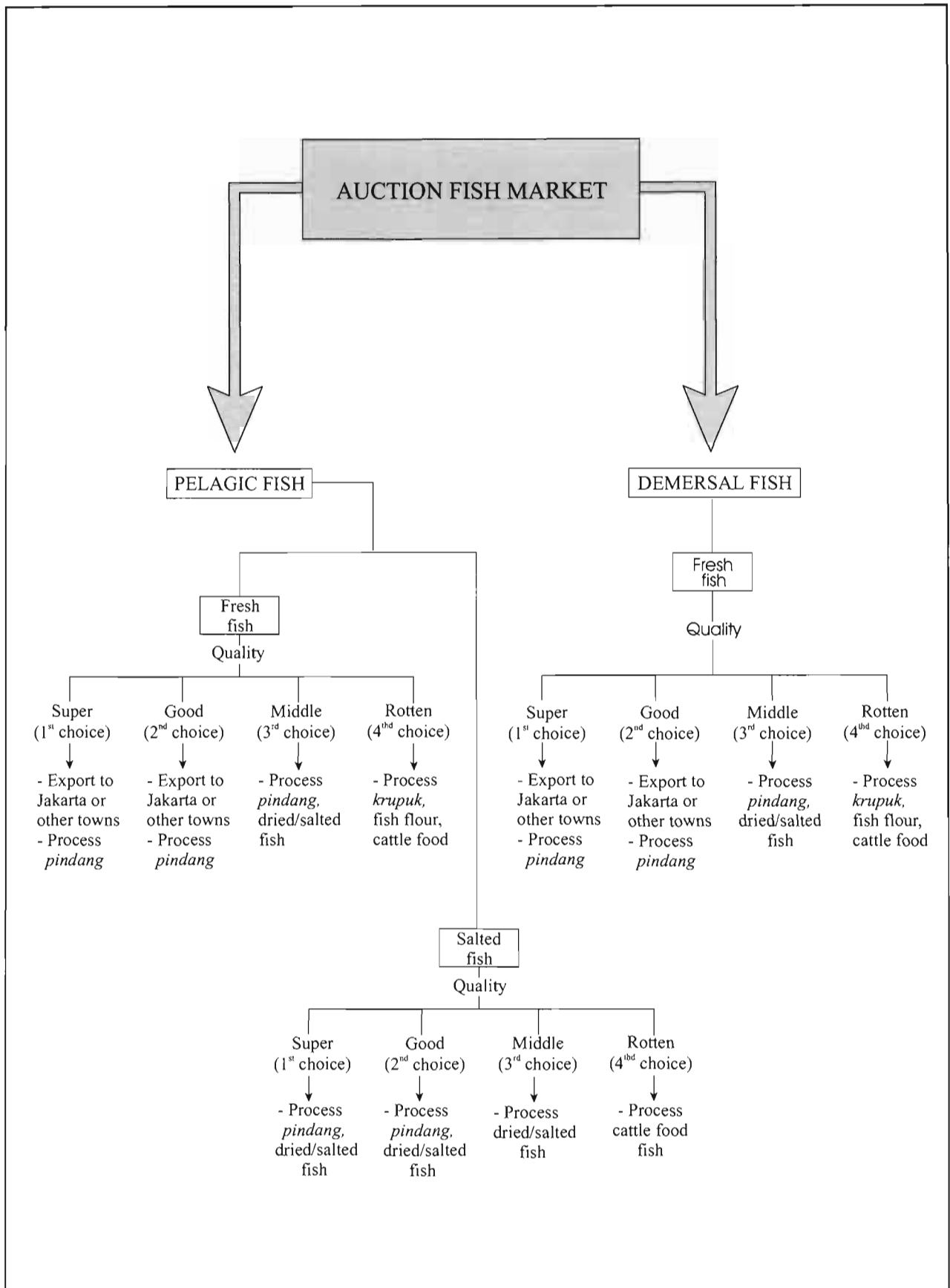


Figure 4 : Fish distribution from Juwana TPI  
 Pembagian ikan dari TPI Juwana

*Bangkal* refers to fish traders who dispose of an important capital and therefore buy fish for a serial of customers who do not have initial funds. Some of these customers may take part in the auction themselves if they are registered at the fish market. Their buy will be paid by the *bangkal*. For those who do not have the card, the *bangkal* will auction as well as buy the fish on their behalf. Depending on the *bangkal*, on the price of the fish and the relationship between the *bangkal* and the customer, the latter will be charged an interest rate per day or between Rp 1,000 to Rp 2,000 on top of the current fish price per basket bought. In exchange, the *bangkal* offer payment facilities to their customers who have up to one week to reimburse them.

Once fish is bought from the *TPI*, it is usually redistributed on the local or national market either fresh or processed. Figure 4 shows the distribution of the production according to its qualities after its first transaction from the *TPI*. The good fresh pelagic and demersal fish quality is sent to Jakarta or to other towns. The rest of the production whether it be medium or poor quality fresh and salted is processed. The pelagic production is either dried (*ikan kering*) or boiled (*ikan pindang*) whereas the medium and poor quality fresh demersal production is smoked and used for making *krupuk ikan*, a kind of crisp flavoured rice bread made from different fishes. We shall briefly describe some of the transformation pinpointed in Juwana and the bordering villages :

*Ikan kering* : two types of product from pelagic fish, one is fresh at the start, salted overnight then washed and dried under the sun: *ikan tawar*. The other has been salted on board the boat. It is then simply washed and dried for a day : *ikan asin*. The taste of the *ikan tawar* is less salty than the *ikan asin*. In both cases all the production that is not good to be consumed goes to animal food.

*Ikan pindang* : fresh pelagic fish and good salted fish are first washed, then layered in a little bamboo tray that is dipped into hot boiling water for about ten minutes. Another technique used in the home industry consists in layering fish in a terracotta bowl. The bowl is then recovered and brought to the fire for about 15 minutes. The women also sometimes wrap up about 8 little fishes in a banana leaf before putting it in the bowl and cook it the same way.

*Ikan panggang* : demersal fish cut into little pieces, first grilled then smoked.

It is important to mention that the *TPI* official statistics only record the fish traders either *bakul* or *bangkal* if they actually pay for the fish; they do not take in consideration the traders who actually auction the fish themselves because they have been given the right to do so but do not pay it.

The data related to the formal sector presented in this paper, that are all the activities/transactions which are made from the *TPI* will include both the traders who auction and pay (*bakul bayar*) and the traders who auction but do not pay and entrust a *bakul bayar* to pay for them (*bakul titip*). These functions often vary depending on the situation in which case a trader who auctions but cannot pay himself one day can maybe do so the next day. We were able to isolate the case of each *bakul bayar* and to trace each *bakul titip* they paid for. We gathered information concerning their geographical origin, the quantity of fish they auctioned and their specificity.

According to the survey conducted on the study of *bayar/titip*, out of the 287 traders, 202 are *bakul bayar* and all of them *bakul titip* at some stage, which implies that the remaining 85 traders are found to be *bakul titip* only. They represent 30% of all the participants. Their operations account for only 6% of all the samples. Men and women are in equal proportion in the role of *bakul bayar*.

Three examples illustrate the role of *bakul bayar* in the redistribution of fish :

- Yaten, male fish trader originated from Bajomulyo/Juwana is specialised in exporting fresh fish to Jakarta : out of the 129 operations recorded under *bakul bayar*, 90% of the buy have been auctioned under his own name against 10% on behalf of other fish traders (*bakul titip*) who auctioned themselves. The case of H. Yaten is a typical example of a fish trader who buy for himself in order to sell it again later to Jakarta.
- Jujuk, female fish trader originated from Bendar/Juwana is registered under the speciality of *bangkal* : out of the 418 operations recorded under *bakul bayar*, we notice that two thirds of the fish is paid for fish traders *bakul titip* and that one third of the fish is paid for herself in which



case she is both *bakul bayar* and *bakul titip*. Observation on the field and interviews explained that the fish she bought and paid for herself was then to be redistributed among informal fish traders/processors who could not auction the fish themselves at the *TPI*.

- Kasmi, female fish trader originated from Bendar/Juwana is registered under the speciality of *bangkel* : her example is similar to the case of Jujuk. Out of the 766 operations recorded, in 90% of the case she has paid for other fish traders *bakul titip*. Only 10% of the fish paid for was auctioned by herself.

**Table 1 : Repartition of fish traders according to their speciality and geographic origin**  
*Pembagian pedagang ikan menurut spesialisasi mereka dan daerah asal*

Address	Speciality							Total
	Asin	Bangkel	Export	Panggang	Panggang /pindang	Pindang	Unknown	
Bajomulyo	4	1	2	1	0	5	2	15
Bangi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bangsri	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Banyuwoto	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Batur	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	6
Bendar	5	14	4	6	0	0	0	29
Caanga'an	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
Demak	0	2	0	4	3	13	1	23
Jepara	0	0	0	4	5	15	3	27
Kajen	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Karang Anyar	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3
Kedangparang	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Ketalit	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	9
Ketip	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	1
Kudus	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	4
Madium	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Manjang	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
Ngantru	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
Pati	0	0	2	2	0	4	0	8
Ponduhan	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Raci	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Rembang	16	1	0	0	0	3	1	21
Semarang	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Tuban	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	5
unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	108	108
Total	29	23	15	34	9	61	116	287

We will add that women are more involved in the following activities in order of importance : *panggang*, *bangkel*, *asin*, *pindang* and export. Men seem to be involved in the processing industry : 40% of them are *pindang*, 16% *asin* and 13% *panggang/pindang*. The remaining is specialised in export.

In relation to this fish distribution system, we shall try to see how the case-study of women's activities in Bendar fits in.

## BENDAR AND WOMEN FISHING ACTIVITIES

Located along the Juwana river between fish ponds and rice field, the village of Bendar has the pretension of a small town : solid houses, cars, shops, cars, television, parabola and telephone, tell both the prosperity and the new lifestyle, and reflect a recent social organisation modelled on the crew hierarchy, from the owner, the captain to the simple fisherman.

Bendar has a population of nearly 2,400 people. Ninety per cent of the people are involved in the fishery. The men active population counts three large purse seine owners, the majority of captains and first mates employed on the purse seine registered in Juwana (50 out of the 56 captains registered in 1995), as well as motorists or simple deck hands on purse seine and mini long line boats, traditional fishermen, *TPI* and *KUD* employees. Working women represent 60% of the female population in age of working. Most of them are directly involved in fishing activities. Women buy, sell, preserve, transform and sell again the catches. They also make and repair fishing nets to help their fathers, brothers or husbands. In some cases, they supply boats with food before they leave for a trip. Some of them work officially, others only occasionally and non-officially. According to the census they are 107. This number does not include young girls and wives helping their husband or their relatives. Nor does it include marginal activities like supplying boats for example.

In former time, fishing activities represented only part of their calendar and were mostly reserved to men. Until the end of the seventies in Bendar, men were both fishermen and fish traders while women occasionally helped or simply stayed at home. Along with the development of the purse seine fishery, women began to play an active role. Women do not go at sea mainly because the sea is perceived as a dangerous and unpleasant place, thus reserved to men. Women therefore do not directly take part in the fishing itself but in the selling and the processing of the catches.

Women working within the fish distribution are between 20 and 60 years old. Eighty five percents of them are married or have been married to fishermen or to men involved in the fishery. Some of the women now work with their husband who manages from a distance his wife's business. The marital status seems to be a key that enables women to work within the fishery. Very few single girls work and when they do, they closely help their mother.

Women work all year round, more or less depending on the arrival of fish and excepted during *Lebaran*, the public holiday which marks the end of Ramadan. This is usually followed by a low fishing season until July. Nevertheless, it is clear that in Bendar, even if some men help their spouses, the exploitation of fish is in the hands of women.

Table 2 shows the distribution of women according to their specialities and whether or not they have *TPI* cards, that is our point of reference to the formal sector. Any other activity that does not directly starts from the *TPI* will be referred to as the informal sector.

We notice that on 107 women working, only 28 are officially known to the *TPI*. Their activity can be divided in three main categories : fish trading, fish processing and *bakul seret*. All the women working under the fish trading category are formal buyers against only half of the fish processors which are officially registered. The informal sector is clearly represented by the *bakul seret* except for two participants who have *TPI* cards. Their case is particular because they sometimes work under the label of export. So clearly, the formal sector gathers the women with capital be they fish traders or fish processor, in which case the formal character will imply that they are dealing with large quantities of fish. The informal sector gathers home industry fish processor and the *bakul seret*, whose activity is to land fish to the *TPI* and not to buy from it. This brings us to the question on what are the elements that determine the function of the woman. Two major aspects will be described here. The first one is the money issue, the constitution of capital without which it would be difficult to start any activity. The second aspect is the question of family situation and kinship.

**Table 2 : Distribution of women fish traders according to their speciality and formal or informal characteristics**  
*Pembagian pedagang ikan wanita menurut spesialisasi berdasarkan karakteristik formal dan non formal*

Speciality	Without TPI card	With TPI card	Total
Export	0	1	1
<i>Bangkel</i>	0	7	7
Export/ <i>bangkel</i> and process	0	3	3
<i>Bangkel</i> and process	0	6	6
<i>Asin</i>	5	4	9
<i>Panggang</i>	2	5	7
<i>Pindang</i>	1	0	1
<i>Bakul seret darat</i>	27	0	27
<i>Bakul seret muara</i>	18	0	18
<i>Bakul seret</i> MII.	2	2	24
<i>Bakul</i> traditional	4	0	4
Total	79	28	107

### The constitution of a capital

Women have used various ways to build up a capital. The example of Bendar shows for the majority of them, money comes from three main sources : the gold jewellery, the gathering of women and the clientele.

Gold jewellery was used and is still used as a start-up money. Fish-traders sold their gold according to its normal price less 8 till 10% of its value to the Chinese gold shops in Juwana. Each time a woman has little money, she straight away buy new jewels in the same shop to invest her capital and create a special relationship with the jeweller. Gold jewellery slowly became the informal source of financing for the traders. As time went by, they came to leave their jewel as a deposit and were able to borrow the sum of money equivalent to the price of their ring or necklace less 10%. In exchange they were to pay back by the gold shop 4 to 5% interest rate per month.

To keep close link with the shop, women keep on buying gold and investing their profits so to be sure to have enough cash when the high fishing season arrives.

Just as they operate with gold shops through some kind of implicit relationships based on dependency, traders operate with fishermen in the case of the *bakul seret*, and with fish processors in the case of the *bangkel*. The strategy is to slowly build up a clientele based on mutual dependency. The example of *bakul seret* is striking.

*Bakul seret* have established a special relationship with the fishermen whether it be at a personal level or on the level of a boat. In both cases they invest to be sure that the production is sold to them. To crews originate from Juwana, they lend money to the fishermen and to their family before they go at sea. In exchange, the fishermen sell their catch when they return from the sea and the money they have borrowed will be deducted from the selling of their catch. In most cases, fishermen keep on borrowing. Often, they will give the catches first to the *bakul seret* and wait until she has sold it again before getting their money. With the crews from Pekalongan, *bakul seret* invest in the fishermen through a system called *sango*. It means that the *bakul seret* darat give Rp. 5 000 to each fisherman who agrees to sell his catches exclusively to her. This system is not always to the profit of the *bakul seret* who sometimes never see the fishermen again or wait many months before the purse seines she has invested in land their catches again in Juwana.

The case of the *bakul seret muara* is a little different in that they operate as a group of 26 persons and that they do not get involved with the fishermen. They merely buy the fish. The advantage is that

fishermen get a little bit of cash before landing. Fishermen owe nothing to this type of traders but because of the agreement they have made with the *bakul seret* darat to whom they are committed, they usually keep on selling part of their catch to maintain their special relationship based on the long term.

The *bakul seret* can operate that way because each woman brings in her money, even small amounts but because of the number of them, it quickly builds up quite a significant capital which they can straight away invest in fish.

When buying, the *bakul seret* usually offer a whole price for each fisherman for all his individual catch. If the fish is a very big fish like a shark for example, they will buy it separately. In some cases, *bakul seret* will not made a profit as they perhaps misjudge the price of the fish that particular day.

The *bakul seret* boat owners function the same way than the other *bakul seret*. Still, they directly buy the fish from their own crews and the crews from other mini long lines. They also buy the production gathered by other *bakul seret* who only have small quantities. They will then land the informal production together with the production of her boat.

The example of the *bangkel* is another. Just like *bakul seret* cannot maintain their activity without the fishermen, and vice versa, *bangkel* would not either if they did not have customers, mainly fish processors, the same way that the fish processors would not be able to work if the *bangkel* would not bring the capital in the first place.

The example of a small smoked fish home industry in Bendar illustrates this point.

Let say that in this particular case, the woman buys each day 150 kg of demersal fish which represent about 40 fish depending on the size for about Rp 200,000. Four parts are sold in a fish : the meat, the head, the soft roe and the liver, all sold at different prices. The head is sold at Rp 1,000 a piece; the liver is sold at Rp 100; a kilo of soft roe cost Rp 17,000; the meat is cut into small pieces which are then sold at Rp 100 each.

A fish counts an average of 50 pieces so 40 fishes represent an approximate total of 2,000 pieces. Knowing the price of the different parts which are sold we can estimate the receipts as follows :

Meat	: Rp	200 000
Heads	: Rp	40 000
Soft roe	: Rp	20 000
Liver	: Rp	<u>2 000</u>
Total	: Rp	262 000

The daily expenses include transport, employees, market stand, they amount to Rp 20,000 per day which would leave a profit of Rp 42,000. In reality, the fish processor does not get the money from her sell the same day. She has, just like other fish traders, established a clientele to whom she offers payment facilities. So she sells the fish first but the customers pay her back when they have sold it again. In that case, the fish processor either has enough cash herself which means that she can buy more fishes to maintain her activity or has to buy the fish through the *bangkel* who have the capital. From that moment, they will be caught in the system of borrowing, lending, paying back interest rate which in the case of the *bangkel* is either directly added on the price of fish per basket or calculated as a percentage of 4 or 5% on top of the auction price for that particular quantity bought that day. If the processor also borrows money from the gold shop, she also has to pay interest rate corresponding to 4 to 5% per month.

#### **The family situation : the driving force behind the function of the women and the networks**

The results from the census done among the women in Bendar show that the quality of the marital status as well as the kinship among the participants clearly determine the function of those women in the fish distribution network. In 50% of the cases, fish traders from the formal sector are married to men who are owners of mini long lines. They usually look after their boats and help their spouses in the trading business. The remaining 50% are married to men who have a high position either on board the boat as captain or first man, in the administration such as the cooperative, in a private office or are self-employed businessman.

Two thirds of informal fish traders are married to fishermen working either as crew on the big boats or involved in the traditional small-scale fishery, thus earning a low income.

Women who have built up a capital are married to men ensuring a regular income. Thus, they were able to reinvest their profits in their fund to buy larger quantities of fish which then gave them greater profits they invested in mini long line which in turn gave them production to sell. Most of the time, as the women succeeded in their business, men stopped their former activities, mostly former captains or first mates onboard the boats, to help their wife. It is the case of most women who are boat owners. Just as women married to men working for the *KUD* would have access to all the facilities including loans.

Inversely, women involved in fish processing home industry are either widows, divorced or married to simple fishermen or men who help them in their enterprise. The majority of the *bakul seret* who are not boat's owners are issued from the lower class and married to crew members. The number of children also plays an important role. The family expenses are greater when a woman has four or five children. If the man's income is too low, the women's share in household income will serve to make ends meet and will not be reinvested to expand her activity.

Apart from the family situation, kinship is a very important aspect. Since the arrival of the big purse seine in Juwana, the society is modelled on the crew organisation, from the captain of a boat, to the second, the motorist and the simple fisherman. Furthermore, many people from Bendar work in the *TPI* or at the cooperative, that is to be taken into consideration in the function of the women. The function of other members of the family may influence the function of the women in giving her opportunities.

The family members' jobs determine the social class to which they belong and therefore condition the function of the women and their success or, on the contrary, limit their evolution if both their family situation and their relatives are issued from poor social class.

The quality of family situation can ensure itself the function of the woman and offer her a privilege and official status. Secondly, it seems that in some case, the husband has supported his wife's activity to a successful point and has then left his former job to help her in the trading business. These examples also show that most of the relatives come from privileged social class.

Then, women with relatives working at the *TPI* or at the cooperative seem to enjoy a privilege status and hold several activities at the time. They are mainly involved in the salt and dried fish industry working in parallel with relatives also involved in the same business. Their strong capital also enables them to take in the role of *bangkel* at the *TPI*.

Finally, it seems very difficult for a woman to have an official and recognised status if their activities serve to meet their family needs together with the fact that she comes from low social class. Conversely, we observe that some of the official fish traders who were not originally issued from an upper class family can in turn give their relatives working activities within the fishery because their new status enables them to do so. The example of a *bangkel* who has succeeded because of the quality of her family situation and without the support of male relative working in the fishery shows that she is the one giving her sister the opportunity to work in the *pindang* home industry.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN FROM BENDAR WITHIN THE GENERAL ACTIVITY OF THE PURSE SEINE FISH AUCTION MARKET

Table 3 shows that the majority of *bangkel* and almost all the *bakul seret* with the exception of the *bakul seret malam* who are men participants, come from Bendar. Their activity represents 28% of all the operations.

They do more operations (1,938 tons against 1,507) and buy larger quantities of fish (1,170 tons against 1,026 tons) than the export who represent 22% of the number of operations. Compared to other *bangkel*, those from Bendar buy larger quantities but at an average lower price than the *bangkel* non originated from Bendar who seem in fact to be closer to the category export (men and women).

**Table 3 : The activity of the *bangkel* from Bendar in the Juwana TPI  
Kegiatan *bangkel* dari Bendar di TPI Juwana**

	All <i>bakul bayar</i>	Export <i>bayar</i>	<i>Bangkel bayar</i>	<i>Bangkel bayar</i> from Bendar
Number of operations	6967	1507	2318	1938
Number of traders surveyed	202	15	23	14
Quantity (tons)	5770	1026	1370	1170
Value (milliard rupiahs)	4.0	0.9	1.1	0.7
Average price (rupiahs)	698	962	834	593
Number of species bought	100	54	70	60
1 <sup>st</sup> species in quantity in value	<i>mandel</i> 39% <i>mandel</i> 30%	<i>mandel</i> 26% <i>banyar</i> 29%	<i>mandel</i> 26% <i>banbangan</i> 26%	<i>mandel</i> 39% <i>mandel</i> 41%
2 <sup>nd</sup> species in quantity in value	<i>sero</i> 11% <i>banyar</i> 14%	<i>banyar</i> 22% <i>mandel</i> 15%	<i>sero</i> 13% <i>mandel</i> 26%	<i>sero</i> 15% <i>lonco</i> 16%
3 <sup>rd</sup> species in quantity in value	<i>banyar</i> 9% <i>lonco</i> 10%	<i>lonco</i> 11% <i>lonco</i> 9%	<i>juwi</i> 9% <i>lonco</i> 10%	<i>juwi</i> 10% <i>sero</i> 7%
4 <sup>th</sup> species in quantity in value	<i>lonco</i> 8% <i>bambangan</i> 9%	<i>sero</i> 7% <i>bambangan</i> 7%	<i>lonco</i> 8% <i>remang</i> 7%	<i>lonco</i> 8% <i>ricik</i> 7%
5 <sup>th</sup> species in quantity in value	<i>ricik</i> 7% <i>sero</i> 6%	<i>ricik</i> 6% <i>remang</i> 6%	<i>bambangan</i> 6% <i>sero</i> 5%	<i>ricik</i> 6% <i>banyar</i> 7%

Looking at two main groups among all the *bakul bayar* : the one that emphasises on buying expensive species or quality (*banyar, bambangan*) and the other that deal with greater, cheaper quantities. When the species are the same, we presume that the difference in price corresponds to different qualities. In that case, women from Bendar are *bangkel* who buy species and quality with an inferior economic value per kilo (*juwi, sero, mandel*) but in greater quantities.

The question is to know how is the fish redistributed. Table 4 shows the number of *bakul titip* working with the *bangkel* from Bendar according to their speciality, their origin (in distance from the TPI) and the number of operation they represent.

**Table 4 : Distribution of *bakul titip* working with the *bangkel* from Bendar according to speciality, origin (in distance from the TPI) and number of operations  
*Pembagian dari bakul titip yang bekerja dengan bangkel dari Bendar menurut spesialisasi mereka, daerah asal (jarak dari TPI) dan jumlah operasi***

	Export	<i>Bangkel</i>	Asin	Panggang	Pindang	Unknown
% of persons	13	11	13	22	33	9
% of operations	3	52	10	2	23	8
% Origin : from 0 to 10 km	4	4	5	4	9	
% Origin : from 10 to 20 km	4	4	0	7	7	
% Origin : from 20 to 30 km	0	2	5	0	4	
% Origin : from 30 to 50 km	0	0	2	2	2	
% Origin : from 50 km and over	5	2	0	9	11	

Figures show that 52% go to the *bangkel* in which case the fish either goes to the informal home industry sector or is bought other formal fish traders who cannot attend the auction. Forty percents directly goes to fish processing activities and to export. The remaining 8% is unknown.

We observe some differences when comparing the percentage of person against the percentage of operations. For example, 11% of *bangkel* for 52% of operation against 13% of *asin* for 10% of operation or 22% of *panggang* for 2% of operation. In one case few persons buy great quantity which in the case of *bangkel* is quite logic as it typifies her/his activity. On the other hand fish processors are more important in number but they buy little quantities each.

Regarding the geographical dispatching of the *bakul titip*, it does not differ from the map of location of origin of *bakul* working at the *TPI* (Fig. 1). However, we can say that 47% of the *bakul titip* live within 20 kilometres from the *TPI* and that 27% live within a range of 50 kilometres or more than the *TPI*.

The majority of export and *bangkel* come from villages or towns located near the *TPI* but where as 10% *bangkel* live within a range of 30 kilometres and 2% within 50 kilometres and above, 8% of the export *titip* live within a range of 20 kilometres and 5% within a range of 50 kilometres and above.

Regarding fish processors, we see that the majority are originated from the local area apart for the speciality *panggang* where the figures show the same percentage of people living either near or far from the *TPI*.

The example of the *bangkel* from Bendar shows their importance not only in term of volume and value against the general activity of the *TPI*, but also the importance of their function within the fishing processing sector, both formal and informal, thus giving the possibility to a large number of traders with no initial capital to have or to maintain an activity. They also play a role in distributing low quality fish in the area.

The *bakul seret*'s role is just as important but at the upstream level of the fish distribution network. They supply the *TPI* with an informal production, which will then be partly redistributed to the informal sector by the *bangkel*. In doing so not only can they contribute themselves to their family income but they increase the fishermen income and spur up their activity.

#### CONCLUSION

Their proximity to the *TPI*, the fact that they are married to fishermen or that they have relatives working or managing the fishery contribute to assert the role and importance of the women from Bendar at the Juwana fish auction market.

From the *TPI* landscape to the socio-economic organisation, women from Bendar are the driving force behind the fishing activity and the family income because they bring the capital both as client (purse seine formal and informal production) and as investors in mini long line fishing boats.

Over the years, the river has become the theatre between these two prosperous riversides both turned towards sea fishing : Bendar is the home of most purse seine's captains, of their association and of fish traders. Juwana accommodates the harbour, the fishermen cooperative, the fish auction market, the majority of purse seine owners and of boat crews. One represents the participants, the other the production, the structure, the distribution and the investment. This pole Bendar - Juwana centred on the river nowadays drains people from surrounding villages because it has been able to manage its functions and work as an entity.

The women and the *TPI* illustrate the capitalist relationships in process as purse seine development goes on in the Juwana harbour within the village of Bendar but also in relation to other village in its area.

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