

Social Formation of Peasants Fishermen under Peripheral Capitalism in West Coastal Indonesia

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Abstract. This article discusses the social formation of peasants-fishermen under peripheral capitalism within the ethnicity and class differentiation of the Minangkabau fishing community in the west coast of Sumatra Island. The research aims to analyze the evidence of social formation in peasant-fishermen situation under the domination of a specific variant of capitalism. Peasant-fishermen in the less developed countries are transformed and subsumed by the capital without being dissolved, albeit their production process now forms an integral part of the capitalist economic system. This research conduct in the village of Tiku Selatan and V Jorong, Tanjung Mutiara Subdistrict, Agam District, West Sumatra Province. This research assesses two fishing villages' household heads using questionnaire surveys and fieldwork through observation, interviews, and secondary data. According to the findings, there are three categories of peasants-fishermen economic and occupational background related to modes of production, ethnicity, and class differentiation.

Keywords: peasant-fishermen, minangkabau fishing community, social formation

Introduction

Most studies on the impact of capitalism on rural economy and society only analyze the agriculture part and ignore other dimensions of peasant economic activities. Fishing as one of the several aspects of Indonesia's peasant economic activities should not be underestimated (Bryceson, 2000; Simpson et al., 2013). Fish is a significant staple diet of Indonesian people second to rice and there are a substantial number of people engaged in full-time fishing (Black, 2017; Bryceson, 2000; Parmawati et al., 2018). Fishing in Indonesia is essentially a form of peasant production as it has traditionally formed an essential part of the peasant economy (Nuryatno, 2009). This study will examine fishing community as one of the several types of peasant economy. Based on the case study, there is a significant differentiation of agriculture and fishery in the logic of capitalist development.

The latter philosophy of capitalism is akin to the development of capitalism in industry,

namely concerning the operation of the law of concentration (Simpson et al., 2013). On the one hand, capitalism and the state give the complex and continually shifting relationships between the diverse groupings: peasants and fishermen, industry, middlemen, and government officials (Jonge 1979; Bergman & Ramqvist 2017). The fishermen described their general poverty, and the conservatism expresses that the post-peasant fishermen have long fully trapped in a money economy (Bryceson, 2000; Kapferer, 1983; Orbach, 1984; Rahayu et al., 2010; Ward, 2017). The social-structural and ecological aspects of local fishing industry are being examined to uncover the reasons for fishermen's resistance to new technology (Black, 2017; Firth, 2006; Parmawati et al., 2018; Tawakkal & Kistanto, 2017) The peasant-fishermen of earlier centuries did accumulated Capitals (Bryceson 2000; Jonge 1979; Black 2017).

It is generally acceptable to typify Indonesia on the west coast of Sumatra during pre-colonial time as a maritime community living mainly along sea valleys. As communication by

Received: 2020-06-10, **Revised:** 2020-10-08, **Accepted:** 2020-12-18

Print ISSN: 0215-8175; Online ISSN: 2303-2499. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v36i2.6262>

Accredited Sinta 2 based on the decree No.10/E/KPT/2019 until 2024. Indexed by DOAJ, Sinta, Garuda, Crossreff, Dimensions

land was still at a very primitive stage, rivers and the sea provide convenient highways for connection between places. But equally important is the fact that rivers and oceans were sources of a constant supply of fish, which was a significant staple diet of the Minangkabau ethnics (Damsar & Indrayani, 2018; Yazan & Arwemi, 2018). This dual function of the rivers and seas explains why almost all Minangkabau people settlements were situated along rivers or near the sea, adding that Sumatra's west coast is a piece of land almost surrounded by sea. Fishing to the Minangkabau people had been as crucial as agricultural production as fish could obtain nearly every day through various methods and skills, which most Minangkabau peasants possessed.

About the concept of peripheral capitalism, it is said to be against modern or central capitalism which directly relevant for this study. The work of Wallerstein is also related to the discourse (Wallerstein, 2011). I. Wallerstein affirmed that development needs to be analyzed as a single global process where the world divides into the central and peripheral social formation, respectively of metropolitan-satellite and core-peripheral state. The world is divided by the unfair development of capitalist production methods (Frank, 1998). Wallerstein differentiates between the accumulation process in the center and the periphery. Accumulation in the center and capitalist development integrate, while the agricultural sector develops simultaneously and complements the industrial sector. Capitalism in the middle, controlled by its dynamic, is auto-centric. On the contrary, accumulation and capitalist development are constrained by their dependence on central capitalism.

This study's primary objective describes the nature of the peasant-fishermen economy and society in the current period with empirical materials for the analysis based on anthropological research at the village level in the same social formation. Therefore, the focus of the study is set for the following reasons. The West coast of Sumatra Island represents a more developed part of Indonesia because of its geographical location that received modern influence and capitalism. The paper probes government expansion, which set in motion the transformation of its economy and society. However, it is necessary to describe changes at the village level where peasant-fishermen commodity production types are more or less representative of the state. Two villages in the Tanjung Mutiara sub-district were chosen as a

case study because the peasant-fishermen there are more influenced by peripheral capitalism.

Research Methodology

Study Area

This research is conducted among the Minangkabau fishermen in Tanjung Mutiara on the west coast of West Sumatra. Lubuk Basung town, as the main commercial center in the district, is located approximately 100 km from Padang as the central province. The sub-district is a great holiday resort for tourists as hotels, motels, and rest-houses are available for rent. They locate on one side of the island facing the Tiku coast, whereas the fishing settlements situate on the opposite side facing the mainland. The district is also an important center of the fishing industry, where approximately 85 percent of the economically active population find employment in industries related to fishing and tourism.

As one of 16 sub-districts in Agam District, Tanjung Mutiara Sub-district is a coastal area with 43 km of coastline with high biodiversity of marine and brackish water ecosystems. Tanjung Mutiara sub-district with an area of 205.73 km² lies in parallel with the shoreline at 00 01' 34"-000 28' 43" S and 990 46' 39"-1000 32' 50" E (BPS, 2018). The total Population in Tanjung Mutiara sub-district is 30,788 people in 2018. It consists of 3 villages and 18 sub-villages with the capital of Tiku V Jorong. Tanjung Mutiara subdistrict has its border to Pariaman on the north, to Padang Pariaman Regency on the east, to Lubuk Basung District on the South, and the Indian Ocean on the west (see figure 1).



Figure 1. Location of Tanjung Mutiara sub-district, West Sumatra Province.

Source: BPS-Statistic of Tanjung Mutiara sub-district 2018

Data Collection

The original anthropological survey and fieldwork (Neuman 2006; Have 2013; Moleong 2002) were conducted for approximately one month in 2019 among the household heads of two fishing villages, namely Tiku Selatan and Tiku V Jorong. Another visit was made for one month in 2019 to conduct interviews with some Minangkabau worker-fishermen who work in five purse-seine vessels stationed in the town of Tanjung Mutiara. Two of the five skippers or boat captains were from Tiku Selatan village, while one was from Tiku V Jorong. The number of household heads being interviewed in the 2019 survey was 50, whereby 35 from Tiku Selatan and 15 from Tiku V Jorong. A breakdown in terms of occupational groupings of fishermen provided in table 1.

As it can be seen, the household heads have differentiated into non-occupational category, the non-fishermen, and the fishermen. The non-fishermen are involved in employment like factory work, navigating the ferry passenger, agriculture, retailing, and operating coffee-shops in the villages being studied. The fishermen divide into traditional and modern fishermen based on the method used for catching fish.

Results and Discussion

Demographic Description

The Tanjung Mutiara subdistrict locates on the west coast of West Sumatra. It is part of Agam district, where its coastal area faces the Hindia ocean. The District is famous for the highly developed technology used in the

fishing industry and marine conservation area (Zamzami et al., 2019). Agam alone produces approximately 1/3 of all fish production in the whole of West Sumatra, and one-half of it comes from Tanjung Mutiara subdistrict. The majority of fishermen in 2018 were Minangkabau's ethnic (2,630), Nias's ethnicity came second (100), and Java ethnic came third (50). The fisherman's grouping of ethnic categories are as follows: Minangkabau's people of 2630 or 95 %, Nias of 100 people or 3 %, and Java of 50 people or 2 %, with the total fishermen of 2,780 in 2018. The majority of fishermen in the sub-district are modern or more appropriately worker-fishermen employed by capitalist entrepreneurs who usually utilize Capital intensive methods of fishing (Sulistiyo & Rindarjono, 2015). It implies that the capitalist organization of production dominates the fishing industry on the sub-district, leaving only a relatively small percentage of fishermen in the traditional or peasant sector who gradually relegated (Dahuri, 2001).

According to the census figures of licensed fishing vessels and equipment in 2018, obtained from the Fishery Department of Lubuk Basung, there were 442 trawler vessels, 39 purse-seine vessels for mackerel-herring variety, 45 purse-seine vessels for anchovy variety, 95 drift-net vessels, 18 fish-trap vessels, 39 prawns-net vessels, and 206 other vessels. There were probably many boats of the last four categories having no license and, therefore, not registered by the Department of Fisheries. Trawlers and purse-seine are modern fishing equipment, while drift-net, fish-trap, hook-and-line, and various kinds of drag-nets are traditional fishing equipment.

Table 1
Number of Household Heads according to Occupational Groupings, Year 2019

	Occupation and Fishermen Types	Number of Households	Percentage
(A)	Tiku Selatan		
i)	Non-Fishermen	5	14
ii)	Fishermen	30	86
	Total	35	100
(B)	Tiku V Jorong		
i)	Non-Fishermen	5	33
ii)	Fishermen	10	67
	Total	15	100
	i)	10	20
	ii)	40	80
	Total	50	100

Source: Primary Data, 2019.

The traditional fishermen of Tiku Selatan and Tiku V Jorong use the conventional tools of hook-and-line, portable trap, drift-net, and small draft nets traditionally used since generations earlier by their ancestors (Ermayanti, 2015). The difference between traditional and modern fishermen is that the per capita fish obtained by traditional fishermen is significantly lower than the per capita of modern ones. The conventional fishermen have sometimes called artisan fishers or coastal fishers. They rarely go beyond four to five miles from the sea except for today's portable trap vessels, which are now fixed by inboard engines and can travel beyond the limits of four or five miles. Most craft fishing boats are either not powered or only recently motorized, but mainly using the governments' less powerful out-board motors as a form of subsidy. The fishers fish individually or in a group of 2 to 5 men, but usually not more than 5.

New fishers use large boats, motorized by powerful inboard engines with more than 20 horsepower, which involves fishing vessels carrying cargo nets and trawler nets. This group of fishermen was also called offshore fishermen, and they are capable of fishing more than 4 or 5 miles from the coast. But pocket-seine fishing vessels do not go far enough away from the sea as this type of fish can find near the seashore, typically just 5 miles from the coast. Conceptually, coastal fishers can consider as farmers and offshore fishers as worker fishermen (Dumasari & Watemin, 2013; Markus, 2010). The difference is based not only on the level of technology and the type of fishing gear used but mainly on production's social relations. The economy of farmers is based on household labor and their means of production. The workers' fishermen employed by a capitalist who owns the fantastic fishing equipment and uses their works.

The Tradition of Fishing among the Minangkabau Fishermen

There were several types of fishing methods traditionally practiced by the Minangkabau peasants in the past. As most Minangkabau peasants lived along the rivers rather than near the sea, these methods were still commonly used to catch freshwater fish from rivers, lakes, streams, and ponds. The traditional fishing method can classify into the following types: spearing, using hook-and-line, trapping, netting, and miscellaneous.

The spearing and using hook-and-line may have been the most primitive forms of fishing in the west coast Sumatra known to both the Minangkabau peasants and the Mentawai tribes. Initially, the instruments were homemade. But they had undergone modifications and improvements when trading activities began to emerge. For example, the spearhead made of beautiful wood or stone then changed to that of iron. Fishing by hook-and-line was also improved when manufactured hooks and lines were made available. Fish traps, usually made of bamboo and rattan, used in rivers and streams. They work on the principle that spikes turning inwards permit ingress but not exit. Except at the initial stage of making the trap and constructing an area where the web is going to place, this fishing method requires very little actual labor. It ensures a constant supply of fish to the peasants (Osawa, 2018).

The most common types of net used for catching freshwater fish were and are still circular cast-net and square-shaped 'lift net.' One man could efficiently work circular cast-net, although two men were more convenient if the fishermen traveled by raft or boat where one could do the navigation. The lift net, too, could be handled by one person. It was and still being used for fishing in shallow waters. There are different types of standard methods of catching fish from the river. It can be by smashing the tuba tree's bark in the river as the juice from this tree's bark is poisonous to the fish. A wasteful fishing method as the tuba poison kills all ages of fish, both big and small, resulting in depletion of fish stocks. Today, this type of fishing is prohibited by the government. Another standard method was emptying the pond from one corner of the paddy plot called a fish pond, usually dugout, especially for breeding fishes in paddy fields. The most common types of fish breeding in paddy fields were the *puyu* fish, *nila* fish, and *rayo* fish. When the fish had grown big enough and suitable for consumption, the fish pond would emptied using a bailer and a small bucket. Fishermen only take big fishes and leave the little ones to breed for the next harvest, then ponds filled with water.

The above fishing methods are common to the Minangkabau peasant for possibly hundreds of generations (Zamzami et al., 2020). They are mainly used for catching freshwater or inland fish. But spearing, lift-netting, some other kinds of trapping, and hook-and-line usage are standard methods of catching fish in the sea. The present-day

relatively developed sea fishing is known to the Minangkabau peasant later on than those described above. The methods of sea fishing started to be known since there is some degree of social organization and recognition of rights of property.

The decline of freshwater fishing in the last few decades was because of the depletion of freshwater fish stocks due to overfishing and the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides that are poisonous to the fish. It was simultaneously followed by the development of sea fishing, and recently deep-sea fishing through the use of trawlers to meet the increasing demand for fish mainly from the urban population and respond to the gradual increase in the price of all kinds of fish. The most common gears used for catching sea-fish are the floating or drift-net (*pukat hanyut*) and drag-net (*pukat Tarik*), an improved lift-net, purse-net, and trap like fishing stakes and portable trap. These general types have several variants with different names, usually named after the standard kind of fish caught. Also, the number of men required to operate various types of nets differ, ranging from a minimum of two to a maximum of thirty, depending on the net used size.

Sea fishing as a specialized economic activity is a recent phenomenon that started only during colonial times, especially at the beginning of this century. Specialization in fishing is possible only when the market exchange relation is relatively developed, and there is an increasing demand for fish from the non-peasant sector. The increase in demand for fishing from the second half of the twentieth century came from mining, plantation, and those involved in trade, commerce, and other non-agricultural employment in the urban areas. The articulation of these sectors with the peasant-fishermen industry led to the evolution of fish production specialization. A surplus above the peasants' subsistence need produces for exchange in the market. Since then, fish production has become a commodity product.

The Minangkabau were faster to adopt modern methods of fishing by utilizing Capital intensive technology. They also constitute the most important ethnic group that controls the production and distribution of fish and modern fishing equipment, especially in Sumatra Island's west coast. Minangkabau fisherman domination of the fishing industry concentrated on the west coast of Sumatra

Island, where approximately between 70 percent and 80 percent of the population are Minangkabau people.

Income Differential

There is a significant income differential between workers in each type of fishing vessels according to their status and function (Allison & Ellis, 2001; Njoku, 2004). This income differential will compare those working in three types of fishing vessels: purse-seine mackerel-herring type, purse-seine anchovy type, and trawler. In the purse-seine mackerel-herring type, the skipper gets approximately twice as much as the crewman in the form of daily wage and bonus from the owner of the fishing vessel. The wage pays following the amount of landing for each day, as its payment is on a piece-rate basis. A report of the crew's daily income running a purse seine vessel collect during the fieldwork of 2019. They received the highest income in June of that year which was IDR 3,500,000 (\$250) per worker. The skipper received 1 1/2 time as a wage and an additional bonus amount from the vessel owner, of whom the total for this particular month was approximately 10,500,000 IDR (\$750). A detailed record made of the fishing community's daily income considered October as a bad month for the amount of landing of that year. In total, each crew received 350,000 IDR-1,050,000 IDR (\$25-\$75) for that month. The skipper has about twice that number.

For the purse-seine anchovy type, there are two types of payments for the workers. The first one is the minimum wage for the month, while the second is the commission paid according to the quantity of landing measured in baskets, where each basket weighing approximately three bags (*pikul*). The skipper's fixed monthly income was 750,000 IDR, helmsman 450,000 IDR, navigator 450,000 IDR, and crewmen 350,000 IDR. The commission pays according to the number of a fish basket, where the skipper get 45,000 IDR, helmsman 25,000 IDR, navigator 25,000 IDR, and crewmen 15,000 IDR for each basket. The skipper gives an additional bonus payment if the catch is better than the average net per month. Similarly, among the trawler fishing vessels, there is a differentiation of income following each worker's status and function. The fishermen's income on two villages for the month of June-December raised by 30 percent.

A capital-intensive fishing boat's

efficiency increases the per capita output or catches for each fisherman, which means raising his income too. The increase in the worker-fishermen general level of payment has widened the gap between the highest-paid fishermen (primarily the skipper or boat captains and then the crewmen in the purse-seine mackerel-herring and trawler fishing vessels) and relatively low income of traditional fishermen.

Class and Economic Differentiation: Social Formation in Minangkabau Fishing Community

The Minangkabau fishing villages are classified into two broad categories: traditional-artisanal, or peasants fishermen and more commonly known as inshore-fishermen and modern or offshore fishermen who are proletarians (Firth and Yamey 2013; Ward 2017). Generally, the number of those still engaged in traditional fishing are relatively small and decreasing compared to those involved in the modern fishery. In ethnic terms, the former consists mainly of Minangkabau ethnic and a few Nias and Java, while the latter comprises all the three ethnic groups (Minangkabau, Nias, and Java).

The Minangkabau are the dominant group in these sectors. They are dominated because they are the capitalist entrepreneurs who control the fishing industry on the island and in the sub-district in particular, and the west coast of West Sumatra in general. Modern fishing is capitalistic as the work organization is Capital intensive and based on capitalist-wage worker relationships.

This fishing method requires a large capital outlay, partly obtained from many years of savings and slightly loans from banks or other sources. Fishing of this nature is for further capital accumulation and not just for meeting domestic consumption requirements. Table 2 provides a breakdown of household heads in the two villages studied in class terms.

Table 2
Categories of Fishermen
in Both the Village Studied, 2019

	Fishermen Categories	Number of Households	Percentage
a)	Modern Fishermen (owner)	10	20

b)	Traditional Fishermen (worker)	40	80
	Total	50	100

Source: Primary Data, 2019.

As shown in the above table, ten household heads are categorized as worker-fishermen who work in modern fishing vessels owned by the Minangkabau capitalists, mostly living in two villages. Among the 40 household heads that we classified as traditional peasant-fishermen, 12 are owners of their vessels and equipment, while 38 rent other people's vessels and equipment. The figures above, of course, do not represent the actual percentage taken as a whole. If the latter calculated, it is expected that the worker-fishermen rate is higher than the percentage given in table 2 as quite a significant number of worker-fishermen in two villages are younger-aged fishermen who are not household heads.

It is appropriate to provide a brief history of the evolution of capitalist-owners in the village. They fall under three categories in terms of economic and occupational background. First, those from the non-fishing experience are initially involved in other types of business activities in the urban areas, either in the village or the sub-district. With the capital they accumulated from elsewhere, they started to invest in the fishing industry by buying boats, nets, and other equipment when the industry was developing as a profitable investment area. It followed a rise in the demand for fish from the sub-district population, accompanied by the extension of communication networks that link two villages with other significant towns on the sub-district that served as distributing centers to the consumers. The communication networks began to develop during the first half of this century.

The second category is those whose economic activities were at one time indirectly related to the fishing industry. They were mainly middlemen or merchant capitalists who buy fish locally from the producers and distributed them to the retailers or consumers. After accumulating some capital and obtaining some loans, they too started to invest in the fishing industry. The two categories mentioned above constitute most of those who can appropriately suit the term of capitalism in the fishing industry today. The last type of capitalists had directly involved

in fishing activities, usually as boat captains or skipper. The boat captains are better-paid fishermen whose average income is approximately double that of the ordinary crew fishermen. They spent their income to buy modern fishing vessels and equipment and employed some workers to work for them. These capitalists, who usually are trawler fishermen themselves, continue to work as boat captains and owners of fishing vessels and equipment owners. Of course, most of them get some loans to add to their savings, which is usually insufficient to buy all the equipment necessary for modern fishing.

The exact number and percentage of each of the above three capitalist categories could not be exactly determined because the fieldwork was carried out among the peasant and workers' fishermen Minangkabau and not among the Nias and Java fishing sectors. The generalization and estimation above are based on interpersonal contact with some of the key informants, including individual entrepreneurs from Minangkabau involved in the fishing industry. However, the Minangkabau dominates the fishing industry in the Tanjung Mutiara subdistrict and the whole of Agam. They comprise almost every person in modern fishing vessels and equipment as nearly everyone works as middlemen, collectors, wholesalers, retailers, and financial. The Minangkabau, the ethnic Nias, and certain other Java ethnic groups are either employed by Minangkabau's capitalists as workers-fishermen or are temporary workers in traditional fishing sector. More workers are employed in the new industry than in the conventional farming sector of the Minangkabau themselves.

One of the crucial issues about transforming rural economy in Minangkabau by subsuming the capital is how peasants or simple commodity producers are converted into rural wage-workers. The general rural wage-workers is an essential indicator of the peasants being subsumed under capital. It is a manifestation of the further development of capital into the countryside, which can be regarded appropriately as the second phase of the capitalist domination of agriculture. It is distinguished from its first phase, namely the formal subsumption. Capital transformed the natural economy into a commodity economy. The peasantry's function was to produce commodities for exchange in the market rather than produce products mainly for the producers' direct consumption. In the second phase of real subsumption under

capital, however, capital has begun to directly dominate the rural economy, resulting in capital-intensive forms of production and capital-labor relationship formation.

At the practical level, the differences can be distinguished by how capital organizes production in the land-based paddy-growing economy and the fishing economy. In the former, an increase in production scale is limited by constraints on the concentration of cultivated land. The logic of the fishing economy in Minangkabau ethnic has a closer parallel with that of the industry in towns than the agricultural economy. In fishing, as in the Minangkabau urban industry, the expansion of its production is subjected to the rise in capital's organic composition since one of its production factors (i.e., the sea) is free in the sense that everybody has direct access to it. The expansion and efficiency in the production of fish and the volume of its output are subjected to the level of technology used, namely larger and motorized vessels, modern equipment, and the employment of wage labor. In other words, the pre-condition for organizing production along the capitalist lines in fishing is the availability of capital that enables a capitalist to buy modern equipment, which in turn requires wage works in the process of production. Except for the lack of adequate capital, there is no actual barrier to entry the fishing industry by organizing production along the capitalist lines.

Conclusions

The article has demonstrated that capitalist intrusion in the fishing industry is faster than in agriculture, in which each type of the two rural economics follows quite a different logic. Both of paddy-cultivation economy and the fishing economy in the Tanjung Mutiara subdistrict articulated with the dominant peripheral capitalist mode of production at the same time that begins from now on. The peasantry in both economics formally subsumed under capital since the destruction of natural economy in West Sumatra Province sometime at the end of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the millennium era, the peasant-fishermen in Tanjung Mutiara sub-district have started subsumed under capital. Capital began to organize production and created the capitalist social relations of production. A couple of years, when fieldwork conducts among fishermen, most peasants have transformed into wage workers or proletarians working in

the fishing industry organized along capitalist lines. The peasant-fishermen marginalized in the sense that the amount of fish they produce does not constitute an essential contribution to the national economy. In addition, their number is significantly smaller than that of worker-fishermen.

However, it is not valid for the paddy-growing community in the sub-district of Tanjung Mutiara, where farmers are not yet subsumed by capital. The middle peasantry continues to be part of the peasant population, even though it is small in number compared to its ancestors and particularly the earliest possessors of alienated land in the region. The twin accumulation and the settlement process of paddy land have not taken place at a relatively substantial rate to permit the phenomenon of class polarization. It must consider the peculiarity of agriculture compared to industry and the disparity in capital's effect on the agricultural economy compared to the fishing economy.

Acknowledgment

The Universitas Andalas sponsor the whole of my research program under the Institute of Research and Community Service Scheme, to which I am immensely grateful for it.

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