

Review


Perspectives of the Framework of Maritime Anthropology in Development in Indonesia

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Article information	Abstract
DOI : xxx Correspondence : luckyzamzami@soc.unand.ac.id	This paper tries to describe a framework from Maritime Anthropology studies that see the phenomenon of maritime communities and coastal culture as a material that is quite useful in the development of cultural anthropology research. Maritime anthropology can be seen as the study of maritime cultures, societies and subcultures in an anthropological context. Maritime anthropology is a popular sub-field dedicated to the study of coastal culture from an anthropological perspective in the mid-1970s, especially on fishing communities from a functional point of view as a group of people who value the utilization of the marine environment. They may not depend solely on the marine environment. As a result, they have developed and adapted unique technologies that vary widely and are open to rapid change to optimize processes and costs.
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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of maritime communities and coastal cultures is a large enough dataset to be useful for the development of maritime anthropology research. Maritime anthropology can be seen as the study of maritime cultures, societies and subcultures in an anthropological context (Prieto, 2017; Roszko, 2021). In Indonesia, anthropology usually includes several subdisciplines, including ethnography, ethnology, cultural anthropology, social anthropology, and physical anthropology (Koentjaraningrat, 2005). The study of marine culture, society, or subculture in relation to some of the above sub-disciplines can be considered as marine anthropology.

Anthropology in general tries to understand human behavior both as individuals and as a group in their social life in order to better account for future developments (Koentjaraningrat, 2005; Suparlan, 1996). Thus, anthropological studies develop various kinds of human attention in their lives. In addition, anthropology also broadened its focus to include human problems with their environment; People in the area where they live, both in the mountains in the countryside and on the coast. From an anthropological point of view, the environment in which humans live is not an absolute determinant in the development of human behavior and quality of life, as well as various environmental influences on human life, but at least is a major influence on human life.

The growing, broad and deep attention to environmental research or research in a particular field

gives a strong impetus to the emergence of regional research or research focused on human research and special attention to the sectors that make up all life. this environment. On a smaller scale, include rural studies as a comprehensive, comprehensive model of study that sees humans as the dynamic center of life activity (Koentjaraningrat, 2005; Rahardjo, 2006). Along with the science of sociology sharpening the relationship of social groups with life, anthropology, the same subject, sharpens its attention to human creativity in group life so that it can be used to develop holistic perception. The structure of human life in an area or region, for example coastal communities with all their conditions.

Maritime is an adjective that means or refers to the sea. Cultures, societies, and subcultures derived from or related to the ocean are subjects of marine anthropology, and consequently marine anthropology encompasses a wide range of cultural and physical phenomena (Acheson, 1981; Poggie, 1980; Prieto, 2017). The concept of culture can be understood as a conventional body of understanding or organized system that manifests itself in the form of culture preserved by traditions that characterize human society or society. Culture thus becomes part of the man-made environment. Culture consists of tools, weapons, jewelry, and the like, as well as customs, institutions, beliefs, myths, ideas, and actions. Culture is a complex entity that includes all non-genetic phenomena of human society or society.

Maritime anthropology is a popular sub-field dedicated to the study of coastal cultures from an anthropological perspective in the mid-1970s (Acheson, 1981; Prieto, 2017; Roszko, 2021; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002). In other regions of the world, such as the American Northwest, Southwest California, the Pacific Islands, the North Atlantic, and around the Arctic Circle, the field has recognized the importance of marine resources and their role in developing social complexity. (Aswani, 2020; McCay, 1993; Poggie Jr., 1980; Roszko, 2021; M. E. Smith, 1977; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002). A marine fishing community can be defined from a functional point of view as a group of people who value the utilization of the marine environment. They may not depend solely on the marine environment. As a result, they have developed and adapted unique technologies that vary widely and are open to rapid change to optimize processes and costs (Yesner et al., 1980). From a social point of view, fishing societies can be defined as groups that identify themselves as seafarers, but carry out very different and varied activities depending on the resources available. So they can be part-time farmers, part-time merchants, or part-time craftsmen (Acheson, 1981; Imron, 2003; M. A. Kusnadi, 2002; Roszko, 2021; M. E. Smith, 1977; Suparlan, 1996; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002; Yesner et al., 1980).

Maritime anthropology is a science that studies or studies humans, which includes humans as actors in life activities in maritime areas and their cultural systems, namely attitudes, activities, habits and social life that apply in maritime areas (coastal). Not only humans as subjects of maritime anthropology studies, but also the maritime area / environment itself, seen from the broad aspects of marine waters, types and numbers of fish in the sea, seabed morphology and heritage in the sea, such as treasures, shipwrecks (Poggie Jr., 1980; Roszko, 2021; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002).

FRAMEWORK OF MARITIME ANTHROPOLOGY: HISTORY AND PERSPECTIVES

The ocean plays an important role in world cosmology as the space where human life began, a story supported by biologists (DeLoughrey, 2007). Environmental historian John Gillis writes that the beach was not mankind's last resort, but the starting point of Modern Homo Sapiens. Studies of archaeology and anthropology provide further evidence that the fisherman-hunter-gatherer economy was not limited to anatomically modern humans, but extended at least as far as Neanderthals, who made extensive use of coastal environments. Although the ocean provides essential nutrients for human development, it is also an area of contact, not a barrier (Gillis, 2015). Based on preserved genetic and botanical evidence, it is known that ocean voyages did not begin with European expeditions in the 15th century, but with ancient sailors sailing the high seas following the stars (M. E. Smith, 1977; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002).

The pioneers of long-distance navigation were Southeast Asians known as Austronesian speakers,

who more than 2,000 years ago made the most remarkable voyages of discovery and settlement in human history (Denning, 2007). Much less is known about pre-Columbian sailors who rarely settled in the Caribbean around 4000 BC. But one thing is certain: long before Ming admirals Zhen He reached the East African coast and Christopher Columbus in the Atlantic Ocean, Austronesians had sailed to Easter Island in the Pacific and Madagascar in the Indian Ocean (Reid, 2015), and the group of ancient sailors who were in Europe sailed across the North Atlantic and reached as far south as North Africa and east to Russia, Constantinople and the Near East. The above example illustrates that seas and oceans have been providers of resources, navigation and surface transport for humans, spaces for military adventure and 'homes' for cruiser crews since the earliest recorded history (Denning, 2007; Gillis, 2015; M. E. Smith, 1977). Today, traditionally beginning with European shipping across the Atlantic, seas and oceans have emerged as political, economic, and legal spaces shaped by new maritime technologies (see Roszko, 2021). In the long term, these new technologies will accelerate the recovery of biological and non-biological natural resources from the oceans and seafloor. This development was first aided by the emergence of continental nation-states in the 19th century, which defined the coast as one of the most important borders (Gillis, 2015; Poggie Jr., 1980). Once the coast and its various landscapes such as harbors, estuaries, peninsulas, islands, and the like were treated as land and projected as separate lines on the cartographic lattice, the coast became the property of the state and then the private owner (Aswani, 2020; Gillis, 2015; Poggie Jr., 1980).

Environmentalists have warned that anthropocentric understandings that draw lines too sharply obscure the interplay between land and ocean (Gillis, 2015) and thus misinterpret the ocean as something that cannot be changed and immune to human activities. The 21st century will witness the growing growth of natural ecotourism, sea level rise, plastic pollution, depletion of fish stocks, and ocean acidification on an unprecedented scale, displacing thousands of people whose livelihoods depend on marine resources from coastal areas. These environmental and social processes are exacerbated by maritime disputes, militarization, illegal fishing, and deep-sea mining, which transform seas and oceans from connection zones to conflict zones.

Anthropologists are facing these challenges more than ever, requiring a better understanding of the relationships, motivations, and patterns behind human activities and their impact on oceanic space. As the ocean began to be known as a geopolitical and economic arena, as an arena and space that houses marine life and marine life, the sub-discipline of marine anthropology began to take shape, which considers not only the political, economic and cultural arrangements surrounding seas and oceans, but also its biophysical conditions and the functioning of human and non-human species and objects in space (Roszko, 2021). Sea here refers to human activities and practices at sea (such as shipping, maritime trade, and coastal livelihoods) that typically occur at sea level, but must involve connections to land. The ocean refers to organic life and inorganic matter as well as movement below the surface of the sea (where marine objects float, float and move), which includes non-human life and the extraction of natural resources from the sea. Exploration of the ongoing tension between the marine and marine dimensions in the subdisciplines of marine anthropology and the conceptualization of the ocean emerging as the subject and object of scientific inquiry and theory needs to be done by integrating old and new approaches to fishing communities.

Marine phenomenology and human-nature relations and conceptualization of the ocean as a unit of analysis and methodological tool for thinking beyond states and landmasses without borders, or as zones of interregional and transnational connectivity. The last part of this chapter deals with a pressing issue called "blue economy" and its relationship to the concept of *mare liberum*. Future research directions for maritime anthropology and its subdisciplinary potential to shape and intervene in theoretical debates across the social sciences, not least because of the qualitative ethnographic and historical approaches to anthropology. This must be demonstrated by examining competing political and economic interests, whereby while the next generation of marine anthropologists were trained in

subjects favoured by the functioning of British or North American evolutionary anthropologists, some began to incorporate marine history, material culture and cultural ecology (Denning, 2007). Shaped by knowledge of their marine environment, they distinguish them from exclusive land-oriented societies such as farmers and hunter-gatherers (Firth, 2006; Miner, 1947). The full institutionalization of maritime anthropology as a sub-discipline occurred in the 1970s from North America and specialized research groups from North America and specialized research throughout Europe especially from MAST (now Maritime Studies) (Pauwelussen, 2017). This development was followed by a renewed emphasis on ecological and environmental factors.

The unique experience of marine life extends to the sea, especially how coastal communities deal with the biological and physical conditions of the ocean in practice. Proposes marine ethnology, sometimes called marine anthropology and loosely defined as the study of all biological, biocultural and cultural phenomena or facts related to human activities that are directly or indirectly connected to the ocean (Kishigami & Savelle, 2005). While maritime anthropology is interested in a number of topics such as navigation, everyday language, fish and shellfish culture, trade, customary law related to fishing, and natural resource management and values, maritime ethnology focuses more on the environment and its relationship to technical and fishing technology developments, as well as fishing ownership and territory.

It wasn't until the 21st century that Oxford-educated anthropologist Akifumi Iwabuchi again tried to explain marine anthropology. Iwabuchi proposed maritime anthropology as a subfield consisting of marine anthropology, meaning a discipline more oriented to land and maritime history, and marine culture, which focuses on human adaptation to the marine environment. Viewed from this perspective, maritime anthropology represents a more holistic or interdisciplinary approach that includes new topics such as underwater cultural heritage, marine art, and World War I and II shipwrecks and human remains (Iwabuchi, 2012a). Despite its legitimacy in Japan, maritime anthropology never materialized as an independent field of globally recognized maritime anthropology (Nishimura, 1975). In the process, however, it became clear that all the scientific developments we identified in anthropology that were unnatural tended to revolve around the dialectical relationship between sea and sea, alternately opposing, rejecting, or reinforcing the more attention-grabbing empirical and analytical relationships or divisions between ocean and tropological groups. Temporal phenomena such as fishermen's knowledge of the sea, trade networks and cultural exchange, which have been largely ignored by management-oriented marine anthropologists (Aswani, 2020; McCay, 1993; Poggie Jr., 1980; Roszko, 2021; M. E. Smith, 1977; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002).

These anthropologists took a more reflexive approach to maritime borders and ocean management, emphasizing that the sea and fishermen fall under the territory of the modern state as defined by cartography (Allison & Ellis, 2001; Diegues, 2005; Iwabuchi, 2012b; Roszko, 2021).

Other developments in maritime anthropology focused on fishermen's mobility and incorporated elements of political anthropology and migrant anthropology. For example, fishermen's mobility for transboundary purposes and nature tourism conservation is often based on vernacular knowledge of marine geography and ethnic and trade networks (Adhuri & Visser, 2007; Aswani, 2020; Kishigami & Savelle, 2005; Roszko, 2021; M. E. Smith, 1977; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002). Antje Missbach points out that Indonesian fishermen often use their maritime knowledge to participate in invasions of foreign waters and human trafficking (Missbach, 2016; Roszko, 2021). Roszko (2021) draws attention to the structural marginalization of local fisheries, arguing that the depletion of fish stocks and the breakdown of traditional marine ways of life (mainly due to fishing fleets) have led Ghanaian fishermen to seek alternative livelihoods in a global context, for example transporting Mediterranean migrants. There is also scientific evidence that poor fishermen in Indonesia, Morocco, Tunisia, and Senegal have been involved in human trafficking and smuggling after losing their jobs in the fishing industry (Aswani, 2020; K. Kusnadi et al., 2019; McCay, 1993; Poggie Jr., 1980; Roszko, 2021; M. E. Smith, 1977; van Ginkel & Verrips, 2002). Unlike previous maritime anthropology, which focused on isolated fishing communities

and their adaptation to coastal environments, maritime anthropology today has redefined its interests and focuses on how fishermen build their professional identities and how they place themselves in advanced capitalist contexts to navigate not only the sea, but also unstable markets and regions.

New anthropological literature on shipping and maritime workers only aggravated the situation. The combination of increasing marine pollution (e.g. plastics, pathogens, toxic substances, nutrients, marine debris, hydrocarbon spills, underwater noise, etc.) and overfishing has led to the loss and degradation of marine habitats (Reid, 2015; Roszko, 2021). For example, established marine protected areas (MPAs) around the world combine nature conservation and ecotourism under the guise of a blue economy, but in practice they exclude local communities, whose livelihood strategies are often labeled as uncivilized and threaten the environment (Roszko, 2021; Stacey et al., 2012).

From a social science perspective, marine anthropologists emphasize the importance of traditional ecological knowledge of coastal communities, which is rarely considered in management and conservation projects and the so-called progressive blue economy agenda (Stacey et al., 2012). Maritime anthropological debates about sustainability and the blue economy, which point to existing conflicts over sustainability and mining, continue to show that seas and oceans are emerging not only as arenas of shipping and ocean management, but primarily as laboratories for various competing policies and experiments in space privatization.

THE POTENTIAL OF FISHERMEN IN COASTAL AREAS

The English definition of society comes from the Latin *socius*, meaning friend. Community itself comes from the Arabic root *syaraka*, which means “joining” or “joining”. So society is a collection of people interacting with each other. A society is a group of interconnected people who interact with each other to achieve a common goal, and who have the infrastructure for such activities. Society can clearly see individuals as family, the process takes place within the family, and society can see the results of the process (Koentjaraningrat, 2005; Suparlan, 1996).

Coastal residents are defined as a group of people living in coastal areas and whose livelihoods directly depend on the development of marine and coastal resources. They consist of household fishermen, fishermen, pond farmers, other marine life, fish traders, fish processors and suppliers of fish production inputs (Kusnadi, 2000; Zamzami, 2016). Judging from the scale of the fishery, coastal community groups consist of fishermen who use non-motorized boats, outboard motors and motorized boats to catch fish. In this case, the sea is the main focus for the survival of fishing villages, because more than 50% of their needs are met through fishing and fishing services, but people from each culture have their own way of utilizing the sea (Kusnadi, 2000; Kusnadi, 2010)

Fishermen are a group of people whose livelihoods depend directly on marine products, either through fishing or cultivation. They usually live on the coast, in residential areas near the place of operation. Fishermen communities are generally divided into 3 groups according to their status, namely:

1. *Juragan* fishermen, that is, fishermen who own complete equipment, boats operated by others.
2. Labor fishermen, that is, fishermen who work with fishing gear belonging to others.
3. Individual fishermen, that is, fishermen who have their own fishing equipment, and in their operations do not involve other people (Zamzami, 2009).

From several definitions of society and the definition of fishermen that have been mentioned that:

1. The fishing community is a group of humans who have a livelihood catching fish in the sea.
2. The fishing community is not only those who manage their lives only working and searching at sea, but those who also live around the coast even though their livelihood is farming and trading (Kusnadi, 2006).

The fishing community is a group of people who live, grow and develop in coastal areas, which are transitional areas between land and sea, and their main livelihood is fishing in the sea. As a system,

fishing villages consist of social categories that form social units. They also have cultural values and symbols to refer to in everyday actions. This cultural factor is what distinguishes fishing villages from other social groups. Most coastal areas depend for survival directly and indirectly through the management of potential fish stocks. This is a key element in building Indonesia's maritime society (Kusnadi, 2010).

Fishermen are a group of communities living in coastal areas, whose activities develop, manage, and utilize coastal and aquatic resources belonging to all (common land), as a support for livelihoods that are very seasonal and vulnerable to ecological degradation and socioeconomic disruption. As a social unit, fishing communities live, grow and develop on the coast or coastal areas. Not all coastal villages have residents who work as fishermen, but fishing villages are part of the social fabric of coastal social construction. However, in coastal villages where the majority of the population are fishermen, fish farmers, or aquaculture, fishermen's culture has a significant impact in shaping the cultural identity of all coastal communities (Van Ginkel, 2007). Fishermen, fish farmers and aquaculture companies are social groups directly involved in the management of coastal and marine resources. This study follows the conceptual context above to understand the construction of fishing villages, namely the construction of communities whose socio-cultural lives are strongly influenced by the existence of social groups whose livelihoods depend on marine and coastal businesses. Given the structure of environmental economic resources as a social unit on which resources are based on survival, fishing villages have a different cultural identity from other social units such as forests and other social units that live in urban areas (Kusnadi, 2000).

For fishing communities, culture is a system of thought or cognitive that serves as a guideline for life, a reference for patterns of social behavior, and a means to interpret and understand various events in the environment (Keesing, 1989)(Keesing, 1989). All cultural ideas and practices must function in people's lives. Otherwise, this culture will quickly disappear. Culture must serve the survival of society and the adaptation of individuals to their environment. Cultural content is the formulation of socially agreed goals and the means to achieve them as a guide for action in the public interest (Koentjaraningrat, 2005; Suparlan, 1996). Anthropological perspectives for understanding the existence of society are based on the results of dialectical relationships between humans, environment and culture. Therefore, the social units formed by these processes exhibit different cultural characteristics in different environments that shape human life, namely behavior in exploiting nature, leadership in social institutions, patron-client relations and the role of women in neservice.

Behavior in Exploiting Nature

In relation to the utilization of fish resources, our fishing communities show four behaviors as follows:

1. continuous utilization of fish resources without knowing their limits;
2. exploitation of fish stocks that damage coastal and marine ecosystems, such as mangrove logging and harvesting of coral reefs and sea sand;
3. using fish stocks in destructive ways, such as fishing groups bombing fish, dissolving potassium cyanide, and using environmentally damaging nets such as trawls or mini trawls; and
4. exploitation of fish stocks with conservation measures, such as fishermen fishing in the context of coral reefs and mangroves and the use of environmentally friendly nets (Kusnadi, 2010)

Most of our fishermen use first, second and third behaviors because they have a good understanding of fish stocks or marine resources that are freely available to anyone who wants to make use of them. The fourth behavior is minority behavior in fishing communities, which is indicated by the presence of indigenous or local communities who manage fisheries to strengthen common economic interests, social independence and survival. Such indigenous communities are scattered in different regions of the country. The means of managing marine resources that they take good care of are sasi in Maluku, ondoaf in West Papua, bati in Ternate, rompong in South Sulawesi, tonass in North Sulawesi, awig-awig in West Nusa Tenggara, patenekan in Banten or gogolan in Tegal. Claims to ownership of community resources

are justified based on social history and elements of ethnic identity present within them (Kusnadi, 2000).

Uncontrolled exploitation has had a far-reaching impact on the scarcity of fish stocks and the poverty of fishermen. In addition, competition between fishermen in the fight for fish stocks continues to increase, which can lead to explosive conflicts in various water areas, especially in overfished areas. General conditions that can indirectly affect the occurrence of fishermen conflicts are as follows:

1. The shortage or depletion of fish stocks, especially in coastal waters, and overfishing conditions are caused by several important factors, namely: overfishing and damage to coastal marine ecosystems.
2. The use of fish resources is not accompanied by awareness and vision of sustainability or sustainability in the management of the coastal-marine environment, thus causing inequality.
3. Failure of rural development in coastal areas/cities, increasing population pressure on marine resources and increased competition.
4. There is no unity in planning and implementing coastal area development policies involving various interest groups.

In addition, the specific causes of fishermen's conflicts are as follows. 1) Breaklines, especially in coastal waters. 2) Community expropriation (fishing grounds). 3) The struggle for the location of the rumpon and the theft of fish at the location of the rumpon. 4) The use of fishing gear of different quality by two groups of fishermen (eg bait fishermen and bubu fishermen) so that the catch obtained is not balanced in value. 5) Use of fishing gear that endangers the sustainability of fish stocks, such as mini trawls, etc. 6) Fishing that damages the environment, such as fish bombs, potassium, etc. In some cases of conflict between fishermen, the above reasons often overlap. Efforts to reduce population pressure on marine natural resources and tackle overfishing by diversifying jobs or changing jobs are not easy, as other job opportunities (non-fishing) are limited in coastal areas.

Leadership in Social Institutions

If social institutional management is a socio-cultural unit, fishing communities have social behavioral characteristics that are influenced by geographical conditions and livelihood characteristics of their residents. Some traits of pro-social behavior are:

1. High work ethic to survive and prosper.
2. Competitive and confident in their success.
3. Appreciate your own achievements and expertise.
4. Open and expressive, so it tends to be rude.
5. Strong social solidarity when facing a common threat or helping others in a disaster.
6. High adaptability and survivability.
7. Consume a sedentary lifestyle.
8. Evidence (gold, furniture, vehicles, house buildings etc.) that shows success in life.
9. A religious person with high religious feelings.
10. Temperament, especially in terms of self-esteem (Kusnadi, 2010).

One of the features of the social behavior of coastal communities, related to temperamental attitudes and self-esteem, can be observed in the statement of a Dutch anthropologist (Boelaars, 1984), coastal communities have a strong tendency to usurp and elevate authority or social status. They themselves claim to be fast, easily injured, quick to use violence and easy to take revenge to murder. Beach dwellers have very high self-esteem and are very sensitive. This feeling stems from their realization that coastal lifestyles should be upheld. The social behavior characteristics mentioned above are very significant to the characteristics of social management of coastal communities. Based on philological studies of classical (ancient) texts, such as Sindujoyo Pesisir and Babad Pesisir Gresik which are strongly influenced by Islamic teachings, the requirements for coastal community leaders are as follows (Kusnadi et al., 2019) be:

1. Want to help anyone who asks for help.
2. Care for anyone other than himself.
3. Benefactor to all.
4. Always seek knowledge of the world and the hereafter to achieve life balance.
5. No ambition towards status or position, although he contributed a lot.
6. Humble (not arrogant) but not condescending (opinionated).
7. Deeply hate oppression and do justice to all.
8. Hard work and worship, especially the five daily prayers.
9. Patient and thoughtful.
10. Trying to make others happy.

Some of the social behavioral values above are very valuable social capital when used to build fishing communities or coastal communities. Similarly, the demands given to leaders and leadership of coastal communities have a good meaning in building the leadership of the Indonesian nation and state. The study of coastal cultural values will certainly have a very strategic contribution to build the country's future based on the potential of national marine resources. Based on the description above, fishing communities have a specific cultural identity and have developed through a long process of passion. Such cultural traits such as gender systems, patron-client relationships, behavioral patterns of fisheries utilization, and social management grow under the influence of environmental conditions and characteristics. As part of a larger community that moves with social dynamics, fishing communities and coastal cultures are also affected. Adaptation and success in responding to the challenges of social change determine the survival and social integration of fishing communities (Kusnadi, 2010).

Patron-Client Relationship

In general, patron-client relationships arise intensively in societies facing complex social problems and scarcity of economic resources. In rural and suburban areas based on agriculture, patrons help clients to facilitate the search for employment opportunities in the agricultural sector, to meet unexpected client needs, or to ease clients' debt burdens in front of loan sharks. Customers accept this kindness as gratitude, appreciate it, and are committed to helping customers in any way they have (Kusnadi, 2010).

Such a pattern of social relations can be seen in the relationship between the owners of large tracts of agricultural land (rich peasants) and their workers and those around them whose economic capabilities are limited (Eisenstadt & Roniger, 1984). Essentially, the patron-client relationship includes: (a) the relationship between different actors or sets of actors who control unequal resources; b) special relationships, personal relationships and more or less intimate relationships; (c) relationships based on the principle of mutual benefit and mutual give and take. The resources exchanged in the client-client relationship reflect the emerging needs of both parties. The client-to-client exchange category includes: basic income support, subsistence emergency provision, protecting clients from external threats, and turning donations into public goods. In contrast, the flow of goods and services from customer to patron usually occurs through the provision of labor and expertise for the benefit of the patron, in any form (Scott, 1972).

The principle of patron-client relations also applies to fishing communities. Social elements that can become patrons are large and rich (fish) merchants, fishermen (boat owners), helmsmen (ship captains or ship captains) and other wealthy people. Potential customers are fishermen, workers and coastal residents with weaker resources. Such patron-client relations take place intensively both in the functioning of economic institutions and in the social life of the village. These defenders have an important status and social role in the lives of fishing communities (Kusnadi, 2000). The complexity of social relations (vertical) between patrons and clients and horizontal social relations between them are the lifeblood of the social structure of fishing societies. For example, among Madurean fishermen, there are three parties who play an important role in the fishing economy, namely middlemen (pangamba'), fishermen who own

boats, and fishermen (Kusnadi, 2000). The three parties are connected by close financial cooperation. Intermediary traders provide assistance and guarantees (money) to fishery owners and fishery workers. Proprietary fishermen provide assistance and loans to working fishermen. The financial cooperation relationship between them is connected by the client-client relationship. The socio-economic relations of these clients are realized intensively and in the long run. Socio-economic relations end when there are problems between them that cannot be resolved, so the owner-fisherman and worker-fisherman have to pay their debts to intermediaries. The patron-client relationship that underlies fishermen's economic activities is so deep that some researchers refer to fishermen's economic organizations as patron-client economic organizations (Kusnadi, 2000).

In fishing villages with high poverty rates, in addition to commercial life, client-client relationships are also intensively developed. For example, in neighborhood-based social networks, able-bodied people (traders, fishermen, or other entities) with more than enough financial resources help their neighbors in need. This assistance is usually given in the form of in-kind donations, food, information, clothing and payment. Those who are helped repay his kindness, willing to offer his services to help his patron. The implementation of this patron-client relationship is an effort to maintain mutual harmony so that the negative impact of social inequality on fishing communities can be minimized (Kusnadi, 2000). The social reality and functioning of these cultural institutions suggest that the attempts of some academics to understand the social problems of fishing societies from a class perspective are not only wrong, but also academically misleading.

The Role of Women in Sustainability

Gender is a system in which the division of labor based on gender is practiced in fishing societies based on existing cultural concepts. In other words, the gender system is the social structure of a fishing society formed as a result of the development of dialectic processes between man, his environment and culture. As a cultural product, the gender system is transmitted socially from one generation to another.

Based on the gender system of fishing communities, sea-related work is a man's job and land-related work is a woman's job. Work at sea such as fishing is the domain of men because the characteristics of the work require strong physical abilities, speed of action and high risk. Women with different physical abilities are engaged in agricultural work such as housekeeping and socio-cultural and economic activities. Women have enough time to do their work. Most economic activities in coastal areas are carried out by women, and the system of division of labor makes women the masters of economic activities in coastal areas.

The effect of the division of labor system is that women control household finances and make important decisions in their households (Kusnadi, 2002). Therefore, women are not in a position to complement each other, but complement each other in maintaining the continuity of their household. The perception of fishing communities towards women working in the public sector is divided into three, namely conservative, conditionally moderate, and dynamic contextual perceptions (Kusnadi et al., 2019)

While conservative perceptions and conditionally moderate views are held by a small percentage of fishing communities, contextual dynamic views are embraced by the majority of fishing communities. Contextually dynamic observations make more sense when assessing coastal women working according to local socioeconomic needs and conditions. This understanding provides ample space for women to actively participate in public activities without sacrificing their domestic responsibilities.

In poor fishing households, women as fishermen's wives have a strategic role in maintaining the integrity of their households. The modernization of fisheries that has a major impact on the process of poverty places women as the main responsible for the survival of fishing households (Kusnadi, 2010). If the government initiates empowerment programs to overcome fishermen's poverty, women can be targeted for socio-economic empowerment. Thus, efforts to achieve empowerment goals can be carried out appropriately and effectively.

FISHERMEN AND POVERTY

The main problem that dominates fishing families is poverty. Poverty, which is one of the factors causing various welfare problems, manifests in various basic needs that are not met, dependence and limited access to social services. There are many definitions of poverty, but in general it can be said that poverty is always related to deprivation. The problem of poverty that is often faced by fishermen is caused by lack of knowledge and skills in managing family financial resources, inefficient time and allocation of work, low skills in processing fish products, and weak bargaining power of small fishermen due to weak institutional systems and skills (Mubyarto & Dove, 1984).

Judging from its scale, fishermen's poverty consists of infrastructure poverty and family poverty. Infrastructure poverty is shown by the existence of physical infrastructure in fishing villages which is generally still very limited, such as lack of clean water, distance from markets, and lack of affordable fuel. Infrastructure poverty also indirectly contributes to family poverty. Because the availability of clean water forces families to spend money to buy clean water which means reduced income. Meanwhile, the ability of fishing families to manage the family economy is still weak, as evidenced by weak financial planning and the lack of implementation of saving strategies, especially during the fishing season, as well as the lack of strategies to increase family income.

The emergence of strategic behavior in a household crisis is driven by poverty that forces a person to get out of the situation. Factors that cause poverty and socioeconomic characteristics of households are things that encourage households to carry out coping strategies. Poor coastal families almost always involve all family members in making a living to survive and respond to poor family conditions. Children from poor families enter working life earlier than children from wealthy families. In fact, poverty involves two main things, namely vulnerability and helplessness. Because of their vulnerability, the poor find it difficult to deal with crises. This can be seen for example in individual fishermen who have difficulty buying fuel to go to sea. Because, in the past, there were no crops that could be sold normally and there was no reserve fund that could be used for urgent needs. Similarly, working fishermen feel powerless in the face of the employers who employ them, even if their share of profits is seen as unfair. They usually live on the coast, in residential areas near the place of operation. The work of a fisherman basically involves a lot of risk and uncertainty. It is recommended to deal with risks and uncertainties by developing adaptive patterns in the form of certain economic behaviors, which ultimately affect economic institutions.

The fishing community is expected to be able to survive the difficulties and financial crises faced by their families, especially during famine times (west wind season/ban on fishing). In addition, it is recommended that fishing communities develop their own mechanism, namely an equitable capital system to overcome capital constraints. This system allows fishermen to work together to raise capital and share risks equally. Equitable risk sharing is also achieved through wage sharing based on profit sharing, so that fishermen's working groups can enjoy profits and losses together. In fishing communities that develop individual ownership models, profit-sharing systems can encourage capital accumulation only in certain small groups. On the other hand, fishing communities that develop shared ownership allow for higher returns. But this risk-sharing model continues to grow and evolve in fisher organizations, especially at times when fishermen's financial income is uncertain. Economic conditions where the number of needs increases with the increase of family members with different needs, both primary and secondary. Socially, labor is not only about survival, but also requires neighborly harmony and mutual assistance in society. Several factors affect the work of fishermen in the economic sector of society, namely: gender issues are caused by the low level of income of fishermen which causes financial pressure on families. The low level of income makes fishermen only focus on meeting their basic needs. This is due to the lack of effort and access to meet the basic needs of families, low levels of education and skills, and socio-cultural impartial access to women. Therefore, the potential becomes

valuable if the community seeks to utilize it, therefore skilled human resources are needed to develop and restore existing marine resources.

PHILOSOPHY OF EMPOWERING FISHERMEN COMMUNITY

Geographically, fishing communities are people who live, grow and develop in coastal areas. Their survival depends on the efforts of environmental natural resource management, ie. coastal, sea and small islands. In general, both caught and cultivated fish stocks are one of the most important factors supporting the survival of fishing communities. Therefore, fishing plays an important role in the economic dynamics of coastal village communities.

1. In this context, fishing communities are key actors in determining the dynamics of the local economy. The current state of the fishing community is the result of the fishery industry development policy implemented since the early 1970s called the modernization of the fishing industry. These productivity-oriented policy-based policies result in some very important social, economic and ecological changes in communities and coastal areas. With the growth of fisheries and aquaculture productivity, social and environmental problems have not been fully resolved. Problems of coastal community development can be classified into three parts, namely: social problems, including poverty, social inequality and social conflicts among fishermen;
2. environmental problems which include damage to coastal marine ecosystems, small islands and scarcity of fish stocks and;
3. Development capital problems, which include problems in managing resource potential that is not optimal, and problems with the extinction of fishing villages or the weakening of the economic role of fishing villages and marine traditions.

The three problems above are related to causal relationships. The result of the above problems is the disruption of social, economic and technological access to coastal communities, which reduces the quality of human resources, optimizes the management of limited environmental resources, and coastal areas cannot be a growth base that supports the dynamics of the regional economy.

Since the arrival of the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries in 1999, various government policies aimed at resolving long-standing social problems have been intensively implemented. Negligence in addressing the social problems of coastal communities is caused by the lack of strong development policies to encourage the use of the country's marine resources. Consideration of the pressing social problems of fishing communities, especially poverty and environmental damage, is a reason or background that must be considered carefully for the need for coastal community empowerment programs. Through this program, it is expected to develop insight, knowledge and capacity of coastal communities to manage their environmental resources sustainably and sustainably.

The process and activities of empowering coastal communities must be based on principles of thinking that can support the philosophy of empowerment. The philosophy of coastal community empowerment can be explored through values that underlie the nature of the relationship between humans and God Almighty, humans with humans, and humans with the natural environment. Empowerment consultants should avoid negative assumptions and prejudices about the abilities and behavior of coastal communities. Their role in empowerment is to create space for knowledge and skills so that coastal communities have the opportunity to manifest themselves in the local development process. Basically, every community group has potential resources or social capital that allows them to develop optimally (Kusnadi, 2003b; Kusnadi, 2006).

Coastal communities must communicate information dialogically. Educate and develop the motivation of coastal communities. Through this strategy, communities are encouraged to conduct experimental activities to develop and disseminate their innovative skills and disseminate these skills in other communities. Empowerment activities are presented as mediators, facilitators and motivators

rather than activities that seem patronizing to coastal communities. Thus, empowerment processes and activities are rooted in community knowledge and understanding.

In future development, it is assumed that the community will be able to strengthen itself in a sustainable manner. Basically, sustainability is a condition where a community can improve the quality of its environment based on three main pillars, namely (1) orientation based on behavior change (attitude), (2) orientation to self-community management and (3) community innovation and creativity (entrepreneurship) (Zamzami, 2012). One of the reasons for the difficulty of overcoming poverty in the development paradigm is that it is not only multidimensional but also interconnected, dynamic, and complex. Poverty patterns vary widely across social groups, ages, cultures, locations and countries, as well as across different economic contexts. In addition, the magnitude of poverty can be described as follows:

1. Dimension 1: the material dimension is the lack of food, work.
2. Dimension 2: psychological dimensions such as helplessness, silence, dependence, shame and humiliation.
3. Dimension 3: The dimension of availability of minimal infrastructure services.
4. Dimension 4: Property dimension, in practice there is no property as capital to live decently, such as a) Physical assets (physical capital) including but not limited to land, livestock, equipment, housing, jewelry, etc. b) Human assets (human capital) including health, education and employment. c. Social assets related to institutions (social capital). d. Environmental resources include climate and seasons. One solution to overcome poverty is development and empowerment.

The empowerment of groups living in poverty can occur on several levels (Miraza, 2009), i.e. empowerment at the operator level. namely raising critical awareness and restoring community capacity and independence; strengthening at the institutional level ie. build/empower institutions that support the community, empowerment at the political level, ie. Policy development that restores the position of the community as the main actor in the development and decision-making process, and empowerment at the program level, namely the development of empowerment programs that build and re-empower citizens, families and communities. One way to improve community welfare is to strengthen community entrepreneurship. Independent business is one solution to create community welfare. In general, self-directed entrepreneurship can be seen as an activity that involves the search for opportunities that arise in the market, using available resources. Independent business can improve the welfare of the community individually and collectively.

CONCLUSIONS

The framework of maritime anthropology emphasizes the importance of understanding the relationship between humans and the sea and the resources contained within it. In Indonesia, as a maritime country with thousands of islands, this understanding is important because the sea is not only an economic, but also cultural and social source that is very meaningful to society. Studies of maritime anthropology in Indonesia reveal the diversity of maritime cultures from various tribes and ethnicities living on the coast and islands. It covers traditional fishing practices, navigation, food culture, and indigenous ceremonies related to the sea. Through this perspective, it is important to understand how humans interact with their marine environment. It includes not only resource exploitation, but also an understanding of sustainability and conservation of the marine environment. The study of maritime anthropology also carries major social and economic implications. For example, an understanding of how coastal communities depend on marine resources can help design better policies for sustainable and inclusive economic development.

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