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The Construction Of Female Genital Mutilation In Tembeling Tanjung, Riau Archipelago Province

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Abstract

In the social process, individual humans are seen as relatively free creators of social reality in their social world, therefore the construction built by each individual is different, until the emergence of a phenomenon, namely the construction of female circumcision. Reality is the result of creative human creation through the power of social construction of the social world around them. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is a hereditary custom that has become a tradition. This research was conducted to find out the construction of the tradition of circumcision in girls. The informants in this study were nine, namely the people of Tembeling Tanjung who did and did not circumcise girls and community leaders. This type of research is qualitative and the selection of informants uses purposive sampling technique with several predetermined criteria. From the results of the research, there were various kinds of social constructions in the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Tembeling Tanjung. This dialectical process occurs through externalization, objectivation, and internalization. In externalization, it is known that informants adapt values and norms in the form of adjustments in the implementation of circumcision. Informants' internalization of values and norms in socialization with family, religious leaders, community leaders and the social environment gave birth to an understanding of the objectivation of female circumcision. This is what causes informants to continue to actualize the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM).

Keywords: Female Circumcision, Social Construction, Sociology

Introduction

Indonesia has so many cultures and traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation by the ancestors of the Indonesian people. These traditions and cultures are a form of wealth and are expected to be maintained and preserved so that existing cultures and traditions are not lost or eroded along with the times.

One tradition or culture that is still practiced by the community is circumcision or Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). This tradition is part of a social phenomenon that causes polemics in its development. Female circumcision has been debated, with different perspectives. Some people consider that circumcision, whether male or female, is a religious obligation that must be carried out. On the one hand, circumcision is believed to be a cultural tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation, and must always be preserved.

However, there are also opinions that criticize the continuation of female circumcision, because according to them this practice is considered a form of violence and restrictions for women. Female circumcision in Indonesia was once banned by the government through the Circular Letter of the Director General of Public Health of the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number HK 00.07.1.31047a, Dated April 20, 2006 Regarding the Prohibition of Health Workers to Medicalize Female Circumcision. According to the circular, female circumcision has no health benefits, and is even harmful and painful for the circumcised women. The Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is a tradition and culture of the community that has existed for generations and still persists until today which has become an activity or habit carried out by the community.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) was a rule and syiar in Islam. It was not associated with gender equality, but its implementation was based on the demands of local customs or culture and the guidance of Islam. From the aspect of reproductive health, FGM was considered having no benefit. It is necessary to establish a Regional Regulation of Sumbawa Regency on the implementation of FGM and socialize it to related agencies and the community so that the regulation can be implemented. This study concludes that FGM is still being carried out by the majority of the people of Sumbawa whose implementation is not related to gender equality, but is based on the demands of local culture and the guidance of Islam. (Sulahyuningsih et al., 2021)

The practice of female circumcision in fact, it causes more cause more harm because it is done sadistically and inhumane. The rules of Islamic law explicitly, if an action causes more mudarat (ugliness, danger and disaster) than the benefit (goodness, benefit and advantage), the action is considered makrooh and must be abandoned. There is polemic on the practice of circumcision for women that based on a variety of perspectives.(Maisarah, 2015)

Community culture and religious traditions that have been more nuanced patriarchal, became the legitimacy of the continuity of this practice. Trough the qualitative method, this paper finds ssome trends of circumcision, it's implementation for women, the religious dimension, tradition and critical review of this practice. (Mustaqim, 2013)

(Sander & Sunantri, 2020) find *history of female circumcision, various types of female circumcision, and the development of the tradition of female circumcision in Kubangga Village. Every cultural pocket that is in the midst of society belongs to all the people in it. The culture or tradition of female circumcision in Kubangga Village was formed along with historical experiences and developed so that it became a marker of the identity of the local community. This tradition has long been carried out in the sense that it contains spiritual values and the essence of maintaining chastity in women, there is also the value of moral education for women.*

Female circumcision from the point of view of Nawal El Saadawi, an Egyptian feminist, who actively fights for women's rights and freedoms, and how the practice of circumcision occurs and is motivated by the Shari'a or in the form of traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation.

Egyptian Fatwa Institute states that there is no strong argument regarding female circumcision, from a medical point of view, the losses for women are more significant. Nawal El Saadawi thinks that female circumcision is a hereditary tradition and does not come from the teachings of Islam. In terms of benefits, according to her, female circumcision does not have any health benefits. It even harms women by reducing sexual arousal and psychological trauma to the point of causing death. It is hoped that this study can provide a wealth of knowledge in terms of femininity, customs or the Shari'a.(Januardi, 2022)

Indonesia is a country that still practices female circumcision. One of the villages that still practices female circumcision is Tembeling Tanjung. The majority of the Tembeling community is from the Malay tribe. Malay society has its own characteristics its own characteristics in interpreting beauty, but along with the development of the times, the

meaning of beauty also seems to evolve. (Fena et al., 2019) its different from Chinese women's beauty standards which women do not need circumcision. (Elsera et al., 2022).

Society in Tembeling Tanjung Village is fairly modern, but the community still carries out traditions related to religion and culture, such as female circumcision, although the implementation of the female circumcision tradition is not as big or as lively as the implementation of the male circumcision tradition. The relationship between religion and culture, which then runs reciprocally, can provide an assumption that Islam is quite influential in shaping a community culture. The relationship between religion and culture which then runs reciprocally can provide an assumption that Islam is quite influential in shaping community culture. This refutes Nahab's opinion in (Wahyuni et al., 2022) that Self-agency is an individual's perception that an action is the result of their own intentions.

The pattern of life is fused and rooted in the life of a community with Islamic nuances. The integration between Islamic culture and Malay culture eventually gave birth to a separate culture known in the philosophy of adat bersendi syarak, syarak bersendi Kitabullah. The customary philosophy is a concrete manifestation of the assimilation of two cultures that are compromised, without domination or mutual pressure, which is now more closely related to the term local wisdom. This situation can occur because of a series of activities until the form of culture, which is seen as an awareness of religious believers to realize their worldview. Currently, it is quite difficult to obtain female circumcision services in Tembeling Tanjung Village.

In the 2020 monographic data of Tembeling Tanjung, it is explained about the population of Tembeling Tanjung Village based on the age structure according to data obtained from the data from the Tembeling Tanjung Village Office in 2020, which has a total population of 2,351 people divided into 812 families.

Tabel 1 Total Population of Kelurahan Tembeling Tanjung Based on Age

| Umur | Jumlah Jiwa |
|---------------------|-------------|
| < 1 – 9 Tahun | 360 |
| 10 – 17 Tahun | 266 |
| 18 – 25 Tahun | 863 |
| 26 – 39 Tahun | 725 |
| Lebih dari 40 Tahun | 137 |
| Total | 2.351 |

Source: Population data of Tembeling Tanjung Village in 2020

The average age of children who perform circumcision in Tembeling Tanjung Village is when the child is newborn to under 3 months of age. In the table above the number of children aged 0 months to 9 years totals 360 people. From the data above, it can be explained that the number of children under the age of 9 years is 163 male and 197 female. From the large number of children at that age, it can be seen that the number of children who will be circumcised from the data that researchers will get is more. The practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is still carried out in the Tembeling Tanjung Village community even though there is already a ban. The implementation of circumcision in Tembeling Tanjung Village is more or less the same as circumcision in general in Indonesia, namely by performing actions such as cutting or scraping the genitals of girls.

In its development, the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village carry out the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) as a tradition that is qualified by religious rituals, which often shows a form of segmentation that not only occurs vertically, but also horizontally. This horizontal segmentation can be seen based on economic aspects, lifestyle, religion, culture and behavior. This segmentation will usually have an impact on the mindset of the community and affect their belief patterns. As a reality, female circumcision is a social reality that is preserved by the community because it has a relationship between tradition and the existence of religious rituals. The practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is the result of a tradition that is carried out continuously by the perpetrators of the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). The agents who participate in this practice are not only those who carry out the practice. But also other agents who are either directly or indirectly strives to keep the tradition of female circumcision alive. It is these agents that make the practice of circumcision on girls still continue until now.

After circumcision, the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village usually have a habit or tradition, such as washing the floor. Basuh lantai is part of the traditional ceremony in Tembeling Tanjung village, this ritual is carried out after completing Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), the word basuh itself means cleansing or washing while the word floor of the house or the base of the house, in short, the basuh lantai ceremony aims to purify the place where the female circumcision is performed. Based on this description, this research focuses on "The Construction of Female Circumcision in Tembeling Tanjung Village". This research also wants to examine the driving factors that construct the community in the circumcision tradition, as well as the process of tradition and culture of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Tembeling Tanjung Village, Teluk Bintan District.

This research uses the social construction theory by Peter L Berger. In this theory, it explains the relationship between individuals and society. Society is considered an agent in limiting individual movement. In the social process, individual humans are seen as relatively free creators of social reality in their social world. Individuals are not victims of social facts, but creative production and reproduction machines that construct their social world. (Bungin, 2008). In addition, this social construction theory by Peter L Berger cannot be separated from reality and knowledge. Reality is part of social facts that are general or external. Reality will remain, whether the individual likes it or not. Meanwhile, knowledge is part of reality that comes on the basis of individual awareness. Therefore, in this social construction theory, Peter L Berger divides into 3 concepts of stages which include externalization, objectivation, and internalization.

The concept of the externalization stage is a form of human effort in adopting into their world, both physically, materially and mentally. Then the second stage is objectivation, which is through a mutually agreed form of adaptation. While the internalization stage, which is an implementation that is accompanied by human consciousness, so that individuals are referred to as subjects who are influenced and cannot be separated from the social structure of society in daily life.

Methods

This type of research is qualitative research, which is research that intends to understand phenomena about what is experienced by research subjects, for example perceptions, actions and others holistically, and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special natural context and by utilizing various scientific methods (Lexy J Moleong, 2018). Thus this research is to collect data on the views of the Tembeling Tanjung community to see circumcision as part of culture, health or following the recommendations of a religion. The results will be clearly described about the field description of the construction of female circumcision in the community in Bintan Kelurahan Tembeling Tanjung.

Informants in this study are families who still perform and do not perform female circumcision in Tembeling Tanjung. The technique of determining informants used is Purposive Sampling which means that the determination of informants considers certain criteria that have been made on objects that are in accordance with the research objectives.

Data collection techniques in this research are observation and interviews. Observations carried out by researchers include the process of performing circumcision on girls, a series of rituals in the circumcision tradition, the parties involved, the symbols used in the circumcision procession and other customs. Interview is a conversation with a specific purpose. The method used to obtain information is by asking respondents directly to obtain information from family members who still perform circumcision on their daughters in Tembeling Tanjung Village. To find out the meaning behind the action, the author conducted an in-depth interview.

The data analysis technique used in this research is the Miles and Huberman data analysis model. Activities in qualitative data analysis are carried out interactively and take place continuously until completion so that the data is saturated. Activities in data analysis are data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion/verification.

Finding and Discussions

The tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Tembeling Tanjung village

One of the traditions in the community that has a connection with the teachings of Islam is the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). This is part of the context in the life of a religious and cultured society. The tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) has certain goals or motives for people who still do it. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) can be a symbol when viewed from the cultural dimension that exists in society. The Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is carried out by the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village continuously until now. The implementation of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is carried out starting from ordinary people to people who have a high educational background. In fact, the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is part of religious activities that are formal, non-formal and organized.

The culture or tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) that develops in the community where the informants live is basically legitimized by the strength of previous customs that have been embedded and become the cultural heritage of their ancestors. In the local tradition or culture of the Tembeling Tanjung Village community, the level of interest in rituals is still very strong. Local traditions that have taken root can never be separated from

the role of agents in the community who act as controllers and regulate the procession of circumcision in girls.

One of the rituals performed after circumcising girls is kenduri and prayer. Prayer in kenduri is an important part of the circumcision event which is considered by informants as a spiritual tool that is expected to provide a sense of security, welfare, health and tranquility for people who perform circumcision. The rituals of girls' circumcision that are generally carried out such as shaving hair, washing the floor, filling the mortar in the buai, installing candles on coconuts are a series of activities of girls' circumcision that take place. The practice of girls' circumcision is always interpreted as a religious social system by preserving the culture of girls' circumcision in their lives.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Tembeling Tanjung village is carried out on the basis of experiences and thoughts that are realized in actions that have subjective meanings so that informants internally form their own belief patterns. The implementation of female child circumcision has its own motives and goals for people who still do it. The experiences of people who perform circumcision are told to others through actions and interactions, so that the existence of female child circumcision creates an order of symbol systems that are oriented towards an action or behavior.

The tradition of circumcision in girls is dynamic in its development. Therefore, in the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) there are various kinds of behavior and actions that are very diverse. This behavior does not just appear because it has been formed on the basis of meaning and understanding obtained from others. The social process that occurs in the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), which is a religious ritual in the Tembeling Tanjung village community, slowly creates a reality that can be interpreted by individuals with subjective meanings.

Social Construction of Female Circumcision in Tembeling Tanjung Village

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is one of the customs that has become a community tradition. In general terms, circumcision is a procedure that involves the removal of the external part of the female genitalia. Talking about the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), which is still carried out by the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village because it is considered a community custom so that the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) has been constructed

and become a tradition in Tembeling Tanjung Village. The Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) cannot be discussed singularly because it is not only caused by one particular factor and dimension, but includes a variety of spaces and discourses that have been intertwined in such a way that surrounds the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) ranging from social dimensions, surrounding culture to the role of agents who construct it.

The perpetrator or the child's parents as a constructed reality follows the concept of Berger and Luckmann through their social construction theory, that humans are the creators of objective social reality through the externalization process, as objective reality affects humans again through the internalization process.

Family's role in the implementation of female circumcision

The continuation of female circumcision that takes place today is the powerlessness of women. This is not because of women's awareness, but rather the tradition of previous generations and especially of course in the woman's own family so that the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is still carried out by the community. The collective agreement of the community makes Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) something that is considered right and cannot be rejected. When there is a rejection or unwillingness of someone to practice Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), the values that have been rooted in the community will actually consider it strange and negative for the family or girls who are not circumcised and are considered not following traditional traditions.

The family has a very important role in the continuation of this practice, continuing the family tradition without wanting to find out so that other than also previously circumcised. In the family, the role of parents provides attention from starting to form and educate the person with the aim of obtaining the basics of a good life through the process of instilling values so as to shape the personality. It is through the role of the family that each person is instilled with values and traditions that aim to become the heirs of the tradition, eventually there is habituation and institutionalization of traditions. Actions and communication that take place continuously with family members affect the formation of the informant's personality. This is because the values instilled in children continuously through different understandings in children's daily behavior are considered as ideal actions. Based on interviews with informants in this study, information on the primary socialization process in different ways was obtained.

The informants admitted that they perform female circumcision because female circumcision has been carried out for generations from their ancestors to their parents. They also admitted that parents play a very important role in the implementation of female circumcision. Things acquired from others include habits, attitudes and ideas. Furthermore, these three things are rearranged into a system that regulates their own behavior. The notion of adoption is not simply copying the behavior of others. However, what is observed from others is tried to be imitated as well as adapted to one's own situation. The values of female circumcision have been instilled in the family environment. This eventually becomes a guideline that can direct the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) as a form of tradition or culture of the Tembeling Tanjung village community. The assumption that is still held to this day when girls are not circumcised, they are said to have not followed religious orders and Malay traditions. Reinforcing factors, there is support from the family in the form of advice, suggestions and reminders from the time of pregnancy and to deliver and accompany or find a midwife or doctor who still serves female circumcision during the circumcision process.

Informants will continue to carry out the tradition of female circumcision based on the beliefs and values that have been instilled in the family. This indicates that people who still perform circumcision on girls have internalized these values. Internalization in this study is how the people of Tembeling Tanjung village identify themselves in the midst of social institutions or social organizations. where individuals in this case the people who carry out the circumcision are members. Institutions play a role in this process because, the concrete form of social institutions are rules, norms, customs and the like that regulate the needs of society and have been internalized in human life, in other words, social institutions are systems or norms that have become institutionalized or institutionalized in a society. Therefore, to preserve this identification, socialization is used.

The role of community leaders in the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

The role of community leaders is central in a community. A community leader, as we all understand, is a figure who can be a role model for the community or a figure who is always used as a reference or as a place to ask questions about community problems. The continuation of female circumcision until now is the role of community leaders is very influential, the implementation of female circumcision in Tembeling Tanjung Village is a

form of tradition that has been constructed in community life. One of the reinforcements for the continuation of this tradition is that the community has shared beliefs and beliefs in female circumcision built by agents. Society provides identity for individuals. With this, a person is not only expected to play his role as a member of society, but also must become a true individual as demanded by society, namely in the environment where the individual is located.

The community assumes that if girls have carried out a new circumcision procession, they are considered perfect adherents of Islam, religious leaders have a very large contribution in the circumcision procession of girls in Tembeling Tanjung Village. everything conveyed by religious leaders, the community tends to believe. The community's trust in religious leaders is a strong reason for continuing to circumcise girls to this day.

The Role of the Social Environment in the Sustainability of Female Child Circumcision

Social processes occur through actions and interactions. These actions and interactions usually form a tendency to take place continuously. An action that occurs through the social process in society if done continuously, then sooner or later the action will accumulate into a habit either because of the habit of their own actions or the influence of the actions of others.

The Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is still carried out to this day because of social obligations in the community of Tembeling Tanjung Village. There is an assumption that parents who have circumcised their daughters are considered to have fulfilled their social obligations. Informants perform circumcision on their daughters as a fulfillment of their obligation as parents to carry out traditions based on the fear of talk from the social environment. In everyday reality, social life of the sociocultural type is not only a number of behaviors and relationships between people in this reality, but also a determinant system called norms.

Informants who do not circumcise their daughters face questions from the environment about their chosen course of action. The social environment tries to encourage all people to take the same action. The government of Bintan Regency has banned the practice of circumcision on girls because it is feared that it can cause disruption of women's reproductive functions. Despite the government's prohibition, the people of Tembeling Tanjung still circumcise their daughters. Most of the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village have circumcised their daughters and even the community has constructed religiously, socially and culturally that female circumcision must be carried out.

The above informants know that circumcising girls is a choice not a mandatory thing that must be done. The reality of community life is a dynamic reality that includes a variety of perspectives and variations in behavior, even though this reality seems to be dichotomous through other realities, because humans are creators in potential social life when performing an action tailored to their respective desires. It's just that individual behavior will not be separated from social norms in the life of their community. With the enactment of a cultured system of community life, the individual's potential will indirectly be trapped in normative life so that it can withstand the dynamic process of the various individual potentials in question.

The dynamics of these religious actions or behaviors will gradually form a culture and influence each other due to the level of commonality of goals to be achieved, especially if strengthened by functional relationships and proven social choices as well as generalization of transformative interests and stability to be used as norms of life in society. It's just that, logically, the behavior or practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Tembeling Tanjung village which is different from the social normative agreement will potentially lead to the influence of the social environment to continue circumcising.

In the role factor of the social environment, there is a view that Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is a social obligation. It can be concluded that according to the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village, female circumcision is an obligation of parents to their daughters. Parents who have circumcised their daughters are considered to have carried out their obligations. If parents do not circumcise their children, it is considered by the community as something unnatural. If it is associated with female circumcision, female circumcision is one of the traditions that will shape the actions of its members, namely the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village because during the series of circumcision processes. Here there is a shared awareness of the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and even the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is constructed by the people of Tembeling Tanjung Village as a form of religious tradition that must be carried out and aims as a moral standard and behavioral guideline. Women who have been circumcised are expected after adolescence or adulthood to be able to control and limit their sexual behavior in accordance with social norms.

Conclusion

Based on the results of research conducted in Tembeling Tanjung Village related to the Social Construction of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), it can be concluded that the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) carried out on girls in Tembeling Tanjung Village is based on the community's view that circumcision is something that is mandatory because it is a religious ritual. The circumcision tradition is considered to be related to Malay culture which has a close relationship with Islamic religious values. In Tembeling Tanjung village, the continuation of the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) cannot be separated from the development of previous people's views on female circumcision. The continuation of the tradition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) cannot be separated from the role of the family, religious leaders, community leaders and the social environment in Tembeling Tanjung Tanjung.

Suggestions that the author can give related to the social construction of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Tembeling Tanjung village are: The government should conduct a comprehensive and sustainable socialization related to the prohibition and dangers of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) so that the community understands and eventually Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) can be stopped. Socialization should involve various elements in the community such as medical personnel, religious leaders, traditional leaders and community leaders. Those who still practice circumcision on girls should stop the practice because it has a negative impact on women's reproductive health.

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