



Research Article

LEGAL CULTURE OF FISHERMAN COMMUNITIES IN INDONESIA (STUDIES IN CIREBON COASTAL FISHING COMMUNITIES IN THE NORTHERN COAST OF WEST JAVA, INDONESIA)

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ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 9th November, 2016

Received in revised form 10th December, 2016

Accepted 4th January, 2017

Published online 28th February, 2017

Key words:

The Legal Culture; Community Empowerment

ABSTRACT

This study is based on the perspective of law sociology concerning the poverty lines of fishing community in Cirebon Coastal Communities, West Java Indonesia. It emphasizes legal empowerment for the fisherman communities as to help them cope with their struggle in economy problem. The study is aimed at promoting economy empowerment by the on-demand availability of legal assistance.

The study is formulated under some questions undermining the basic legal needs of fisherman communities. First, how the legal culture of fishing communities, which has been formed over the years, can overcome their poverty, and why it needs to be done in the legal empowerment of fisherman communities as a concrete step to reduce their poverty. At the end of the study, it aims at examining why legal empowerment needs to be done in the fishing community as a concrete step to reducing fisherman poverty. At the end of the study aims to describe and explain how is the legal culture of fishing communities that has formed over the years.

This research uses a non-doctrinal approach, it is qualitative or naturalistic research methods which study the interaction between people and environment, try to understand the language and interpretation of the world around. The approach used in this study is a socio-legal approach, so the emphasis in this case is making a description of social reality and law and trying to understand and explaining the logic of logical connection each other.

The study focused on fishing workers and small fishermen or traditional fishermen including ancoandsudu fishermen who do not have boats, only have the traditional net-shaped tools like nets and mosquito nets, fishermen who have (the means of production) is a fishing boat owner outboard motors 1 (one) with a size ranging between 0-5 GT (Gross Tonnage), simple design made of wood scattered in the northern coast of West Java, city of Cirebon, which is conditioned by fishermen poverty due to irregular income patterns and more suffused with uncertainty income, have an impact on the crisis situation that makes individual fishermen create legal culture which is apathetic, pessimistic, negative and do not have the ability to give meaning to the rule of law, they are Act 45 of 2009, Law No.31 of 2004, and Act 27 of 2007. So, community empowerment as one of the prerequisites must be done to establish the legal empowerment to form notions, ideas, creative perceptions and constructive culture of positive law.

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INTRODUCTION

Research Background

The problem of poverty must be solved not only by purely economic approach, but also the rule of law which has a significant role in setting the value of order to realize a prosperous society. The law has a function in alleviating poverty because its habitat is the society to achieve the goal of orderly value, the value of equity, the value of certainty and value of socio-economic welfare of the community. Sectors of life governed by the rule of law must be able to reach the point of order and a sense of justice, including economic

management, human resources, and natural resources in order to achieve happiness together.

Legal approach should be done untiringly to solve social problems such as poverty because poverty is the root of the endemic social damage existing order. Finally, the law is essentially used to regulate human life, to obtain the order, prosperity, happiness and welfare.¹ Legal norms clearly has a role in space achievement toward the development of society so that through the development as a process performed continuously in order to improve the social and economic

¹Satjipto Rahardjo, *Membedah Hukum Progressif*, (Jakarta : Kompas, 2006), page.112.

indicators in the region from time to time.² Based on these definitions, the main goal of development is human although it is possible for detrimental to the community³ such as poverty, sharp social inequalities, and the degradation of environmental quality. Therefore it is necessary in order to make the construction of the foundations remain in the corridors of virtue.

Poverty-also occurred in some areas of coastal fishing communities so, fishing area is well known as poverty.⁴ Poverty is likely to be experienced by an individual fisherman, small fishermen or fishing labor because the two types of groups a majority in number, image of poverty is attached to the livelihood of fishermen.⁵

In the study area, found a question of poverty, especially in the area of research in the North Coastal fishing communities in West Java, city of Cirebon, bordering Central Java province, faced with the with the poverty rate for the region of Cirebon fishing communities 3.49% of the total population of 276 798.⁶

Urgency (Virtue) Research

This focus of research is the unconstructive legal culture in the North Coastal fishing communities in West Java, Cirebon City, so it may explain the poverty in the fishing community. The issue is how the legal culture of fishing communities that have formed over the years, has become its own problem to overcome poverty.

Research Objectives

The approach used in this study is a socio-legal approach, so the emphasis in this case is to make a description of social reality and law, and try to understand and explain the logic of the logical connection between them.⁷ With the aim to describe and explain how the legal culture of fishing communities that is not constructive, so we need to anticipate the legal empowerment of fishermen poverty so that people have the independence and abilities and not lose access to economic resources and values of the legal justice.

Research Findings

Cirebon is located in coastal areas, has a ± 7 km long beach, with Autonomy system, the area has the authority to manage marine areas up to 4 miles, making the city of Cirebon has an area of marine waters ± 51.86 Km² or 58.13% of the total area of land and sea.⁸ Coastal city of Cirebon is relatively narrow⁹ when compared to the coastal area in the district in the northern coast of West Java. Coastal Areas in Cirebon city only present in 2 (two) districts namely Lemahwungkuk District and District Kejaksan. So the administration of the

city consists of 2 (two) districts with two coastal districts of 8.56 Km².

Coastal communities in social culture are a group of people whose cultural roots are built from a combination of coastal maritime and beach culture and also market-oriented.¹⁰ This condition can be found also in the cultural development of Cirebon coastal communities, where people have a lot of interventions by the new cultural elements that maritime culture in the city of Cirebon was not an authentic maritime culture. In the city of Cirebon, fishermen settlements or housing mostly blend in with surrounding residential population with diverse livelihoods and the spread of housing settlements or fishing is in the village Kesenden, Coasts, and PegambiranCangkol.

Fishermen are the people whose livelihoods fishing, as mentioned in Law 45 of 2009 and the fishermen can begin working with a crew and can rise to the helmsman. Only small of them promote to the level of skipper or merchants. No special qualification for fishermen, they do not need a diploma, as skills grew from the experience and informal training that followed. Fishermen just need to know and make sure the boat or vessel functions properly for the catch, nets are ready. There are fish in large numbers somewhere and commodities are expected to be sold at a high enough price to cover operating costs as a result of hard work.

Basically the social classification of fishing communities can be viewed from three perspectives:¹¹ First, in term of mastery of the means of production or fishing equipment (boats, nets and other equipment), the structure of fishing communities fall into the category of fishermen owner (means of production) and fishing workers.¹² Secondly, in term of the level of capital investment scale businesses, fishermen community structure is divided into category of big and small fishermen. They are called big fishermen because of the amount of capital invested in the fishery relatively plenty, not like in the small one. Third, in term of technology level uses fishing equipment, fishing communities fall into the category of modern and traditional fishermen.

The study focused on fishing workers and small fishermen or fishermen including fishermen or traditional fishermen including *anco* and *sudu* fishermen who do not have a boat, only have the traditional net-shaped gears like nets and mosquito nets, fishermen who have (the means of production) is a fishing boat owner outboard motors 1 (one) with a size ranging between 0-5 GT (Gross Tonnage), simple design made of wood scattered in the northern coast of West Java, which based on the provisions of Article 1, point 10 of Law 45 of 2009, including small fishermen. Research also involves fishing workers and small fish breeding industries whose livelihoods do fish breeding to meet the needs of daily living as defined in Article 1, point 11 of Act 45 in 2009. And nearly 90% over the Indonesian fishery is dominated by small-scale fisheries. Major contribution of them both socially and economically is very interesting to study.¹³

²Gunawan Sumodiningrat, *Mewujudkan Kesejahteraan Bangsa Menanggulangi Kemiskinan dengan Prinsip Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, (Jakarta : PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2009), page.6.

³MansourFakih, *SesatPikirTeoriPembangunan dan Globalisasi*, (Yogyakarta :Insist Press,2001),page.70.

⁴Badan Penelitian & Pengembangan Kesejahteraan Sosial Departemen Sosial-Pusat Antar Universitas-Studi Sosial UGM, *Laporan Penelitian Masalah Kemiskinan Nelayan*, 1997-1998, pages 10-11.

⁵Ibid, page.10-11.

⁶Departemen Sosial RI, *Pemetaan Kemiskinan Kecamatan Di Indonesia Tahun 2006*, page.73.

⁷Satjipto Rahardjo, *Hukum dan Masyarakat*, (Bandung : Alumni Press, 1980), page.17.

⁸DinasPertaniandanKelautan Kota Cirebon, *Profile BidangKelautandanPerikanan Kota Cirebon*, 2007,page.3.

⁹Ibid, page.3.

¹⁰PusatKajianSumberdayaPesisirdanLautan IPB, *Atlas SumberDaya Wilayah PesisirJawa Barat Bagian Utara*, page.5

¹¹Kusnadi, *Konflik Sosial Nelayan : Kemiskinan dan Perebutan Sumber Daya Alam*, Op.Cit, pages.2-4.

¹²Kusnadi, *Konflik Sosial Nelayan : Kemiskinan dan Perebutan Sumber Daya Alam*,Op.Cit, page.2.

¹³Eko Sri Wiyono, *Selektifitas Spesies Alat Tangkap Garok di Cirebon, Jawa Barat*, (Research result : Departemen Pemanfaatan Sumberdaya Perikanan, Fakultas Perikanan dan Ilmu Kelautan IPB,2009), page.1.

In general, the most dominating fishing tools used by traditional fishing along the North Coast of Java (north coast), particularly fishing communities Cirebon, mostly using motorized boats paste with a size of less than 5 (five) GT, along with the active nets¹⁴(Arad) which at first is a type of fishing tool also called *krakad*, *Bundes*, *dogol* (depending on region). The use of nets Arad as one of the prohibited fishing tools operated in the Java Sea,¹⁵ so it is fitting then the law requires the provision in Act 45 of 2009.

Fishing activities in the city of Cirebon are dominated by small-scale fisheries. The fishing activities carried out using simple fishing technology and operated by a fisherman are catching a collective organization. The condition with limited fishing causes space utilization of fish resources in coastal waters. However, with the growing trend of exploring fish resources are not balanced with the availability of coastal water resources causing over coastal fisheries (overfishing).

The poverty of fishermen due to irregular income patterns and more suffused with uncertainty income, have an impact on the crisis situations that make individual fishermen or fishing households require outside help. In fact, it can cause problems falling into the attitude of profound interdependence to other parties. A crisis situation is the situation where the position of the individual fishermen or fishing households faces enormous pressure that can not be solved alone, thus requiring additional support from other parties. This situation raises mental stress, physical and economic. With regard to the reality of this condition, there must be an option adaptation strategies based on patterns of social relations based on the elements of kinship, neighborhood and friendship for the sake of resource exchange, reciprocal basis. Adaptation strategy is defined as an act of rational choice and effective in the social-political-economic-ecological context, where the poor live¹⁶. Selection of contextual measures intended to allocate the available resources in the environment in order to overcome social and economic pressures. The option to take a patronage relationship (patron-client) as an adaptation strategy choices made by fishermen as a consequence of fishing activities are fraught with risks and uncertainties. For fishermen, a relationship with the patron is a very important step to maintaining viability. The pattern is the patron-client social security institutions and the economy is most closely familiar with the life of fishermen. This is because until now the fishermen have not found a capable alternative institution of guaranteeing the economy of their social interests.¹⁷

In the area of coastal fishing communities usually consist of two major groups, namely the producers (fishermen) as well as the marketing group (the traders who buy and resell fish in this research findings known as "*bakul*" or *middlemen*) as the liaison between fishermen and the markets. On the other hand, the producer group may consist of fishing boat owners (outboard motors) or motor boats and fishing equipment owners and fishermen. The pattern of connections made by fishermen when fishing must use labor as the crew from a

network of kinship, neighborhood and friendship that also greatly contribute to the birth of such a relationship. Why relationships are built through kinship or neighborhood because it is easily managed and governed by traditional fishermen as the owner of the outboard. Fishermen workers acting as the crew because of his relative are more honest, disciplined and skilled labor to work so that in case of any economic difficulty, it is usually directly related to fishing boat owners and they make bonds debts. Fishermen's unions are not may deal directly with the vendors (the middlemen), the pattern of patron-client may not create in this context.

In some areas of research, found a patron in the context of the client in the first merchants (middlemen) looking for partners in the fishing boat owner. When fishermen experiencing difficulties due to damage of the boat or need capital to go to sea often are offered assistance by the merchant (middlemen). In other situations such relationships can also occur when the situation is not being lean fishing season, fulfilling the daily needs can be done through a loan from fishmongers (middlemen) in return for fishermen to sell their catch to the merchant (middlemen). Usually commercial fish species that have high economic value should be sold to middlemen, such as shrimp, terinasi, tuna or mackerel, with prices determined unilaterally by the middlemen. At the beginning of the relationship, it is still highly mutualism, means fishermen as clients need economic aid from patrons at the time of famine instead fishermen must sell their catch to them. In the first stage of prices set by the patron still sufficient, but then for various reasons, the price is often a slump. When the patron's dominance was so gripping his client, the relationship turned into a form of exploitation. In this connection, one of the parties seeks to make a profit through the loss of others.¹⁸ Fishermen are in a difficult position. They have a mediocre income and can not afford to invest to improve its means of catching. Due to the pattern of this relationship fishermen are trapped in poverty. In order to break the pattern of patron-client relationships is not an easy job so that attempts to generate an insurgency for conditions that are not conducive, which involves the control and domination of patrons (middlemen) requires separate ways deemed harmless clients directly. Resistance tends to be done in secret, individually, concerns or for personal gain, anonymous, sporadic, small-scale and not immediately delivered. Overt resistance by the client only done collectively if they believe it will get the result.

Limitations of fishermen in this category start with limited human resources, the limitations of technology, lack of access to the public policy process, limited aspects of capital, not constructive patron-client relationships and fisherman economic system networks controlled by middlemen, resulting in the condition of marginalization position of traditional fishermen and fishing workers who have spawned ideas, perceptions, views as a legal culture that can hinder the development process, particularly the development of the law so that the law can be used as a means to build a prosperous fishing community because it is based on reason of thought. There are 4 (four) principal due on the relationship between law and development, namely:¹⁹ 1) The first

¹⁴Faticus Surur, *Book 1 Alat dan Cara Penangkapan Ikan*, Departemen Kelautan dan Perikanan - Pusat Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Perikanan, 2004), page.98.

¹⁵Nota Dinas Perikanan Pemerintah Propinsi Jawa Barat No.523.52/8153/ Kel. Bandung; 29 Desember 2006; page.1.

¹⁶Kusnadi, *Nelayan Strategi Adaptasi dan Jaringan Sosial*, (Bandung : Humaniora Utama Press, 2000), page.18. See also Mulyadi, *Ekonomi Kelautan*, Op.Cit.page.44 & page.78.

¹⁷ArifSatria, *PengantarSosiologiMasyarakatPesisir*, (Jakarta : PT PustakaCidesindo, 2002),page.32.

¹⁸Mulyadi S, *Ekonomi Kelautan*, (Jakarta : RajaGrafindo Press, 2007),page.81.

¹⁹Benny Simon Tabalujan , *Legal Development in Developing Countries The Role of Legal Culture*, (Division of Business Law Nanyang Business School Singapore, 2001),pages.35-39.

implication of legal culture is a central element to the success of law reform, 2) The second major implication is that the legal culture in finally can change, gives more influence on the development of legal awareness; 3) A third major implication that changes in legal consciousness can affect the external factors, including economic, political and social activities, 4) the implication of the fourth, with the Weberian approach proposes that the eventual external factors of economic, political and social development may affect future legal awareness with better acceptance of the more rational legal system. Finally, it is to reinforce the argument that the interrelationship between the legal structure, the substance of the law and legal culture, including customs, laws and legal awareness that specifically part of the legal system, influenced by economic, political and social external factors.

The legal culture that exists in traditional fishing communities, especially fishermen and fishing workers are established by the conditions of poverty. To comprehensively understand the problem of poverty can be done through two approaches, namely the internal / external and cultural / structural approach.²⁰ The internal approach assumes that the poverty that afflicts individuals or groups of people, come from within the individual or the community themselves related to the adopted culture. While external approach assumes that the poverty plagued any individual or group of people. It is caused by the influence that comes from outside the individual or the community themselves.²¹ And on the other side of poverty can also result if the law is against the citizens. It would appear the issue of discontent, corruption and poverty.²²

Poverty is the case for fishermen resulting in the legal culture of apathy, indifference and therefore contributes to the meaning of the rule of law, with an inadequate level of education. Most of the fishermen do not complete education in elementary school or just graduated from elementary school so hopefully their children are directly required to assist the family economy, participating with his parents go out to sea to catch fish, to help prepare fishing equipment before going to the sea, lift nets, dry nets, sort the fish, provide supplies to sail. All the work is done by the children of fishermen who do not continue their education.

In certain cases, found the idea, the view that life is only to meet the primary needs to survive and find food. The meaning of the sea as a source of life can not be discharged because the ocean is a gift from God that can be maximized to make ends meet, no need to pay attention to the needs of the marine environment preservation. Fishermen's understanding of symbols as legal order is also affected by the limited facilities and infrastructure as well as the inability of fishermen for understanding the changes in the meaning of the natural resources that the technology could be spent on natural resources. The important for the fishermen is just to meet the needs of food.

The government policies through programs offered to the fishermen are not fully able to change the condition of

fishermen because the cause has not changed is legal culture, so it needs to be established culture to appreciate the importance of adequate education so as to build awareness of law and legal compliance. There are government policies that can sometimes lead to the impoverishment of fishermen regarding income. Education often takes place even programs offered by the Government for the fishermen sometimes misses the point because many fishermen do not get help. So data about who fishermen are not available. However, now many fishermen are not fishing again, they are becadrivers, handymen, construction workers, and garbage collectors.

Low levels of mostly fishermen education caused by the social isolation that may lead them to form a negative attitude towards formal education as an insult to the children of fishermen as ugly dress and relatively poor families that make the children fail out of school.

The involvement of the government must be supported by the establishment of a constructive culture in the law governing the capture and management of fisheries in order to reach the goal, as is required in the setting of Law No.31 of 2004.

Enforcement factors are also influenced by non-legal factors mainly economic reasons that are more dominant, so the legal culture built becomes a legal culture of apathy, indifference (attitude of inaction), destructive without a positive culture and creative law. This reflects the assertion that the law is only occupied one corner of the room in a wider universe. The involving universe can accept complex communities, so, the involvement itself becomes more complex. This is the basis of a law involvement. Economic involvement can not marginalize others such as law and politics. Economic involvement also operates or sails in the involvement of vast ocean.²³

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Legal culture built in fishing communities, in particular, the traditional fishermen or small fishermen and fishing workers with all the limitations leads to ideas and insights to the law as a symbol that govern their lives at sea are mostly dominated by apathy, indifference, a legal culture that is not creative, positive and constructive. This is caused by the pressure of the larger economic life, related issues of poverty that result in meaning in connection with Act 45 of 2009, and some of the legal provisions valid in Law No.31 of 2004, as well as Act 27 of 2007 which has been mandated presumed preference for small fishermen should be supported to get a goal through the implementation of legislation to improve the welfare of fishermen, in order to realize the process of fishing. The process of working of law in the involvement of the universe is not only one to be upheld, in fact, the legal system still requires another one that is able to support the operation of the law in motion toward ideal steps. Legal order ultimately requires achieving success in the economic system so that the intended direction of the working of law clearly achieves the desired common goals, that is the purpose of law to welfare and happiness over the welfare and happiness of traditional fishermen and fishing workers.

²⁰Christian Tindjabate, *Kemiskinan Pada Masyarakat Nelayan Studi tentang Proses Pemiskinan dan Strategi Bertahan Hidup Masyarakat Nelayan Tradisional di Daerah Kabupaten Poso Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah*, (Dissertation, Program Pascasarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, 2001), page.17.

²¹Ibid, page.17.

²²Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital Rahasia Kejayaan Kapitalisme Barat* (translated by Pandu Aditya), (Jakarta : Qalam Press, 2006), page.120.

²³Satjipto Rahardjo, *Hukum Dalam Jagat Ketertiban*, (Jakarta : UKI Press, 2006), page.97.

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