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Karl Marx's sociological review on the social class of the fisherman community in Cirebon district

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Abstract--In the socio-economic life of the fishing community in Cirebon Regency, relatively, not much has changed over time. In fishing communities there are three social classes, namely skipper, collector and fisherman. The exploitation of the skipper class and collector class against the fishing working class makes the fishing working class familiar with poverty. This fishing working class is characterized by low skills, limited capital and low education and high dependence on skipper and collectors. The objectives of this study are 1) to define the modern fishing class and the traditional fisherman class, and 2) to explain the social class that exists in the fishing community in Cirebon Regency. The design of this study used a qualitative descriptive method. The research location is in the coastal area of Cirebon Regency. The number of sample members is 11 people as research informants. The sampling technique used is purposive sampling. The instrument used was an interview guide. Data collection techniques were carried out by: 1) in-depth interviews; 2) observation techniques and 3) documentation studies. The qualitative data collected were analyzed using a categorization analysis approach. The results of this study indicate that (1) there are traditional fishermen and modern fishermen (2) the fishing community is divided into three classes, namely the skipper class, collector class and the working class.

Keywords--fisherman laborer, skipper, social class, collector.

Introduction

The number of coastal villages in Cirebon Regency is 47 and spans 54 kilometers in 6 sub-districts with the types of businesses like fishermen, fish farming farmers, fishery entrepreneurs, traders, fishery managers, fisherman workers and pond workers. In 2014 the number of fishermen was 13,650 people with 2,974 boats and 4,060 fishing gear. In addition, pond cultivation activities is located in a pond area of 7,500 ha with a total of 3,460 pond farmers. There are 370 processors and traders, meanwhile, there are 12 companies engaged in freezing shrimp and exporters of fishery products. The author observes what is the cause fishermen laborers in their lives relatively do not change much over time and why they are familiar with poverty. The phenomenon of 'exploitative' from skipper or owner of capital to fishing workers is a common thing to see. The condition of the working class of fishermen is characterized by low skills, limited capital, and low education which makes them highly dependent on the skipper or boat owner, collectors and moneylenders. With the background of the socio-economic conditions of the fishing community like this, there is a layering or class. They are forced to be helpless by the wishes of the skipper and the middlemen. In the perspective of Karl Marx (in Smith, 1983: 97) there are two different social classes.

The first is the bourgeois class, namely the people who own assets, means of production, and capital; second, the class related to the ownership of energy or the proletariat. The Marxist approach is relevant. by explaining the occurrence of exploitation in the relational dimension between classes/layers in which fishing business workers or fishing workers are subordinated to the skipper who dominates the relationship (Akbar D; 2020). This is reflected in the asymmetric profit-sharing pattern and is more profitable for the skipper and collectors. The skipper and collector class is a class that has power over labor fishermen, because it has the capital and production assets and because of this, fishermen depend on both the skipper and collectors classes for their livelihood. the power to give orders and get what they want from those who do not have power, this relationship is intensively established between fishing workers, both the collector class and the skipper class.

William L. Niemi illustrates two closely related claims about Marx's thought regarding liberalism and democracy. First, I argue that Marx engaged in a democratic critique of liberalism; second, and as a response to his democratic critique of liberalism, Marx developed a more sociological understanding of democracy, and hence believed that political democracy was a necessary condition of freedom, though not a sufficient condition (William; 2011). Vidal discusses the assimilation of marxism into sociology and the use of marxism within sociology, before turning to the project of building the marxist research program, with a particular emphasis on contributions by sociologists. The research program can be summarized in terms of seven theses, which fall under three theoretical clusters: (1) the social construction of reality, (2) historical materialism, and (3) the contradictory and problematic reproduction of capitalism (Vidal; 2015).

Several studies have been carried out that are relevant to the research that the researcher is doing, namely: "Social networks and fishers' behavior: Exploring the links between information flow and fishing success in the Northumberland lobster fishery" by Rachel Turner & Selina Stead (2014) who said that at the level of modern fishermen, they can adapt to new technology and also use their knowledge in management. In addition, the research entitled "Class consciousness and class conflict in capture fisheries in Indonesia", by Rilus A. Kinseng shows that while the relationship between the conscious class, the struggling class, and the class that is formed is a dialectical relationship, this is the impact of class have awareness of the fighting class and vice versa.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method, namely the researcher wants to describe the phenomenon of social class that exists in fishing communities and describe the conflicts that often occur in these classes. The data analysis technique was carried out using qualitative analysis with an analysis of the social processes that occurred. Fishing villages in Cirebon Regency, as is typical of fishing villages in general, have basic problems in society, namely the emergence of social classes and frequent conflicts between classes. For generations, fisherman workers have been in a rather apprehensive condition, as if it has never changed over time. The vertical mobility of the lower class is difficult to change in the higher class.

Data collection techniques were carried out by: 1) in-depth interviews with informants from each class of asset owners or skippers, collectors and fishing workers; 2) observation techniques are carried out when fishing activities begin to land and daily activities at home and 3) documentation studies are carried out by studying various data from the Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Service (Prayuda, R; 2021). The sampling technique used is purposive sampling with the consideration of informants taken with several objectives, namely to be able to describe each class of fishermen. The number of sample members is 11 people as informants. The research location is in the coastal/fishing area of Cirebon Regency, West Java Province, Indonesia.

Concept Theory

Social Class Perspective

The perspective of Karl Marx in Smith and Evans (1983: 97-99) that social class consists of top-down layers where most of them are filled by those who have the means of production, thus further confirming that the dimension of asset/capital ownership is the most important measure in determining the stratification of social strata. . This develops people's thinking that they feel increasingly dependent on materialism so that they determine the relationships that are built with each other. This often creates conflicts because of the asymmetrical pattern of relationships. Several conflicts occur in the exploitation between skippers and crew members (Satria, 2001: 69-70) in the production aspect because: The exploitation process in the working institutions of fishing businesses is increasing along with the inclusion of the depreciation element as a component part of the profit-sharing system. Among fishing workers, it has become a common

assumption that depreciation is the owner's way of only multiplying profits. This happens when the purchase of supplies is not open, which is very possible for manipulation. Multiplication of profits through depreciation and supplies components is an instrument for owners to withdraw surplus from workers.

Internal conflict is a conflict that occurs in the work institutions of the new way of production. This conflict occurs because there is exploitation of fishing workers through a profit-sharing system that is asymmetrical and biased towards owners (entrepreneurs), such as the mechanism for purchasing supplies that are not transparent, cutting high depreciation costs, and others. In the work institutions, fishermen workers (ABK) are in a very weak position and have no control over the work institutions which should have been the first agreement with the skipper. According to Munandar (2009:25) they grew and built a feudal society, a hierarchical society. Growing master masters who control skilled workers.

So the problem is not only in the unequal profit sharing, but also prone to dishonesty in managing production costs, even though the production costs for supplies while fishing as a determining factor for profit sharing. This mechanism persists because HNSI (Indonesian Fishermen Association) has an interest. This happens because, in general, HNSI management is the owner of the ship. In line with Gramsci's thoughts in Ritzer (2008: 175), that the important role of structural factors, especially the economy, is not believed that structural factors drove the masses to evolve. This is where the inability of structural institutions to protect the working class. In fact, matters concerning the profit-sharing system are the responsibility of HNSI both in formulating and controlling the implementation of the profit-sharing system. In this case, HNSI became a group that "protected" the practice of exploitation so that HNSI also turned out to be carrying out the role of "comprador".

Satria, (2001: 135) argues that, "The probability of exploitation of the Chinese-Bagan businessmen's labor institutions is higher than that of local entrepreneurs or capitalists. It turns out that communal ties can be a factor that differentiates the level of exploitation. The communal bond between ABK and the native skipper is able to dampen the occurrence of higher exploitation. Meanwhile, the working institutions of pioneers and local indigenous followers were not found to have as much internal conflict as happened to the Chinese-Bagan followers. This happens because the level of exploitation of local indigenous work institutions is relatively lower. Neil explain that they are considered both as figures on their own and, taken together, as expressing dilemmas that have characterized the field throughout its history. These dilemmas are scope of the subject matter of collective behavior, psychological versus social explanations, the role of 'irrational' forces, and analytic versus evaluative assessments of collective behavior. The remainder of the article reviews the past half-century, both on its own and as expressing the ongoing dilemmas. The 'approaches' summarized are 'collective dynamics,' emergent norms, Smelser's general theory, resource mobilization theory, contentious politics, opportunity structure, framing and frame alignment, and the role of emotions in explanation. The article closes with a few summary observations on diverse tendencies that have characterized the development of the sociology of collective behavior (Neil J Smelser: 2015).

This is interesting to study as a dialectic of the Marxist approach when in the context of communal ties in the working institutions of a business, the impact on conflict will be even greater, than if there are more egalitarian communal ties, even though the essence is the same in the exploitation of workers and employers. We can compare this with what happened to the locus of traditional fishermen, which looks more egalitarian, especially if the boat owners and small fishermen are looking for fish like other crew members. In connection with the above phenomenon according to Lawang (2009) that, Alienated poor people: cannot control their activities, their creativity, they are subordinated to other people. In their alienation they want to change the status quo. Meanwhile, the superstructure or extortionists maintain the status quo. These extortionists are also alienated from each other and also to the means of production, because they are more in competition than cooperation. In bourgeois society these differences collide with each other so that more and more two opposing classes are formed, even though he knows that all social structures are complex.

The crew of trawling boats with the crew of traditional boats often have conflicts in the waters, because trawler boats often dock and take fish in waters that are actually areas for small boats. Traditional boats began to be marginalized at the beginning of modernization in the 1980s, when the temple amotors began to develop. Then, traditional boats where all of the propulsion only rely on human power and the wind is changed by using a motor as the propulsion which is called a motorboat or motorboat. The boat itself is not actually changed or replaced with a large boat but is only attached to a propulsion engine or referred to as a temple motor. The number of motor boats is far above traditional boats. The rapid increase in the number of motorized boats has actually not contributed significantly to the increase in fishery production, especially since 1981. The change towards modernization due to the use of motorbikes is not accompanied by changes in the work institutions or work relations of fishermen and does not change the long-established tradition. Precisely from production costs to increase because they have to buy fuel at an expensive price. On the other hand, there are energy savings because there is no need to row the boat anymore.

Even in traditional fishermen, there is also a class in the perspective of Karl Marx, namely the class that controls production assets, such as skippers, collectors and the working class such as pawns/ABK/fishermen laborers. The definition of class according to Lawang (2009) "essentially people have interests and experiences that are based on their position in society. Classes don't have to be groups, they can be called categories. The word class can be translated into network". At the locus of traditional fishermen where the capital is not too large, then if there is a lack of capital, the skipper will borrow from a middleman or the term in Cirebon is called a collector. In each of the above classes there is a low bargaining position and occurs from generation to generation and even entrenched, especially in differences which is not balanced in the profit sharing between the pawns or fishing workers and the skipper. The skipper has provided 'assistance' in such a way as to ensnare the fishing workers so that they can still operate the skipper's boat and are not allowed to move the owner. According to Kusnadi (2000: 102), "the transfer of work of pawns or fishing workers from one boat to another is only possible if he pays off the bond loan to the skipper". Bond money from the beginning has been given if the pawn is willing to become the skipper's crew. So

there is also a transfer fee by first paying the debt to the old skipper if he is going to move and being given other bonded money. The money is all borrowed as a social contract.

The 'collector' class is someone who has sufficient wealth to provide financial loans when the skipper or fishing workers are experiencing financial difficulties. The collectors are also considered as 'heroes' and make social contracts even though they are not written so that the caught fish are sold to them/collectors at prices that are usually below market prices, because there is already an attachment. The experience of the writer who was born and raised in the fishing village of Mundupesisir – Cirebon, quite experienced difficulties when he wanted to buy directly from the crew of the boats that had just landed ashore, because the collectors were already waiting and watching if there were buying and selling transactions with other people

Assumptions of Materialism of Karl Marx

- Social structures that benefit only one social group, namely the masters in society, will be destroyed in history and replaced by structures that provide benefits to other groups. This is because there will be resistance from the lower class or the fishing workers who have been exploited.
- Marx's hope is that by seeing the exploitation of workers and employers, communist society will be formed by means of revolution and private property will disappear and be replaced by common ownership, so that there is no longer any productive forces affecting unequal relations, forming feudalism because of economic problems. So no one has the status of skipper, tauke or China Bagan.
- The owners of capital are the capitalist class that controls whatever they want whether natural, social, relational systems, because everything will be subject to the material being controlled, so conflicts arise. Exploitation continues so that there is an increasingly severe process of impoverishment, dependence and monopoly. This continues for generations to fishing communities without any intervention from anyone to change this pattern of exploitation. Thus, capitalist socialism becomes an ideological alternative that will bring about change and it is hoped that there will be class awareness to carry out social actions which are social forces.
- Exploitative social relations will cause alienation, economic domination over humans, exchange interests, private ownership, buying labor to produce growing reproduction of capital/capital accumulation.

Gabriel said that one of the quintessential features of Marx's teaching, which he took over from Smith and Ricardo, was the labor theory of value and the "law of value" in particular. The latter, interpreted by Stalin as "the law of value under socialism", was used by him for ideological and propaganda purposes, but after his death has in turn been utilized by Marxists, non-Marxists and anti-Marxists to discredit the Stalinist economic system, and to advance propositions ranking from profound, relevant and commendable to vague and frivolous. Tracing in Chapter IV the peripetia of this "law" provides a deeper insight into both the essential weaknesses of the Marxian theory and the acute dilemmas of the Soviet-type economies (Gabriel Tamkin. 1998).

Antithesis of Karl Marx

Many things are being sued from the various historical material theses of Karl Marx. Critical Theory as a result of the Frankfurt School of thought developed by Horkheimer (in Hardiman, 2009:47); namely "by redefining the great questions of philosophy by interdisciplinary research; rejecting Marx's orthodox views and formulating a theory of society that allows for economic, cultural and conscious change in order to formulate theories for practical purposes. Habermas (in Sulaeman, 2008: 91) that, "Marx's concept needs adaptation and there is a separation between the state and society, people's living standards have developed and social classes are increasingly integrated into society and the hope for revolution is no longer on the workers". In fact, society also has the ability to adapt when there is pressure within itself which is not always responded to in a revolutionary way. The development of critical theory becomes a more practical alternative in accordance with axiology in science.

Kautsky's approach to such key Marxist concepts as class and state prove to be much more subtle and nuanced than what has commonly been assumed, incorporating the results of historical study rather than pure social theory. Yet, his account does contain important internal tensions and contradictions between agency and objective conditions and between the historical material and the normative and political perspective of the historiographer. Several of these internal tensions were carried on into mainstream Marxist accounts of the Revolution, with important historiographical as well as political consequences (Bettel; 2009). Exploitation has actually been going on for a long time in the fishing community, but the movement to build awareness of the exploited class or fishing workers does not seem significant, let alone to change the pattern / order that has been built in such a way in various dimensions of work, especially in the subsistence sector. informal. It seems that when workers realize that they are uncomfortable at work, there is pressure of need, pressure of production, they seem to choose not to act revolutionary, but they develop a pattern of adaptation that seems more elegant to change their fate for the better. Self-adaptation of fishing workers to respond to these needs so that vertical mobility occurs to change with several options such as:

- Seek soft credit as support from the government to encourage a change in the status of some of the ex-trawl crew or ABK on traditional boats to become skipper. Thus, the vertical mobility pattern of fishermen is more accelerated by the presence of stimulants from outside (the government). But assistance such as credit is usually given to the skipper who already has assets to use as collateral. The fishing workers are still a marginalized class. Vertical mobility, in the view of Marxists, as well as Neo-Marxists, is that the opportunity for vertical mobility is not possible because workers who are at the bottom layer are constantly being exploited. Here it seems that Marx according to Johnson (1994: 160), "... underestimates the flexibility and adaptability of capitalist society in solving crises and its ability to grow and develop continuously in the long term". Therefore, the commitment from the government to be "more revolutionary" in thinking and acting to empower fishing workers must be serious because the challenges they face are very complex and strong. The government's

seriousness in improving and developing the fishing sector is expected to boost the sluggishness and weakness of the joints of the national economy. Its policies are expected to expand the space for movement and dynamics of the people's economy. Its realization is to strengthen the real economic bases of fishing communities and explore regional potentials that can support the creation of prosperity

- Avoid patron-client relationships even though it benefits both parties, but on the contrary it is detrimental to the public interest at large. the capitalist class (read: client) is very dependent on the ruler (patron) because it is the ruler who provides various facilities such as protection, subsidies, but creates a monopolistic and oligopolistic market structure, which greatly benefits the entrepreneur or the capitalist class. Meanwhile, the benefits enjoyed by the rulers are in the form of rewards or rents from the capitalist class. This is what Arief Budiman (1991) calls an authoritarian, bureaucratic rent-seeking state. This should not happen when credit is disbursed from the government to capitalists, so that it cannot boost the lives of any crew members or fishing workers.
- Job diversification strategy. The strategy of leaving the fisherman's job is to look for a new job because rationally it does not provide many changes in life from time to time and considers the physical condition of the fisherman that does not allow him to continue his work until old age. Another strategy carried out by fishermen's wives who were originally housewives began to work in the public sector as traders or factory workers, or became TKW abroad. This is done to cover the needs that can never be met by the fishing workers.
- Mobility through education. Access to education from wherever the funds may be due to the concern of the community, scholarships are made possible for people to be better and can boost the status quo that has been experienced by themselves and their families. On the other hand, the state guarantees that the children of fishermen can be better educated
- Clearer fishing community empowerment program with regulations that are more favorable to fishing workers. The failure of the coastal empowerment process is often caused by the approach being too physical, although the physical results are quite impressive, but from a non-physical perspective it causes various problems such as the emergence of socio-cultural disparities, unsustainable programs and ongoing exploitation patterns. Here we need a stronger vision of empowerment where development is human-centered or in Korten's (1984) terms "people center development." This happens because the people affected or undergoing the process are not involved and included as subjects in the empowerment process, but as objects. In the process of empowerment in fishing communities, it is also inseparable from building "social capital". Fukuyama (2007) sees "trust" will bring prosperity, social and economic networks will be wider because the citizens are trusted. Three aspects that must be considered in empowerment are aspects of development, mentoring and coaching. Aspects that are fostered are business or economic activities, social and physical or environmental arrangements, as well as regulations to avoid exploitation by residents around them. Thus the problem solving and handling of fishing workers in order to improve their quality of life must be holistic, integrated and synergistic from various stakeholders.

- Exploitation of the lower class in fishing communities has actually happened for a long time, especially fishing workers, but the movement to build awareness of the exploited class or fishing workers as lower class is also not easy because it is difficult to change the pattern / order that has been built such for the fishing community. It seems that when the awareness arises of the fishermen's discomfort at work, there is pressure of need, manipulation, pressure of production. So, it seems that he chose not to act revolutionary, but to accept what is, leaving it to his fate to feel helped by being given a job as a crew member rather than conflict. They further develop adaptation patterns that seem more elegant to change their fate for the better. Self-adaptation of fishing workers to respond to these needs so that vertical mobility occurs for a better life.

Results and Discussion

Coastal areas in Indonesia appear to cover a very wide area because 1,129 sub-districts are located in coastal areas of the total 4,028 sub-districts. The number of villages is 5,479, topographically the coastal area of 62,472 villages in Indonesia. This large natural resource has not helped the living conditions of fisherman workers who are familiar with poverty compared to the owners of capital and fishery production assets. This kind of phenomenon also occurs in the coastal areas of Cirebon Regency where the fishermen's lives rely more on muscle than knowledge. As the results of marine/maritime research nationally, it can be concluded that the national marine resources have not been fully utilized. There are still weaknesses in the profit-sharing system, fishing technology, marine resources being stolen by other countries, lack of completeness of facilities and infrastructure, security and law.

The marketing pattern is still determined by the wholesalers, the practice of moneylenders is considered normal, the profit-sharing pattern tends to be detrimental to the workers. This practice is difficult to eradicate because while they are also used by the fishermen as a place to ask for help in meeting their needs, even though they realize what they are asking for is not worth the effort to trap and create dependence due to being trapped in poverty. The factors that lead to the weakness of fishing workers as a lower class can be traced as follows.

- Limited facilities and infrastructure for fishing gear, they don't even have one because most of them work as fishermen.
- Weak fishing workers will be in a 'bargaining position' so they are always in a relentless position.
- The average education is low, not even junior high school.
- Very limited facilities and infrastructure, sanitation.
- Lack of intensive guidance from the government even though they are very instrumental in terms of income and employment that are not dependent on the government.
- The fishermen's knowledge and skills are weak considering that there is no guidance, so they work more relying on energy not skills
- If fishing workers experience vertical mobility, it is mostly due to individual or community assistance to encourage fishermen's lives to be better.

- The absence of investors or the lack of direct assistance partnering with fishing workers who can stimulate fishing business. In fact, this sector is very lucrative as seen for those (the skipper) whose lives are getting better with the capital he has invested.

Fisherman Social Class

Viewed from the locus of Marx's social structure among fishing communities in Cirebon Regency, at least it can be seen from the results of the study that there are 2 locus of social structure originating from the size of production asset ownership, namely: a) production assets owned are large boats such as trawls, purseineess with the nature of the production equipment is more modern and b) the traditional boat production assets with equipment that is still simple. This phenomenon in Cirebon Regency is found mostly in the lower class which is in the category of traditional boats. The social structure that occurs in the two loci above is essentially the same, namely between skipper and crew members (ABK) in different dimensions of relations and behavior. In modern boat production assets, the super structure or the owner of the production asset or skipper has a very big influence in dominating social relations with their crew members as workers or subordinates. There is no more egalitarian relationship, a partnership and considers crew members not as production assets, but workers whose labor is purchased.

This model incorporates several social class mechanisms: social background and early years' circumstances; Bourdieu's habitus and distinction; social closure and opportunity hoarding; Marxist conflict over production (domination and exploitation); and Weberian conflict over distribution. The importance of discrimination and prejudice in determining the opportunities for groups is also explicitly recognized, as is the relationship with health behaviors. In linking the different social class processes we have created an integrated theory of how and why social class causes inequalities in health. Further work is required to test this approach, to promote greater understanding of researchers of the social processes underlying different measures, and to understand how better and more comprehensive data on the range of social class processes these might be collected in the future (Gery; 2019).

In the analysis of the bourgeois class, the fishing community in Cirebon Regency is called *Juragan*, namely the social class that controls various kinds of production tools. They generally live in adequate conditions even seem excessive. When viewed from the locus of class/social stratification among fishing communities in Cirebon Regency, at least it can be seen at 2 locus of social structure (the results of interviews and observations of the author, in 2018), which come from the size of ownership of production assets, namely:

- The production assets owned are large boats such as trawls, purseineess with more modern production equipment characteristics. The price of the boat is between IDR 500,000,000 to 1.2 M with crew of 16 - 20 people, with an operating cost of around IDR 30,000,000 for a 1 month trip to sea (fishing). Trawl boats are mostly owned by "China Bagan" a term that is quite popular and familiar to Cirebon residents. They are from the Chinese

ethnic group from the fishermen of Bagan Ready-api - Medan. His boat has been equipped with modern equipment such as to detect the presence of fish colonies.

- Traditional boat production assets with a price of around IDR 50,000,000 to IDR 200,000,000 with a crew of 3-4 people with operational costs of around IDR 300,000 to IDR 500,000 for a 1 day trip to sea (fishing).

These traditional boats are often not equipped with sophisticated equipment to detect the presence of fish colonies or weather conditions. The upper class strata are mostly filled by those who own the means of production, thus further confirming that the ownership dimension is the most important measure in determining social class stratification. Society will depend on materialism which then determines the relationships that are built with each other. The phenomenon of exploitation relations from the skipper to the crew, because the crew do not want to sell in the market at a fair price, but the price and where to sell is determined by the collectors and skipper. Another pattern of exploitation concerns profit sharing. According to the crew members, the profit-sharing pattern is: the profit from the sale of fish will be divided in half by 50% for the boat owner / skipper and another 50% will be deducted from operational costs such as fuel and consumption, the rest will be divided by a number of crew members, each one share. The helmsman or pilot gets two parts. This division is in line with the findings revealed by Kinseng (2014:94). This pattern has been passed down from generation to generation, so fishing workers are unable to bargain for this injustice.

Most of the fishermen in Cirebon Regency are in the category of traditional boats. The social class contained in the two locus above is essentially the same, namely between skipper and crew members (ABK) in different dimensions of relations and behavior. At the traditional fishing locus the capital is not too large, if there is a lack of capital for operational costs and living costs then skipper will borrow from middlemen or the term in Cirebon is called collector. At the locus of modern fishermen with boat assets above 1 billion, credit access to banks and access will be far wide open for the development of production facilities. The social class that owns a modern boat or skipper is the superordinate class that has a very big influence in dominating social relations with its crew members as fishermen or sub-ordinate workers. There is no more egalitarian relationship, a partnership and considers crew members not as production assets, but workers whose labor is purchased. Several conflicts occurred in the exploitation between skippers and crew members (Satria, 2001: 69-70) in the production aspect because the exploitation process in the fishing business institutions is increasing along with the inclusion of depreciation elements as components in the profit-sharing system.

Among fishing workers It is a common belief that depreciation is the owner's way of multiplying profits and that purchasing supplies is manipulative and not open. Multiplication of profits through depreciation and supplies components is an instrument for owners to withdraw surplus from workers. In work institutions, fisherman workers are in a very weak position and do not have control over work institutions which should be an agreement with the skipper. According to Munandar (2009) they grew and built a feudal society, a hierarchical society.

Growing master masters who control skilled workers. Porntida (2022), found that higher (versus lower) inequality caused both social classes to be perceived as more incompetent, immoral, and unfriendly, and the poor to be perceived as more unassertive. Moreover, we found that high (versus low) inequality caused stereotypes of the wealthy and poor to be more different on unique dimensions (i.e., in relation to the poor, the wealthy were stereotyped as more assertive, but also more unfriendly and immoral). Importantly, inequality affected the stereotype dimensions through distinct mechanisms. We found evidence of class-based categorization mediating the effect of inequality and social class stereotypes on the Vertical dimension, and evidence of negative intergroup relations (i.e., increased competition and reduced trust) explaining stereotypes on the Horizontal dimension. Further, we found that social class stereotypes influenced support for redistributive wealth policies. Our work contributes to the literature by identifying the mechanisms through which inequality affects perceptions of the social classes. So, the problem is not only the profit sharing is unequal, but also prone to dishonesty in managing production costs, even though the production costs for supplies while fishing is a determining factor for profit sharing. This mechanism persists because HNSI (Indonesian Fishermen Association) often benefits the interests of capital owners. This is because, in general, the HNSI management is the owner of the ship. Therefore, matters concerning the profit-sharing system are the responsibility of HNSI both in formulating and controlling the implementation of the profit-sharing system. In this case, HNSI is a group that "protects" exploitation practices, so that HNSI also appears to be playing a role as a "comprador".

Satria, (2001) said that, "The probability of exploitation of the Chinese-Bagan entrepreneurs' work institutions is higher than that of local authorities or capitalists. As it turns out, communal ties can be a factor that differentiates the level of exploitation. The communal bond between ABK and the native skipper is able to dampen the occurrence of higher exploitation. Meanwhile, the working institutions of pioneers and local indigenous followers were not found to have as much internal conflict as happened to the Chinese-Bagan followers. This happens because the level of exploitation of local indigenous work institutions is relatively lower. This is interesting to study as a dialectic of the Marxist approach when in the context of communal ties in the working institutions of a business, the exploitation will be greater, the impact on conflict will be even greater, than if there are more egalitarian communal ties, even though the essence is the same in the exploitation of workers and employers. We can compare this with what happened to the locus of traditional fishermen which looks more egalitarian, especially if the boat owners for small fishermen are looking for fish like other crew members. In connection with the above phenomenon, according to Lawang (2009), the poor are alienated: cannot control their activities, creativity, they are subordinated with other people. In their alienation they want to change the status quo, while the superstructure or extortionists maintain the status quo.

The crew of trawling boats or modern boats with the crew of traditional boats often conflict in the waters, because trawler boats often dock and take fish in waters that are actually territory for small boats and damage the nets of small fishermen. This is where the decision of the Ministry of Marine Affairs no. 2 of 2015 concerning Restrictions on the Use of Fishing Equipment, is often protested

by modern boat owners because they feel their income is reduced without considering the sustainability of environmental resources and shutting down traditional fishing businesses.

By examining this as an existing picture, it is very concerning. Coastal communities are generally divided into 3 (three) classes, namely: The first class is the skipper, the second is the collector class, and the third is the fishing working class, namely crew members (ABK) who only have power, the skipper class. At the locus of traditional fishermen who have not too much capital, if there is a lack of capital, the skipper will lend it to the owner. The middleman or the term in Cirebon is called *Pengpul*. Especially in the fishing working class mentioned above, there is a low bargaining position and occurs for generations and is even entrenched, especially in the unequal difference in the profit sharing between the pawns or fisherman workers and the skipper. The skipper has provided 'assistance' in such a way as to ensnare the fishing workers so that they can still operate the skipper's boat and are not allowed to move the owner.

According to Kusnadi (2000: 102), "the transfer of work of pawns or fishing workers from one boat to another is only possible if he pays off the bond loan to the skipper". Bond money from the beginning has been given if the pawn is willing to become the skipper's crew. So, there is also a transfer fee by first paying the debt to the old skipper if he is going to move and given other bond money. The money is all borrowed as a social contract. The 'collector' class are those who have sufficient wealth to provide financial loans when the skipper or fishing workers experience financial difficulties. The collectors are also considered as 'heroes' and make social contracts even though they are not written so that the caught fish are sold to them/collectors at prices that are usually below market prices, because there is already an attachment. The experience of the writer who was born and raised in the fishing village of Mundupesisir – Cirebon, quite experienced difficulties when he wanted to buy the catch directly from the crew of the boats that had just docked ashore, because the collectors had been waiting and watching if there were buying and selling transactions with other people. . Collectors are part of the middle class in the fishermen's class strata. They have economic assets in the form of capital to buy fish in large enough quantities and have the capital to provide loans to both ABK and traditional fishing skippers. These collectors can also double as skipper. Kinseng (2014: 91) mentions "investors usually have local names such as baskets or tauke. In the Balik Papan area it is called a *punggawa* or *Ponggawa*. So the class of fishermen in the findings of this study is divided into strata:

- Ship crew (ABK) or as labor fishermen
- Collectors who accommodate and buy fish catch
- The skipper as the owner of the ship.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this research is, the traditional fishing class is the one who owns the assets of producing traditional boats with simple equipment, while the modern fishing class is the one who owns the assets of producing large boats such as trawls and purseines with more modern production equipment. Social

class in fishing communities is divided into three strata: (1) fisherman laborers, (2) collectors, and (3) skipper

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