

## Kelas dan konflik kelas pada kaum nelayan di Indonesia (studi kasus di Balikpapan, Kalimantan Timur)

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### Abstrak

#### **ABSTRACT**

The objectives of this study are to investigate class structure, class consciousness, class formation, and class struggle of fishers in Balikpapan as well as factors affecting these phenomena. Basically, this is a qualitative study.

The study found that class structure of the fishers in Balikpapan has not been simplified to become two great hostile classes, namely bourgeoisie and proletariat. On the contrary, class structure of fishers in Balikpapan has developed to become more complex. Now, there are four classes of fishers in Balikpapan, namely the capitalist, the labour, the small fishers (petty bourgeoisie), and the intermediate/medium fishers. Class relation between labour and owner of the means of production here is quite unique. Unlike in industries in general, relation between labour and owner here contains two dimensions, namely the exploitative dominative and the patron-client. This two dimensions pattern of class relation is also found between the fishers (especially the small and the intermediate classes fishers) and the merchants.

Class consciousness and class formation of the labour have not been developed yet. In other words, so far, labour class exists only as a class in itself, not class for itself. Factors affecting labour class consciousness and class formation are fragmentation of labour, high class permeability, labour's dependent on the owner, lack of leader, lack of common problem, and the share-system (not wage). On the other hand, small and intermediate classes fishers have already developed class consciousness as well as class formation. The most important factors contribute to this fact are the present of big common problems over and over again, as well as the present of active and vocal leaders among them. The capitalist class of Fishers has not developed class consciousness and class formation.

In line with the lack of class consciousness and class formation of the labour, class conflict between labour and owner has never occurred. Conflicts between labour and owner only take place individually, not as a class. Form of individual labour struggle are grievance, questioning, "protest", and quit. On the other hand, small and intermediate class fishers often carry out a class struggle from dialog with the opponent as well as government and legislators (DPRD), huge and rather violent demonstration, up to hijacking big ships and burning down big fishing vessel of their opponent.

In class conflict, whether between small and intermediate classes fishers with mining firms or with big capitalist fishers class, there is again a peculiar character which is uncommon or even unknown to the industrial world. In fishery class conflict,

there is a strong alliance between the owner class and the labour class. Furthermore, when class conflict is taking place between the lower and the higher class fishers such as between the "pejala" (intermediate class) and the purse seine fishers (big capitalist class) early 2006 in Balikpapan, a strong alliance between owner and labour in each class was still hold. It means, capitalist fishers plus labour against intermediate fishers plus labour. Something that probably never imagined by Marx!

In the class conflict between the "pejala" (intermediate class) and the purse seine fishers (big capitalist class) in Balikpapan, the main issue or the cause of the conflict was not exploitation but domination in the process of "production". In this case, the intermediate class was dominated by the big capitalist class. Moreover, even though the issue was a "realistic issue", but because it was about source of livelihood, the level of violence of the class conflict was very high. In the case, fishing vessel was burned down and the vice-skipper was hit near his eye. Thus, the violence of a class conflict is not only determined by realistic vs non-realistic issue, but whether it is about main source of livelihood or not.

In conclusion, this study plays a remarkable and significant contribution to the theory of fishery class conflict in particular, and even for the theory of class and class conflict in general.