

Social Relationship of Interethnic Fisherman Communities in Their Socio-Economic Aspect at Lebak District, Banten Province, Indonesia

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Abstract

As a community, fishermen have both similarity and dissimilarity. They, for example, have the same activity which is fishing. On the other hand, as a member of community who comes from different geographical places, they definitely have different culture. This difference has an impact to their socio-economic life. The site of the study is at Panimbang Sub-District, Lebak District, Banten Province. This study used qualitative method. There were three data collection techniques used, which were participatory observation, interview, and observation. The subject of this study was fishermen from Java and Bugis ethnic. The result of the study shows that social relationship between Bugis and Java fisherman communities at Muara Village was done through religious and rituals activities, interethnic marriage, and kinship relation. Meanwhile, in economic aspect, social relationship was done through the establishment of Multi Business Coperative, fish auction, and Binuangen Market which is located in the border of Muara Village and fish auction.

Keywords: fisherman, community, social relationship, interethnic

1. Introduction

Fishermen at Lebak District have both similarity and dissimilarity. In term of similarity, they have the same experience and relationship as fisherman community. Meanwhile, in term of dissimilarity, they have different culture because they come from different geographical places. This difference might be impacted to the way they see their life. Historically, Lebak District has a long coast line, started from Sumur Sub-district up to the border between Serang and Lebak District. As regency located in coastal area, it has attracted other societies to settle in the village and do an activity as a fisherman. Bugis and Javanese were two ethnics that have been settled on this village since 1960.

One of the important aspects that increase fisherman's economic life is technology in marine fisheries. There is a change of production technic from traditional way to the rational one. The use of this new technology is really helpful to support the fisherman's economic life. Therefore, most of them depend on it. This is supported by Koentjaraningrat (1972:32) who states that fisherman's life depends more on the development of technology. In fact, the new technology is only owned by those who are capable to buy it. This creates great social impact, especially in the case of the fished caught. In other words, those who use new technology will catch a lot of fishes than those who are not. Regarding this, Suparlan (1989:4) mentions that it is basically caused by the historical development of the fisherman's culture itself.

The use of new technology in marine fisheries might increase fisherman's economic aspect. Meanwhile, in term of socio-cultural aspect, it cannot be used as a tool to strengthen the community relationship. According to Emmerson (1977:37), traditional relation puts economic relation in the secondary rank. This is proven by the fact that most of fishermen borrow the money from the skipper, and there is no exact transaction process in the way they return the money. Sometimes, they return the money in the form of goods.

This study attempts to investigate the characteristic and social relation forms of fisherman at Muara village, Lebak, Banten Province. Based on preliminary observation, the site of this study has unique characteristic. The fisherman communities in this place come from various ethnics such as Bugis and Javanese that live each other based on their own culture. They also have social relation that supports their activity as a fisherman.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Fisherman Community

Fisherman is a group of people whose lives depend on the sea, either by catching fish or fish farming. They live in the coastal area (Kusnadi, 2005:25). According to Gordon in Satria (2002:37) fisherman is a person who is fishing, either in the sea or public water, by using a set of fishing gear. Generally, a fisherman is defined as a person who is fishing in the sea. Sociologically, this phenomenon is a consequence from social differentiation which one of them is division of labor. Satria (2002:53) mentions that fisherman is divided into two categories, which are the owner and worker. Owner is a person who has fishing gear, such as ship/boat, net, and other. These equipments are operated by someone else. Meanwhile, worker is a person who is fishing by using the

owner's gear. In other words, he becomes a labor. Besides, there is also individual fisherman. This fisherman has fishing gear, and he does not involve other people in its operation.

2.2. Social Relationship

Human is a social being that has an aim to fulfill the need of his life as well as defend his life. He needs other people around him. Similarly, fisherman communities that settle in the multi-ethnic area need other human beings in its relation. In this case, human relation is such objective needs. The analysis of human as social being has been examined by some experts, such as Aristoteles in Sadli. Sadli (1977:9) even states human as *zoon politicoon* or a social animal. Bounman (1957:32) says that human can be the real man when they live with another man. Meanwhile Soekanto (1990:75) adds that man basically has a desire to be one with another human beings as well as the desire to be one entity with natural surroundings.

Social interaction or relation is needed to realize the above man's desire. Garna (1996:76) conveys that all society groups, organizations, and communities are formed by interacted individuals. Therefore, it can be said that society is an individual who is interacting in taking a role, communication and interpretation, adjusting the action, directing and controlling himself and perspective.

In social relationship, there will be unharmonious action and reaction, or contradiction. Regarding this, Harsojo (1977:128) mentions the importance of order in human relation. Basically, as an individual or group, man tries hard to maintain his life and gets security. To make these happened; a high degree of social order is needed. Meanwhile, a high degree of social order can be achieved through socio-cultural rules and clear mechanism of its implementation.

Kimball Young in Soekanto (1990:67) states that interaction is the key of all aspects of social life. There is no together life without interaction. In social interaction, there is reciprocal contact or inter-stimulus and response between an individual and a group. Related to this, Alvin and Helen Gouldner in Taneko (1990:110) define interaction as action and reaction between people. Interaction will occur when an individual does something that can cause reaction from other people. Loomis in Taneko (1990:114) then mentions four general characteristics of social interaction: 1) it is conducted by more than one person; 2) there is communication between the actors by using symbols; 3) there is past, present, and future dimension of time; 4) There are certain objectives, whether it is similar or dissimilar objective. Meanwhile, Soekanto (1990:67) emphasizes that social interaction can occur when an individual or group works and talks together to achieve the common goals. This implies that social interaction will be meaningful when it meets these two conditions: 1) There is a contact. Action-reaction involves primary contact (through face to face) and secondary contact (social contact done through intermediaries such as telephone, other people, newspaper, etc.); and 2) There is communication. Contact is a meaningful action done by individual or group. This is captured by the other individual or groups through reaction. Thus, there is communication. In other words, communication will occur if one captures the message of other people or groups' action, and give a reaction to the action done. The reaction can be seen through behavior.

Another definition of social interaction is given by Simmel in Kamil (1999:29-30). He states that social interaction is relation between two or more people by which one behavior or action can influence, change or repair the other people behavior. This is strengthen previous statement that states, social interaction can be formed when two people are interconnected and do reciprocal action (action-reaction). Furthermore Simmel in Kamil (1992), social interaction is the initial formation of society. Society cannot be separated from some individuals on its environment. This is a dynamic process that continuously occurs as long as the individuals give active support. The process of society formation is known as *Sociation*, a society is formed because there is a number of individual having complex relation through mutual-interaction and mutual-influence. Simmel in Kamil (1992) then describes two concepts of interaction in society: content and form. In social situation, content is the aims that want to be achieved by the society. On the other hand, form is interaction from the real social relationship in society that is realized through super ordination (the relation to subordinate that is formed through domination), subordination (relation with superior formed through obedience), concord, representative, cooperation, opposition, and others.

Regarding the formation of social interaction, Robert K Merton has different opinion. In his opinion, social interaction is formed based on the similar objective and meaning of the interaction. Objective and meaning is the core of social interaction that gives a value to the developed interaction. The more similar the objective and meaning developed, the more developed interaction value is. There are various options that can be done by an individual in undeveloped interaction. First, it can be started from self-correction, the lowest tolerances that a wise man done. It is then followed by an effort to justify something. Another effort made after the failure is the tendency to not get involved in the conflict. This can be done by leaving the interaction network. This action indicates that man has natural characteristics to avoid the conflict with the other people and to show their existence. Rebellious action, in this case, is the last option from several options that cannot be avoided (Sanderson, 1993:16-17).

Basically, there are four important factors in interaction process: imitation, suggestion, identification, and sympathy (Soekanto, 1990:69). These factors work individually or in a group. Imitation plays an important role in social interaction process. One of positive impact of imitation is that it can push someone to obey the prevailed rules and values. In contrast, the negative side is that imitating defiance behavior. Suggestion can arise when someone show a view or attitude that is received by the other people. It can also occur when the receiver is emotional, so that it stunts the rational thinking. This factor is basically quite similar to the first one. The difference takes a place on the starting point. Identification is the tendency or desire to be the same with the other people. Characteristic might be formed in this process. Identification process can be formed by its own or by the purpose, as someone needs an ideal type in his life. The impact of suggestion is more profound than imitation or suggestion process. The last factor is suggestion. This is a process in which someone feel attracted to the other people.

Regarding various factors in interaction process, Rahardjo (1984:147) adds another factor that also plays important role in interaction, which is perception. It is a description or an idea that is formed in individual's mental. It can be positive or negative. It is created before one has a contact with an object or is developed before a contact. Perception is a basis that forms an attitude realized in behavior. This statement is in line with Aloysius in Garna (1996:248) who states that in intercultural communication, there are a lot of influencing variables, which one of them is attitude. Attitude is physical condition causing every human to have right predisposition action to face various social events. It not only influences real behavior, but also hampers perception when one interprets the events by which its meaning depends on the predisposition. The patterns of interaction in society are formed by cultural value systems that are reflected in society characteristics and perception or attitude.

2.3 Plural Society

Plural society was firstly proposed by Furnivall (1967:446) as a result of his research on the community at Dutch Indies (old Indonesia) and Burma. He states that plural society is a society consisting of two or more elements that live alone without assimilation with each other in political entity. Based on the condition of Indies society at that time, he further explains that this society has the characteristic in the social life. They do not have equal social service demand. Dutch people as minority group have the authority to dictate Indonesian people as the third-class citizen. Chinese people, as the largest group among the other East foreigner, stays in the position between the two classes.

By ignoring space and time factors, in Furnivall's perspective, plural society is a society who holds the value systems as its part. Thus, the members of this society have less loyalty to the community as a whole, less cultural homogeneity, and less basics to understand each other. In the political position, specific characteristic of plural society in Indonesia is showed by the absent of common will. As a society who has different races, the members tend to be a group of individuals rather than as whole group. Thus, as an individual, the member's social life is not completed. In economic life, the absent of common will indicate no common social demand that is internalized by all elements of society (Furnivall, 1967:309-312). This becomes a thing that differentiates the characteristic of plural community in homogenous society. Regarding the conflict of interest, it always occurs in the society life. In plural society, the conflict even will be sharper as economic interest differences coincide with racial differences (Furnivall, 1967:448). This is what was happened in Indonesian community on Dutch Indies era.

Clear definition of plural society is conveyed by Geertz (1969:67-68). He defines plural society as a society that is divided into several independent sub-systems. Each sub-system is tied into primordial bonds. Furthermore, Marodirdjo (2000:11) states that plural society has diverse sub-cultures. Meanwhile, Garna (1996:164) explains the concept of plural society. He says that it is developed from two traditions in the history of social thought. First, plurality is a condition that describes the form of power-sharing between groups of joined societies. The unified sense is formed through loyalty with cross-cutting pattern, the ownership of shared values, and balance power. Second, plural society will face a conflict, contradiction, and coercion. Related to Indonesian society, it has complex socio-cultural system. Horizontally, it is signed by the existence of ethnicity units based on the ethnicity, cultural, and religious differences, or other regional characteristics. Vertically, it is marked by the sharp difference of social strata. Another sign of plurality in Indonesia is the existence of ethnic groups.

Conceptually, ethnic groups is a social society in which its members have origin, show the same historical background and fate, have one or more cultural characteristics, and have unique collective and solidarity form. Narol and Bart (1988:11) describe the characteristic of ethnic group in the perspective of anthropology. Those are: 1) It can be biologically developed and survived; 2) It has similar cultural values, which is sense of community in a culture; 3) It forms its own communication network and interaction; and 4) It determines its own group characteristic that is received by the other group, and it can be differentiate with the other population group. Meanwhile, according to Reminick (1983:10), another characteristic of ethnic group is a

belief of a bond from similar descendants. Physical characteristic and habit usually becomes something that differentiates a group with the other groups. Meantime, Smith in Garna (1996:165) states that conflict often occurs in plural society that has diverse minority groups with diverse culture. In political view, he adds, plural society is controlled by a minority group that has its own culture. Thus, it is formed based on the conflict and coercion rather than similar value systems.

Concerning plural society, Berghe (1969:67-68) mention six characteristic of plural society. Those are: 1) The occurrence of segmentation in the form of groups that has different sub-culture one another; 2) Social culture that is divided into non-complementary institutions; 3) Lack of consensus among the members toward the basic values; 4) Having a group conflict; 5) Social integration grows based on the coercion and independence in economic aspect; 6) Politic domination by one group over the other group. In Berghe's point of view, plural society cannot be classified into one or more society types according to the Emile Durkheim's model. In other words, it cannot be considered similar to the other society with segmented kinship units or society with high differentiation or specialization. The first society refers to those with single lineage and homogeneous institutional structures. Meanwhile, the second one is those with high differentiation. It has complementary institution and mutual-independence.

Plural society with different social, culture, and thinking pattern will cause a problem in interethnic relationship. Martodirdjo (2000:3) states that ethnicity is a complex social phenomenon with central characteristic. It has direct contact with all aspects of human life. In ethnicity side, plurality is showed by ethnocentrism, a belief that considers its own culture is better than the other cultures. In other words, ethnocentrism is a characteristic of group's feeling or out-group's feeling. In positive side, ethnocentrism can function as self-defending. In contrast, in negative side, it causes discordance or hostility between groups in society.

2.4. The Form of Interethnic Social Relationship

Indonesian society is very diverse consisting various ethnics and religions. Each society has its own custom that differ one another. The plurality of Indonesia society becomes valuable gift, although it might cause a conflict in the communication or social interaction. According to Taneko (1990:116), social interaction can be categorized into four forms: cooperation, competition, conflict, and accommodation. Cooperation, in Cooley's opinion (cited from Soekanto, 1990:61), can occur when people realize that they have the similar interest, and at the same time they have a knowledge and control to fulfill that interest through cooperation and awareness. Gillin and Gillin in Soekanto (1990:78) states that competition is individual or group social process. In competition, an individual tries to find the profit in one area of life that at one time it becomes the public attention. He also tries to attract the public attention or sharp the existing prejudice without using the threat or violence. Competition has both positive and negative effect. The negative one is that it might cause a conflict. Accommodation, according to Soekanto (1990:62-67), can be a process or condition. As a process, it refers to efforts to solve the conflict. As a condition, it refers to condition in solving the problem or conflict.

3. Research Methods

This study was descriptive analysis. It attempted to investigate the social solidarity of interethnic fisherman communities, especially in the application of technology for their socio-economic life. The method used was qualitative. Brannen (1997) conveys that qualitative method is aimed to investigate the meaning and context of individual behavior. Besides, he adds, it investigates the process of interrelated factors that occurs in the observation pattern. Meanwhile, Burell and Morgan in Bannen (1997) say that qualitative is interpretative approach, the interpretation of individual behavior based on subjectivity elements from the observed object. The site of this study was at Muara Binuangen Village, Lebak, Banten Province. This village was fisherman village. The aim of this study was to find out the social relation of interethnic Javanese and Bugis fisherman communities, particularly in term of their socio-economic life, at Muara Binuangen, Lebak, Banten Province. Respondent was selected based on the data necessity of this study, which were interethnic fisherman groups. Miles and Huberman (1984:56) mention that there are several indicators that should be considered in selected the respondents of the study: setting, actors, events, and process.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1.Social Relationship Characteristic of Interethnic Fisherman Communities at Muara Binuangen Village

Fisherman village at Muara Binuangen village, Lebak, Banten Province is a village inhabited by fisherman communities, either traditional or modern fisherman. Relating to fishing area, small-scale traditional fisherman does fishing around the range of 3-5 mills, while those who have large capacity machine can reach 5-7 mills. Society in coastal area is usually dominated by fisherman communities. In Muara Binuangen village, the population is fisherman who comes from Sundanese, Javanese, and Bugis ethnics. Although this population has

high cooperative sense, it has categorized as plural society due to its diverse ethnics. Regarding the society structure, it is the combination of rural and urban society characteristic. This structure has formed new cultural values due to cultural acculturation.

Previously, before the arrival of Javanese and Bugis fisherman, the culture in Muara Binuangen village was dominated by Sundanese culture. Through assimilation and acculturation process, it has been shifted. The integration between local and foreign ethnics occurred after long and intense interaction process. Life pattern was adjusted to reduce the differences, such in communication. Communication used was Indonesia language. The difference took place on the intonation and accent. Bugis ethnic had strong intonation, while Javanese ethnics had particular accent.

As the union territory between Javanese and Bugis ethnic communities, the society in Muara Binuangen village has mutual-necessity of social interaction system. Based on the observation, it was found that the society had an individual and group approach to reduce social and cultural differences. Individual approach was done through the interaction with neighbors, while collective approach was done through participation in the meetings.

Regarding the number, the fisherman communities at Muara Binuangen village were about 500 families divided into various ethnics, such as Sundanese, Javanese, and Bugis. There were 150 of Javanese families and 100 Bugis families. The rest was Sundanese ethnic families.

4.2. The Characteristic of Social Relationship

Interethnic communities in Muara Binuangen village were a form of assimilation with local community. The behavior pattern of local and visitor society could be seen from the daily life. The changes and differences at this time was a result of cultural change that have been experienced and occurred since the beginning. The occurred change of socio-culture was mutual-understanding.

In Muara Binuangen village, the members of society had their own culture. However, this difference was not showed in the daily activity. As it was stated by MHR (59 year old), a respondent from Javanese ethnic, every member of society had different cultural background and language, including accent and dialect. This difference, he added, did not reduce their togetherness in life or livelihood. He then emphasized that the differences did not make them suspect or despise each other (Interview, May 18th, 2015).

The above interview implied that different cultural background or language could not become an obstacle in communication. Social relationship, in this case, was built through fraternity relationship, and thus it created social solidarity. Koentjaraningrat (1990:164) states that solidarity is a form of society cooperation including mutual cooperation, help, and discussion. Besides obedience, society also understood the concept of solidarity that had a lot of positive values, such as fraternity, harmony, and cooperativeness. The awareness of this social relationship made them ignoring the differences between local and visitor communities.

Reciprocal social relationship between Javanese and Bugis visitors did not cause suspicion or competition in carrying out the business activity. Based on the observation, it was figured out that when the people from Bugis ethnic met their community, they tended to use their language as unifying language community. Meanwhile, the children that grew in Muara Binuangen village tended to use Indonesia language in communicating. This happened as the parent did not use Bugis language anymore while communicating with their children. This action definitely caused a bad effect for young generation as they forgot their local language. According to the respondent, this mainly happened in the third-generation.

The change of society social structure relating to the language only occurred to the community that had been long settled and to young generation that did not use their mother tongue. This, however, did not make the difference in the interaction with the community. The observation result also found that Javanese language was still dominantly used by its community and its young generation. It was quite different with Bugis ethnic by which the use of its mother tongue tended to shift.

In the settlement characteristic, there were ethnic settlement communities in Muara Binuangen village. Most of Javanese ethnic society, around 300 families, leaved at Southern area. This settlement basically could be inhabited by the other ethnics outside Javanese. However, it was as if formed by itself.

The socio-cultural condition of interethnic communities in term of language used had shifted the cultural value. This was caused by orientation value of science dimension and wider intercommunication. This condition proved that language used in the daily life. The dynamism was also showed by Bugis and Javanese ethnic communities in responding and facing various challenges that might occur. The change in society, however, was a natural thing. Openness is needed to recognize various changes of cultural value system that kept transformed in cultural configuration.

In short term, the conflict between Bugis and Javanese ethnic at plural society might arise. On the other hand, in a long term, both of them would be integrated based on cultural values that had been agreed. The integration would be occurred in the form of adaptation and institutional process. The adaptation in Muara Binuangen village was done through discussion when there was the difference in communicating or offending

behavior related to origin. Togetherness was showed by receiving and diminishing cultural differences. Interethnic communities Bugis and Javaness were integrated in noble values. These values became consensus of fundamental society value. The value was integrated in relative relationship as a result of intermarriage among society that had different ethnics and religions. In the interaction process of plural society, tolerance among societies was needed to fasten social integration. Interaction was defined as reciprocal relationship among individuals in their social life. Social interaction, however, was a key from all social activities. In other words, there was no social life without interaction (Soekanto, 1998:66). This implied that the basic aspect of tolerance in society was social interaction that could be formed through intensive interaction or communication and the belief in society regardless ethnic, religion, race, social strata, etc. Concerning interethnic communities in Muara Binuangen village, basically they have had high tolerance. This was stated by SLH (59 year old), a Sundanese respondent, in the following citation:

“The visitors (Javanese and Bugis ethnics) who stayed in Muara Binuangen village actually did not need a long time to be able to integrate with the local community. This was because they had similar profession and daily activity to the local community, which was fisherman. This was strengthened by kinship relation from their predecessors who had settled in this village. Their ancestors even had settle in this village in a long time ago. It was predicted that they had been settled in this village since 1950. Most of them even married with the other ethnics that settled in this village”. (Interview, May 28th, 2015)

The visitors, either Javanese or Bugis ethnics, who settled in Muara Binuangen village, had social sensitivity to integrate. Thus, they did not need a long time to blend with local community. This was supported by similar activity that they had, which was fisherman. The other factor was that they had family or ancestor that had been long settled in Muara Binuangen village.

4.3 The Factor Establishing Social Relationship

4.3.1 Cultural Factor

Cultural value as an adhesive among communities had formed values that led the society in maintaining its community. Through these values, communities would respect each other. Culture holding by the society would be a guidance to fulfill the needs of life as social and cultural beings. Living in diverse communities would make the formation of social relationship to be easy. Thus, it can strengthen the values in community.

The unity of interethnic society in Muara Binuangen village was supported by cultural bonds. These bonds were realized through the customs that was done from one generation to another generation, and it became guidance in life. As it was stated by HAN (57 year old), a Bugis respondent, that Bugis and Javanese ethnic communities in Muara Binuangen village had their own custom and rule. This engaged society in plural community. The awareness of living together made the community to not disturb each other in doing the activity. (Interview, May 25th, 2015).

The commitment to live together occurred not only while doing the daily activity, but also while fishing. This was supported by BHN (61 years old), Javanese respondents who had been settled for 30 years, in the following statement:

“We lived together with the other ethnics as fisherman. This made us to be a big family. Even though we came from different ethnic and family background, our livelihood had unified us. This made us to not forget each other. While fishing, basically, we had the same culture to keep each other. We cooperated to gain the money. We also helped each other related to the fishing gears.” (Interview, April 16th, 2015).

The interview result implied that fisherman communities in Muara Binuangen village had similarity in life. They wanted to live side by side. This sense of unity was caused by the similarities of livelihood as fisherman. They were aware that they came from different ethnics. However, the livelihood values had unified them in the internalization of fisherman cultural values.

The cooperation among fisherman communities had made them to not forget each other. While fishing, they had similar culture to hold and help each other. Related to interethnic cooperation, it was done through the relation between owner and labor or between capital owner and boat owner.

Besides, the communities also had interaction values in the form of modesty. Fisherman communities had their own interaction, and they respected each other. Courtesy was showed from the speech and behavior while the two ethnics met. Furthermore, mutual-respect, help, and tolerance were also really kept by the communities in Muara Bi/nuangen village. Tolerance played important role in the life of interethnic communities. This was what was felt by MHMD (65 years old), a Javanese respondent. He said that:

“We lived together with the other different ethnics. When we met Bugis ethnic that was considered harsh by the other ethnics, we respected them. After we did interaction in economic, social, religion, and belief, we never experienced a conflict. In the rituals activities, we understood and respected each other as we realized that we had similarity in term of livelihood.” (Interview, April 13th, 2015)

The above interview result showed that living together with the other ethnics did not eliminate mutual respect and tolerance among human beings and societies. The communities communicated each other by using a language to deliver their desire. Cultural and behavior difference did not make the communities became integral part with the other societies.

The fisherman communities' awareness as a group settled in the Muara Binuangen village were still well maintained. They no longer see their ethnic origins. In term of economic cooperation and other social activities, they lived in inseparable unit. Meanwhile, their belief and diversity run side by side with the society's belief.

Muara Binuangen village basically has been developed since the presence of visitor from various ethnics. The development could be seen from the establishment of fish market. This fish market was considered as the largest fish market in Banten Province. Local society perceived that there was a bond between local and visitor communities. Visitor communities even had considered Muara Binuangen village as their own village.

4.3.2 Kinship Factor

Kinship is one of the important factors in social integration. It is related to the marriage. In other words, kinship system is formed through marriage and heredity. Most of the society in Muara Binuangen village married to those who came from different ethnics. It was not only happened to the society who had profession as fisherman, but also those who had the other profession. MUH (47 years old), a Javanese respondent who married with Bugis ethnic, stated that:

"I did interethnic marriage. At the beginning of our marriage, we talked the differences in our custom. Even though we had marriage for about 25 years, there was no conflict in our life. Our children followed the prevailed values both in Javanese or Bugis ethnics. Through the interethnic marriage that we did, our family became bigger. We had family in two villages and two different ethnicities. Our marriage also diminished the different among us. It became the strength in uniting two different ethnics." (Interview, May 16th, 2015).

Interethnic marriage was the first step of cultural introduction. The kinship relation formed through interethnic marriage could make the interaction process to be wider. It occurred not only between two couples, but also between their families. The difference of cultural and original background, in this case, was no longer to be a problem as it was a natural thing happened in plural society.

As previously stated, interethnic marriage in Muara Binuangen village was a common thing. It basically could strengthen the society bond at Muara Binuangen village. As it has been known, marriage was not only done to tie woman and man. It had benefits for socio-cultural life. The meeting of two ethnics basically had a mission to unite the differences in a kinship relationship. In Muara Binuangen village, there were 50 families that did interethnic marriage, whether it was between Javanese and Bugis ethnics or Javanese and Sudanese ethnics

4.4.1. Belief and Religion

Regarding the religion, most of Bugis and Javanese ethnics (99%) settled in the coastal area of Muara Binuangen village was a Moslem. There was annual activity and habits related to the Islamic belief. Fisherman community of Bugis and Javanese ethnics had a habit to ask an approval before going to the sea. The aim of this activity was to ask for the safety from the God. This way was done by all fisherman communities. Thus, they had the same bonds in asking the blessing from the God.

Other religious activities done by the community was related to the holy day activity, such as Iedul Fitri, Idul Adha and Maulid. These activities were done once in a year. Besides, the fisherman communities also had education place to read Quran (Tempat Pendidikan Agama) in mosque located in Javanese settlement. Most of the people who came to this place were children between the ages of 5-12 years old. The parents, in this case, was aware to the importance of reading Quran.

4.4.2. Economic Activity

Most of the communities in Muara Binuangen village did fishing. The fishing gears they used were different one another. There were traditional fisherman communities that used simple technology to catch fish. Their fishing area was 3-5 mills. Meanwhile, there were also large-scale fisherman communities. The fishing area of this community was 7-10 mills. The time needed to go to this area was about 10-12 hours. Regarding the scale, most of the fisherman communities in Muara Binuangen village were categorized as large-scale fishing business group.

As communities that did not have any other capabilities, fishing was the only activity that could be done by the society. Therefore, it became the source of their livelihood. For small-scale fisherman communities, fishing was done throughout the year. They depended more on the season. As it was stated by MHN (50 years old) in the following citation:

"As a fisherman who lived in Muara Binuangen village, we had high dependency on the season. The boat that we had could not go far. As a consequence, we just caught the fish around Sunda Strait. Most of the fishermen in this village had the same boat as mine. This condition made our income to be

unstable. Sometime we earned a lot of money. On the other side, we got nothing, so that the living cost was uncovered.” (Interview, April 13th, 2013).

The interview result showed that in running their economical aspect, fisherman communities in Muara Binuangen village had high dependency on the season. Their boat had a limitation in term of size and speed. As a result, they were only able to catch the fish in the area of Sunda Strait. This condition was finally impacted to their income which was unsteady.

Regarding the fishing area, it was mostly done in the area of Sunda Strait, Tanjung Panaitan, Kepulauan Seribu, Krakatau, Sumur, Kelapa Koneng, Pulau Pucang, Kalianda, Cemara, Karang Bawah, and Batu Item. These areas could be reached by a boat for about 3-4 hours. The determination of fishing area was still based on the natural factors, such as bubbly sea surface, fishes jumped on the surface, or birds swooped into the sea. Besides, it can be got through the experience or information given by the landed boats.

Economic activities of interethnic communities in Muara Binuangen villages showed their social relationship. This was proved by the interaction done at Muara fish auction and Binuangen market. These two places were the center of society’s economic activities. The location of fish auction and the market was very near. They were only restricted by the market fence. The catching result was usually sold at Binuangen market, although there were also sold to Pandeglang market or Jakarta. Related to auction activities, it was dominated by interethnic society settled around Muara Binuangen village and other society from Wanassalam or Cikeusik.

Social relationship formed through economic activities was also showed by the establishment of a cooperative. The members of institution were the fisherman communities, while the management involved Javanese, Bugis, and even Sundanese ethnics. In Muara Binuangen village, fishing season was highly influenced by the wind condition. There are three fishing seasons as it was stated by a Javanese respondent, SR (50 years old) that:

“The first season was the peak season or east season. This season was the highest frequency of catching activity. It was happened in May – August. Local fisherman called this season as *rejuh* (a season by which the fisherman caught a lot of fish). Second season was normal or transitional season. The frequency of catching activity on this season could be considered as normal. This season normally occurred twice in a year. The first transitional season was happened in March-April, while the second one was in September-October. The last season was lean season, or known as west season. In this season, the weather was very bad. Thus, many fishermen did not go fishing for the security and safety. As a consequence, the production of fish was very low. This condition was happened in November-February.” (Interview, May 16th, 2015).

The interview result showed that the first season in catching the fish was peak season, also called as east season. In this season, the fisherman could get many fishes. The next season was normal or transitional season. The frequency of catching fish in this season was normal. This season was basically very unique. The fisherman could get many fish, and vice versa. However, based on the experience, when the fisherman went out to the sea on this season, they surely caught the fish. Thus, they still had a passion to go fishing even though in this season the catching productivity was normal.

After transitional season, there was lean or west season. As previously stated, the weather on this season was very bad, so that for safety and security, the fisherman did not go fishing. This condition caused low catching productivity. The fisherman often called this season as *paila* (a season while they got a little fish). This season was considered as rest period. Most of the fisherman communities just stayed at home and repaired their fishing gear. Even though there was a fisherman who forced to go fishing, they should bear the operational cost that was bigger than the income they earned.

Conclusion and Suggestion

Social relationship of interethnic fisherman communities in Muara Binuangen village, Lebak, Banten Province is formed through the similar fate as a fisherman and similar socio-economic aspect. It is also formed through kinship relation created from interethnic marriages. These marriages indirectly form relatives clump regardless their ethnicity.

One of media to do social relationship is ritual and religious activity. Offering rituals was one of the activities done before fishing season. This activity unites the fisherman communities in Muara Binuangen village, including Bugis and Javanese ethnics.

Another media to do social relationship is economic activity. The social interaction, in this case, is mostly done at fish auction located in Muara village and Binuangen market. These two economic places are the place where a fisherman and a buyer met or various ethnic in fisherman communities met. Besides these two places, there is also cooperative built by fisherman communities. This institution is managed by both Javanese and Bugis ethnic as a place to save and loan the money. A fisherman usually loans the money in lean season, or for additional fishing gear and operational cost.

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