

TRADITIONAL DIVISIONS

A Division of Catches

There are three main traditional systems prevailing in the division of catches:

1. Pukat Tangkol Ikan.¹

The fish can be classified into:

(a) Ikan Luan.²

The catch that is stored inside the 'luan' of any boat is the property of the members of the boat concerned.

(b) Ikan Petak.³

The bulk that are kept inside the petak belong to all the crew and are sold in the ordinary way.

1. During its operation, the four corners of the Tangkol net are held by four boats - two positioned in the upstreams and the other downstream. The fifth boat carries Juru Selam who directs the operation.

Customarily, the fish caught are loaded in one of the boats in the upstream. They are poured first into its "luan" (the prow or forepeak of the boat) and when it is full, the fish are then put into its petak (other compartments in between the foremost parts). After filling the whole boat, another one takes its turns by having its luan filled in first and then the petak. Except for the Perahu Muat Pukat (net-carrier boat) all the four take turns.

If the catch for the day is too poor to fill even its luan, the boat concerned, will still have the claim for the balance in the next day.

To compensate the Perahu Muat Pukat for its loss of ikan luan its crew may take as by right, some of the best fish (known as "ikan gandoh") from the kerpachong (central pocket) on every fishing day.

2. Fish stored in the prow

3. Fish kept in other compartments.

2. Pukat Payang

The catch can be classified into :

(a) Ikan Tangkap.¹

Every member of the unit is permitted by custom to seize the best kind of fish as soon as the net is being hauled into the boat. The fish, so acquired, becomes the property of individual crew.²

(b) Ikan Petak

The remaining catch, mostly kikek, is known as Ikan Petak, although they may be stored in the luan part also.

3. Other fishing Methods.

The catch by any gear save the above two, may be separated into:

(a) Ikan Makan Luak.³

Every crew is entitled to bring home some fish for domestic consumption.

(b) Ikan Petak.

The remaining bulk are also called Ikan Petak.

B. Division of Earnings.

Earnings are the receipts accumulated daily from the sale of Ikan Petak. This applies to all types of fishing methods.

1. Sharing System.

The division of earnings of any fishing unit can be classified into three stages:

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1. Literally to seize or catch.
 2. At Kuala Kemaman, Ikan Tangkap is sold collectively, and the proceeds are shared among the whole crew.
 3. Literally fish or flesh food.

(a) Bahagian Mula.¹

It consists of certain items, the biggest of which is the share of engines². Different areas have different rate of charges depending upon the distance of fishing grounds from landing places, interplay of supply and demand for the motors and etc.³

After deducting (a), the remaining sum is ready for further division into two to five equal parts depending upon types of gear.

(b) Bahagian Dalam⁴

Some of the above parts are allotted to "bahagian dalam" which normally includes returns on capital equipment such as nets and boats, and rewards for special skill.

Literally initial portion or part.

In strictly traditional fishing method an engine is never used. However, its inclusion does not alter principles of traditional earning distribution.

Normal charges for a motor boat used for towing a fishing unit out to sea and back to shore, are:

- (i) Tanjung Telok = $\frac{1}{4}$ share of the total value of ikan petak.
(for Payang and Petarang nets, Bubu)
- (ii) Sebrang Takir = $\frac{3}{10} - \frac{1}{3}$ of the total value of ikan petak.
(for Pk. Tarek; Pk. Dalam; and Mengail)
- (iii) Sebrang Buaya = $\frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{4}$ of the total value of ikan petak.
(for Pk. Tangkol type)
- (iv) Kuala Kemaman = $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total value of ikan petak.
(outboard motors - exclusive petrol expenses)
- (v) Kuala Besut = $\frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{3}$ share.

Literally Inner Part or inside share.

(c) Bahagian Luar¹

The remainder forms "bahagian luar" from which members of a fishing undertaking draw their earnings. The biggest portion of this "bahagian" consists of returns on labour.

2. Inconsistency of Classification

There is no uniformity among the various kinds of fishing methods regarding classification of the items.² This is due to the fact that a different fishing method has a different number of crew and kind of skill required in handling the boat and gear.

3. Variations in the System.

In different localities and under different circumstances, there are variations in the number of items and their classification. Consequently relative amount of earnings received by each crew may not be the same.

In general, however, the system of division, as described above, is commonly practised.

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1. Literally Outer Part or Outside Share.
 2. Some items such as boats and skill, get their rewards from "bahagian dalam" in one fishing method, and from "bahagian luar" in another.

Sharing Distribution

Seine-Nets

(a) Pukat Payang

(1) Composition:

Crew: 20

Gears: 2 boats¹ and net

(2) Locality: Tanjong Telok.

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Tiga" Principle.

Table 13

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula	(40%)	
Motor boat		25
Dagangan		7.5
Chabut Cherak ²		7.5
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(20%)	
Net owner		12.25
Boat "	1 share	1.63
Juru Selam		6.12
(c) Bahagian Luar	(40% in 24½ shares)	
Juru Selam	2 share(s)	3.26
Jeragan	2 "	3.26
Juru Timba	2 "	3.26
" Tarang	2 "	3.26
" Luan	1½ "	2.44
Awak (15)	1 " each	24.45 (=1.63x15)
Total		99.93

A Payang and a small dingy boat (about 8 feet) called Jo'kong or Jangkong (see Photographic Plate IV).
Fund reserved for (i) upkeep of the net (ii) monsoon period.

(b) Pukat Petarang

(1) Composition:

Crew: 6

Gear: 1 boat and net

(2) Locality: Tanjong Telok

(3) Distribution: "bagi Dua" Principle.

Table 14

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula	(32½%)	
Motor boat		25
Chabut Cherak		7.5
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(33½%)	
Net owner		17.56
Boat "	1 share	3.9
Juru Selam		8.78
menimba	Open to any crew interested to perform duties of a Juru Timba	3
(c) Bahagian Luar	(33½% in 8½ shares)	
Juru Selam	2 share(s)	7.8
Jeragan	2 "	7.8
Juru Tarang	2 "	7.8
" Luan	1½ "	5.8
Awak (1)	1 "	3.9
Total		98.8

(c) Pukat Tarek

(1) Composition:

Crew: 12

Gear: 1 boat and net.

(2) Locality: Sebrang Takir.

(3) Distribution- "Bagi Dua" Principle.

Table 15

Items	Remarks	% of earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula	(35%)	
Motor boat		30
Dagangan		5
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(32.5%)	
Net owner		15.72
Boat "	1 share	2.95
Jeragan		7.82
Juru Tarang I	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	1.47
" " II	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	1.47
Juru Luan I	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	1.47
" " II	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	1.47
(c) Bahagian Luar	(32.5% in 11 shares)	
Jeragam	Normally takes no share from here	
Other Crew(11)	1 share each	32.5 (2.95x11)
Total		99.85

(a) Pukat Hanyut

(1) Composition:

Crew: 3

Gear: 1 boat and net

(2) Locality: Sebrang Takir

(3) Distribution: "Bagi tiga" Principle.

Table 16

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula		
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(33.3%)	
Net owner)	Each item gets one	11.1
Boat ")	third of the Bahagian	11.1
Jeragan)	Dalam	11.1
(c) Bahagian Luar	(66.6%)	
Jeragan	1 share	22.2
Crew(2)	1 " each	44.4
Total		99.9

(b) Pukat Tenggelam

Same as Pukat Hanyut.

(c) Pukat Jaring¹

Same as Pukat Hanyut.

1. The gear is not operated in any of the four villages surveyed, (see Table 6). However the principle of division is said to be following the "Bagi Tiga" system.

(d) Pukat Dalam

(1) Composition:

Crew : 16

Gear : 1 boat and net

(2) Locality: Sebrang Takir

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Dua" Principle.

Table 17

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula	(30%)	
Motor boat		30
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(35%)	
Net Owner		17.45
Boat "	1 share	2.19
Jeragan		8.77
Juru Tarang I	1 "	2.19
" " II)	$\frac{1}{2}$ share each	1.09
" " III)		1.09
" Luan I)		1.09
" " II)		1.09
(c) Bahagian Luar	(35% in 16 shares)	
Jeragan	1 share	2.19
Crew (15)	1 " each	32.81
		99.96

5. LIFT NETS

(a) Pukat Tangkol Ikan

(1) Composition:

Crew : 1 Juru selam;
5 Jeragan
19 Awak

Gears : 5 boats and net.

(2) Locality: Sebrang Buaya.

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Lima" Principle

Table 18

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula ¹	(20%)	
Motor boat		20
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(32%)	
Net Owner		21.4
Juru Selam		10.7
(c) bahagian Luar	(48% in 33 shares)	
Juru Selam	2 share(s)	2.9 (1.45 x 2)
Jeragan (5)	1 " each	7.25 (1.45 x 5)
Juru Tarang	2 "	2.9 (1.45 x 2)
Boat Owners (5)	1 "	7.25 (1.45 x 5)
Extra for Net-boat crew	" " "	1.45
Awak (18)	1 " "	26.1 (1.45 x 18)
		99.85

1. It should be noted that at Sebrang Buaya there is no appropriation for unjang which is collectively made by the crew. At other places like Kuala Besut; 2/10 - 3/10 of the proceeds are allotted for the unjang.

(b) Pukat Tangkol Bawal

(1) Composition:

Crew : 12

Gears

(2) Locality : Sebrang Buaya.

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Tiga" Principle.

Table 19

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula		
Motor boat		20
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(26.66%)	
Net Owner		17.77
Juru Selam		8.89
(c) Bahagian Luar	(53.32 in $11\frac{1}{2}$ shares)	
Juru Selam	$1\frac{1}{2}$ share(s)	6.99
Jeragan (3)	1 "	4.63
Juru Tarang	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "	6.99
Boat Owners(3)	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	2.36
Awak (7)	1 " each	$32.41 = 4.63 \times 7$
		100

(c) Pukat Tangkol Udang Baring

(1) Composition:

Crew: 3

Gear: 1 boat and a miniature net.

(2) Locality: Sebrang Buaya

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Tiga" Principle.

Table 20

Items	Remarks	% of earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula		
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(33.3%)	
Net owner)		11.1
Boat ")	Equally shared	
Jeragan)	by the three.	11.1
		11.1
(c) Bahagian Luar	(66.6% in 3 shares)	
Jeragan	1 share	22.2
Awak(2)	1 " each	44.4
Total		99.9

(d) Pukat Sudu

(1) Composition:

Crew: 15

Gear: 3 boats and net

(2) Locality: Sebrang Buaya

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Dua" Principle

Table 21

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula	(30%)	
Motor boat		25
Daganan ¹		5
(b) Bahagian Dalam	(35%)	
Net Owner		23.32
Juru Selam		11.66
(c) Bahagian Luar	(35% in 20 shares)	
Juru Selam	2 share(s)	3.5 : (1.75x2)
" Solor	1½ "	2.63 : (1.75x1½)
Jeragan (3)	1 " each	5.25 : (1.75x3)
Juru Tarang	1½ "	2.63 : (1.75x1½)
Boat owners(3)	1 " "	5.25 : (1.75x3)
Awak (9)	1 " "	15.75 : (1.75x9)
Total		99.9

4. Cast Nets

(a) Jala

It is owned and operated individually.

1. Daganan system is not commonly practised at Sebrang Buaya.

5. TRAPS

(a) Bubu

(1) Composition:

Crew: 5

Gear: any number of bubus

(2) Locality: Tanjung Telok

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Tiga" Principle

Table 22

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula Motor boat	(25%)	25
(b) Bahagian Dalam Bubu owner	(25%)	25
(c) Bahagian Luar Juru Selam	(50% in 5 shares) 1 share	10
Jeragan	1 "	10
Crew(3)-the rest	1 " each	30:(10x3)
Total		100

(b) Kelong

Principle of distribution is not known↓

6. HOOK and LINE

(a) Mengail

(1) Composition:

Crew : 3

Gear : a boat, and, hooks and lines.

(2) Locality: Sebrang Takir

(3) Distribution: "Bagi Sama" Principle.

Table 23

Items	Remarks	% of Earnings
(a) Bahagian Mula Hire of engine	(33.3%)	33.3
(b) Bahagian Dalam Boat owner	(10%)	10
(c) Bahagian Luar Crew(3)	(56.7% in 3 shares) 1 share each	56.7(18.9x3)
Total		100

1. Though there are catches (Table 7), none of the gear is registered in the State (Table 6)

(b) Mengerek.

(1) Catches belong to the fisherman if they are caught when on the way to and from the fishing grounds.

(2) As above.

D. Common Features.

There are two striking features in the traditional distribution of earnings.

firstly: There are many possible ways in which earnings are distributed; and

secondly: There is no constant return to any factor of production

1. In most cases, the "bahagian mula" consists of hire of motor boats, while for some fishing units at Kuala Trengganu area, it includes daganan's commission and 'Chabut Cherak'.

After deducting the above bahagian, the remaining sum is divided between bahagian dalam and bahagian luar on some proportions based on one of the four basic principles of earning distribution.

Table 24

Basic Principles of Earning Distribution.

Principle	Share Bah. Dalam	Share Bah. Luar	Fishing Methods
Bagi Lama " Tiga	$\frac{2}{5}$ $\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{3}{5}$ $\frac{2}{3}$	Pukat Tangkol Ikan (i) Juru Selam as unit leader: Pk Payang and Pk. Tangkol Bawal. (ii) Jeragan as unit leader: Pk Hanyut; Pk. Tenggelam; Pk. Jaring;
Bagi Dua	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	Pk Tangkol Udang Baring; Bubu (i) Juru Selam as unit leader: Pk. Petarang & Pk. Sudu (ii) Jeragan as unit leader: Pk. Tarek & Pk. Dalam.
" Sama	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{9}{10}$	Hook and Line.

In the various distributive principles above, there are certain common elements underlying the, namely:

Boat's share:

If only one boat is employed in any fishing operation, its share is acquired from 'bahagian dalam.' If more, their shares are allotted from the other 'bahagian.'

In most cases, a boat gets one share, like an awak. Whereas in less important fishing methods (Bagi Tiga -ii in the Table 24), it receives $1/3$ of Bahagian Dalam's amount, equivalent to a half share.

The survey also revealed that 156 out of 170 boats employed in 121 fishing units in the four villages were owned by owner - operators (Jeragan themselves) through purchase, gift or inheritance. 14 others were hired on 50/50 share between their owners and Jeragans.

Net's share:

When a boat takes its share from bagian dalam, its portion is deducted first and only then, the remainder is divided between net and the unit leader, with $2/3$ to the former and $1/3$ to the latter. Except in "Bagi Dua" Principle in which, shares for skill¹ are included in 'bahagian dalam', this customary rule applies to majority fishing methods which employ craft and nets. The net which is the pivot of the distributive system, is in most cases, owned by the unit leader, or jointly with several others, if it is a big one.

1. eg. that of Juru Jaragan, Tarang and Luan - see Table 17

Crew's Share:

In majority of cases, the leader, Juru Selam or Jerapan receives between 1-2 "body" share from 'bahagian luar' in addition to his $\frac{1}{3}$ "skill" share above. All other crew receive one "body" share each, and an extra of $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1 "skill" share for boat "officers" such as Juru Timba, Tarang, Luan etc.

Special Increment.

An increment between $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1 share is normally distributed to crew for doing extra work such as repairing of gears and boats; it is given by their respective owners.

2. Every factor of production depends for its return on variable yields. In general, fixed capital in major fishing methods earns between 39% - 50% of total net earnings, ^{or} about one-fourth of the net earnings, however, constitutes hire of motor boats.

The relative returns for labour are also about half the total yields, depending upon presence of other non-capital items in 'bahagian mula'. Such returns are increasingly bigger in undertakings in which capital is relatively small.

B. Value Per Share

Given the amount of earnings, the value of one share received by a crew varies according to kinds of fishing methods. If the share of a unit leader and returns on capital equipment are big the value per share is relatively small and vice versa.

The following table gives the value per share of 121 fishing undertakings of various types at Tanjong Telok, Sebrang Takir, Sebrang Buaya and Kuala Kemaman.

Table 25

Value of a share from various fishing units
in a week.
 (in \$)

Value Per Share	No. of fishing units
3.00 - 5.99	8
6.00 - 8.99	15
9.00 - 11.99	24
12.00 - 14.99	22
15.00 - 17.99	15
18.00 - 20.99	8
21.00 - 23.99	7
24.00 - 26.99	9
27.00 - 29.99	4
30.00 - 32.99	5
33.00 - 35.99	3
36.00 - and above	1
	121

In the above table, the value per share ranges from \$3.00 to above \$36.)). The largest number of the units (76 out of 121) falls within \$6 - \$17.99 earning-group. The table gives an average value of about \$15.20 and a median of \$13.77 per share.

F. Technique of Distribution.

The technique involved in the distribution is very conservative one.¹ It is that of successive fractional division

Assisted by his wife (if the division takes place at home), the unit leader pours the whole weekly earnings on the mat before him. Cautiously he counts the money and for every \$100, he sets aside a certain sum for hire of a motor boat. If there is any extra item in bahagian mula, the remainder will be counted again and done in same process.

After this, the sum is ready for division between "bahagian dalam" and "bahagian luar". For 'Bagi Tiga', for instance, it is handed round dollar by dollar to form three equal piles, the first of which constitutes 'bahagian dalam', and, the second and the third are joined to form 'bahagian luar.'

The latter part is handed round again to make a small number of heaps equal to the total number of shares in that bahagian, while from the former, an amount equivalent to a share is deducted for the boat. The remaining sum is then separated into three parts of which, two for the net and one for the leader. If the leader is also the net owner, the division is not done.

When distribution is finished, the unit leader hands over to each crew or his representative his due and asks him to count it up again.

The details of earning distribution are worked out by individual unit leader who may vary them slightly to suit various circumstances. If, however, the crew are not satisfied

1. The fisherman still does not believe in mathematical calculation.

with him, they may, at liberty, leave the unit to join other groups.

G. Time and Conditions of Distribution.

The distribution of earnings, at Kuala Trengganu and Kemaman areas takes place normally on every Friday evening between 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. The most favourite spots are on the beach under attap or coconut leaf-sheds. At Tanjang Telok where there is supply of electricity, the distribution is, sometimes made at about 8 p.m. on that day at the leader's house.¹ Each engagement in major undertakings takes between 2 to 4½ hours.

If due to some reasons, the earnings for the week are not fully received by the leader, he usually postpones the distribution to the next day or several days later.

During the division, it does not seem necessary that every member of the unit concerned to be present. In many occasions, the writer found that about half of the total member attended while others were occupying themselves with other work such as repairing nets, cutting fire wood for domestic use and playing chess and cards.

At Besut Area, the distribution takes place once in every two or three months, on the beach during moonlight nights.

1. The house must be big enough to hold the units' crew.