



Lombada, local wisdom in sharia and sustainable fish catching in Aia Bangih Island, West Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract. The present study aims to analyze local wisdom about sharia values, social values, and sustainable fisheries principles developed in the fishing communities of Panjang Island, Aia Bangih, West Sumatra, Indonesia. Data collection was carried out using the Snowball sampling technique by conducting in-depth interviews with various stakeholders. The study results show that the local wisdom of *Lombada* has developed for more than 100 years. The sharia value in *Lombada* is *infaq* (charity fund), which is money donated by fishermen to the poor or mosque. There are three forms of *infaq* paid by fishermen, namely: all fishermen donate 5% of the proceeds from the sale of their fish for the construction and operational costs of the mosque; the fisherman who gets a lot of fish pays the food and drink bills for all the fishermen who hang out at the local coffee shop; fishermen who are building or repairing boats on the island, donate 30 liters of diesel fuel a day while they are there to operate the electricity generator for village lighting. *Lombada* also has social values, such as praying together for the safety of every newly built and operated fishing boat, helping to repair damaged fishing boats, searching for fishing boats that were washed away or lost due to accidents at sea, and togetherness in fishing. The principles of sustainable fisheries in the local wisdom of *Lombada*, among others, regulate the use of boat size, the number of light fishing gear, and the size of the scoop net as fishing gear. The impact of this policy is that the catch of fishermen increases every year, and its sustainability is maintained.

Key Words: local wisdom, lombada, sharia value, social value, sustainable fishing.

Introduction. The sea nature is open-access, and the increased need for fish causes fishermen in Indonesia to catch fish uncontrollably. Some fishermen do illegal practices and are not environmentally friendly. Various regulations regarding the ideal use of fishery resources are not obeyed by fishermen. As a result, aquatic resources become damaged.

Therefore, efforts are needed to prevent the destruction of fishery resources from spreading. One of the ways the government is doing this is reviving the values of local wisdom related to fisheries that are developing in the community. Fishery local wisdom is the wise and wise values that grow in community groups in the context of utilizing an aquatic and fishery resource (Ilhami & Riandi 2018). Local wisdom grows out of the need for resources to be sustainable. It is an ancestral heritage of life values and is combined in the form of religion, belief, culture, customs, and traditions (Sukmawati et al 2015).

Local wisdom related to the use and protection of fishery resources can be found in various regions in Indonesia. One of them is *Sasi* in Maluku, which is managed by traditional and religious institutions. *Sasi* is a restriction on catching fish of high economic value, especially lompas fish (*Thryssa baelama*), sea cucumbers (*Holothuria*), and lola snails (*Trochus niloticus*). The goal is that these fishery resources can remain sustainable from generation to generation (Persada, Mangunjaya, & Tobing 2018).

Furthermore, the local wisdom of *Panglima Laot* was developed in Aceh. *Panglima Laot* is a customary leader who is authorized to settle disputes overfishing by fishermen. *Panglima Laot* is a traditional figure who has the authority to enforce customary marine law

and regulate fishermen. For example, determining fishing procedures and profit-sharing systems, days not to go to sea, resolving disputes between fishermen, coordinating the implementation of customary marine law, and advocating for policies in the marine and fisheries sector to improve the welfare of fishermen (Raihan & Ahmad 2017).

In Bali, there is local wisdom *Awig-awig* which regulates the social structure of indigenous peoples, including prohibitions/sanctions for violators of the use of fishery resources. Meanwhile, the *Awig-awig* that developed in Lombok regulates the social life of the community regarding rights, obligations and sanctions for violations, including social sanctions. *Awig-awig* also regulates several other matters, such as fishing zones, areas, fishing gear and types of fish that can be caught, prohibition of fishing gear that are not environmentally friendly, protection of mangroves, beach sand, coral reefs, and other biota. Including the regulation of fishery reserve areas, the rights, and obligations of fishermen in the area, as well as sanctions for those who violate them (Widarmanto 2018).

The Talaud Islands have the local wisdom of *Mane'e*, the annual tradition of mass fishing. This tradition is hundreds of years old (Laira 2016). South Kalimantan has the local wisdom of *Indo Bwau*, namely the tradition of feeding whale sharks. They believe that their ancestors were saved by whale sharks (Junaidi et al 2018). Meanwhile, in Cilacap, local wisdom has developed which prohibits fishermen from catching fish on Friday of *Kliwon*, which is believed by the Javanese people to be a sacred night. Catching fish that night is believed to disturb the peace of the "guard" of the sea so that it can cause shipwrecks (Wiranto 2018).

The local fishery that is quite interesting is *Lombada*, the traditional fisherman of catching anchovies on Panjang Island, Aia Bangih, West Sumatra Province, Indonesia. In this tradition, fishermen are *infaq* from the sale of their fish. *Infaq* (from Arabic) is a portion of wealth that is donated to the poor or Islamic religious institutions. *Lombada* is different from the other local fisheries wisdom in Indonesia. This is because, apart from being oriented towards the use of sustainable fisheries resources, it also contains Islamic sharia values, especially *infaq*.

However, research on *Lombada* with its value has never been done before. The purpose of this study is to explore further the local wisdom of *Lombada* in terms of Islamic values, social values, and sustainable fisheries.

Material and Method. This research was conducted in Panjang Island, Aia Bangih, West Pasaman Regency, West Sumatra Province, Indonesia (Figure 1). The research method used descriptive methods, communication, and data visualization to translate raw data into useful for achieving objectives (Loeb et al 2017). The field survey used a questionnaire (Appendix 1) and it was conducted in June-December 2020.



Figure 1. Research Site Map.

Source: West Pasaman Regency Government, 2019

Data were collected by using Snowball sampling technique, to respondents who understand the values of *Lombada*. They are fishing community members, mosque

administrators, the village head, fish traders (collectors), coffee shop owners, community leaders/traditional leaders, totaling 43 persons. In-depth interviews were conducted based on the questionnaire (Appendix 1). As many as 81% of respondents have a junior high school education, and 19% have high school education. Their average age was 45 years (19-67 years). As many as 70% of respondents work as fishermen, and the rest in other sectors. According to Browne (2005), the snowball technique can be used if the population under study is "hidden" due to the low number of potential participants and topic sensitivity. Secondary data were obtained from the Fisheries Service, and the District Office in Aia Bangih. Data on the number of charities (infaq) collected in the last five years were obtained from the records of mosque managers, while data on fish prices were obtained from collecting traders. Based on these data, it can be estimated the amount of anchovy production in the last five years in this area. Data analysis was made using descriptive statistical methods.

Results

Local Wisdom History of Lombada. *Lombada* is local wisdom originating from Panjang Island, one of nine islands in Aia Bangih. The island has an area of 220 hectares with a population of 1,520 people or 325 families (West Pasaman Regency Government 2019). Ninety percent of the island's population work as fishermen, catching fish using gill nets, long lines, lift nets, and scoopnets (Brand 2005). There are four-gill net boats measuring 5 GT (gross tonnage), two units of longline boats (4 GT), and 46 units of boats using light fishing gear. There are also two types of fishing boats using lighting aids: lift net boats measuring 60 GT (seven units), and scoop net boats measuring under 5 GT, totaling 39 units (West Pasaman Regency Government 2019). Lift net boats catch fish up to 12 miles from the shoreline and scoop net only 1-6 miles. All Scoop net is operated by Panjang Island fishermen. According to information, fishermen outside Panjang Island cannot operate it, because they do not know the contours, depth of the sea, and schooling of fish in these waters. Most of the respondents have junior high school education (81%) and senior high school (19%); mean age 45 years (19 - 67 years). The dominant fish catch in Panjang Island is anchovy (*Engraulis* sp.), 75%. The fact that most of the proceeds from the sale of fish from fishermen is noteworthy. They donate it as infaq for the construction of local mosques. This is what is called a *Lombada*.

Lombada comes from a combination of two words in the local language, namely *Lom* and *Bada*. *Lom* means infaq (donation), while "*bada*" means anchovy. Thus, *Lombada* means infaq sourced from the money from the sale of anchovies. *Lombada* has its roots in 1918 and was formed based on meetings and agreements between religious leaders, community leaders, traditional leaders, and formal leaders. This arrangement was aimed at providing funds for the construction of a mosque because there were no houses of worship available at the time. Based on the agreement, five percent of the fish catch is used for the construction of a mosque. This provision continues today.

Although the practice is now more than a century old, to this day, the island's people do not violate the *Lombada* agreement, which has been stipulated in the form of local wisdom. Local wisdom is the knowledge that is inherited from generation to generation by village communities in processing their environment, namely knowledge that gives birth to behavior as a result of their adaptation to their environment, which has positive implications for resource preservation. Local wisdom requires efforts to protect the environment and maintain its existence. This effort must be accompanied by public awareness of the role of local wisdom in managing natural resources, including fishery resources in Aih Bangih waters.

Lombada's local wisdom allows for the allocation and safeguarding of resources from overexploitation of local and outside communities through the enforcement of customary rules. Furthermore, *Lombada's* rules are in line with sustainable and environmentally friendly development. Sustainable development is a conscious effort by the local community by paying attention to environmental, social, and economic aspects for present and future generations.

The concept of local wisdom is all forms of wisdom based on the values of goodness that are believed, applied, and maintained from generation to generation for a long time by a group of people in a certain environment or area where they live. Local wisdom is also the wisdom of a society that comes from the noble values of cultural traditions to regulate the order of community life. Even though these values are not determined by the government, they are still adhered to by the whole community as noble values. These values come from traditions, customs, and culture. In addition, local wisdom values come from religion and beliefs, such as sharia values for Muslims (Saputri & Setiawan, 2020).

Sharia Value in Lombada. Sharia Value in Lombada. Sharia is a collection of commands and laws relating to beliefs, and relationships between humans in social life, which are required in Islam, to be applied in everyday life. The goal is to achieve the good of society and prevent hostility (Saputri & Setiawan 2020). Sharia values are indeed regulated in Islamic law but cover almost all activities carried out by humans. They refer to faith, morals, worship, work, politics, law, power, inheritance, alms including zakat, alms, and infaq (Nurhayati 2018). *Infaq* comes from Arabic, which means setting aside a portion of wealth/income to be handed over to non-poor people or religious institutions (Taher, Sarib, & Bukido 2016).

Sharia values contained in *Lombada* can be seen in the form of infaq (and *zakat*). Infaq is an unspecified amount of donation, while the value of *zakat* (also from Arabic) is calculated based on the percentage of assets/money owned. Panjang Island fishermen, traditionally, a donation of five percent of the value of the captured fish, directly to the caretaker of the local house of worship. The funds were recorded by the mosque committee in the *Lombada* book, while the donors received proof of payment. The amount of infaq paid is calculated by the fishermen. The survey results found that 60% of fishermen still pay infaq, even though when the value of their catch is less than operating costs (USD 21.02).

Until now, fishermen have consistently maintained the values of local *Lombada* wisdom. Every year the number of infaq received by mosque administrators continues to increase. Between 2015-2019, *Lombada*'s infaq value has increased on average 15.8% per year and it currently reaches USD 5.21 thousand (Table 1). This increase was due to an increase in fish catches, an increase in fish prices, and fishermen's compliance with *Lombada* values.

Table 1.
Number of the fishing boats, fish production, and infaq of *Lombada* in Panjang Island

Year	Number of Boat (unit)	Fish Production a year (ton)	Fish Production a year (USD)	Infaq value (USD a year)
2015	34	95.2	86,641.82	4,383.51
2016	35	103.7	93,609.48	4,383.58
2017	37	106.15	96,403.79	4,874.80
2018	39	115.31	105,415.45	5,186.29
2019	39	115.34	105,625.02	5,206.27

Source: West Pasaman Regency Government (2019); and Mosque Administration of Panjang Island (2019)

According to fishermen, the rules regarding infaq payments have been implemented well. They believe that by paying *Lombada*'s infaq, his catch will increase, avoid accidents when fishing, and survive in everyday life.

In Islam, infaq is proof of one's piety to God. It can also foster solidarity with others, is believed to open the door of sustenance, and is kept away from calamities (Rosmini, 2016). According to the fishermen's information, the *infaq* they handed over was the main source of funds for the construction and operation of the mosque (Rosmini 2016). According to the fishermen's information, the infaq they handed over was the main source of funds for the construction and operation of the mosque.

The *Lombada* infaq funds received by the mosque management are announced once a week before Friday prayers. The mosque management did not dare to spend the

money before getting the community's permission. If the infaq money collected is more than USD 2,800, the mosque management asks the community for advice on how to spend it. Infaq funds can only be used for mosque operational costs (maximum USD 2,000), and mosque construction costs. That is why the appearance of this 500 m² mosque looks very beautiful and clean.

In addition to infaq, the sharia value of *Lombada* is also in the form of *sadaqah* (in Arabic), which means honest or true. According to sharia terminology, the definition of alms is the same as infaq, including the law and its provisions, only if infaq is related to material, then alms has a broader meaning concerning non-material matters (Taher et al 2016). Another form of alms that has become a habit of the local community is paying the cost of eating and drinking coffee shop visitors by the fishermen who get the most fish catch. Usually, in the morning, the fishermen will gather at the coffee shop while telling stories about the catch and other stories to maintain a relationship with the social values that exist in fishermen. The amount paid ranged from USD 7-10.

In addition, the provision of diesel fuel for the needs of the mosque, which comes from donations from fishermen who build and repair boats on the island. The fishing boats operating on Panjang Island are made in the area by craftsmen who are also from this area. According to the mosque administrator, all the fishermen who build and repair boats on the island give *sadaqah* in the form of diesel fuel. *Sadaqah* is given as long as the boat is manufactured or repaired on the spot. The community and fishermen agree that the diesel alms are used to fuel power plants in mosques and villages, because in this area, there is no electricity provided by the government. The amount of diesel required is 15 liters per day, while the amount of diesel obtained per month is an average of 600 liters. The rest of the diesel is sold by the mosque's administrators, and the money becomes the mosque's treasury.

Social Values in Lombada. Social value is a measure or assessment that is used as a reference in people's lives who have the spirit of cooperation, like to help, love, get along, like to give advice, care about the fate of others, and like to pray (Aisyah 2015). This value is related to relationships between humans, and emphasizes the noble aspects of humanity, and shows basic self-sacrifice behavior (Umar 2017).

The social value of Lombada can be seen at various stages, starting before fishing, at the time of fishing, and after fishing. The social value before fishing can usually be seen when a new boat is built and will be operated: there is a prayer of safety. At this time, the boat owner will invite the entire fishing community in the framework of prayer and congratulations because the boat is finished and ready to operate. In the event all fishermen congratulate and pray together so that the boats to be operated can bring blessings, for example, will get a lot of fish catches, and the owner of the boats is always under the protection of God.

During the joint prayer, the names of the crew who went fishing were also introduced, including the auxiliary workers. So, they know each other and help each other on the ship. The event closed with a meal together and prayer together. These social values can be used as a way of life for community members and are considered good and right and must be obeyed. Nurika (2018) says that social values in society are practical and effective in fostering togetherness and being obeyed by the whole community.

The social value at the time of fishing can be seen when one of the boats is damaged. At the same time, the boats that are nearby will help to repair the damage until the boats can operate again. If the damaged boats cannot be repaired, another boat will help to pull the boats to berth. The fishermen who helped the damaged boat were willing to sacrifice their fishing time as a form of community social solidarity in fishing (Karim et al 2020). Social solidarity is built based on unity, friendship, mutual trust that arises from shared responsibility and interests among its members. Furthermore, it is explained that high solidarity can also be seen from the solidarity to share and ease each other's burdens, including when accidents at sea occur, such as boat damage. This effort is made to maintain good relations, social interaction and increase a strong sense of brotherhood among fishermen.

The social value during anchoring can be seen when a moored boat is washed away due to the influence of large winds and waves. All fishermen will try to find the drifting boats together until the boats are found. This situation describes the attitude of helping in happy and difficult situations. According to Iriani (2019), in socio-cultural terms, fishing communities have strong interactions with one another, marked by effective face-to-face communication. This situation can be seen from the very close relationship between them so that it can build up a family relationship.

Lombada also has a social value of togetherness when catching and finding schools of anchovies. Of all fishermen who catch, only a small proportion can find hordes of anchovy. Meanwhile, those who do not find anchovies will join the fishermen who found them. In this fishing area, 4 to 5 boats can be filled, depending on the number of schools of anchovy found in the fishing area. This situation shows that the fishermen on this island have the value of togetherness and sharing. Simon (2015) said that the value of togetherness is the basic asset in society at various levels of society in their environment. Furthermore, it is explained that the togetherness of the community will be able to help each other, share, and grow a sense of empathy.

According to the information of fishermen during the anchovy fishing season, in a month, fishermen will find hordes of anchovy 3 to 4 times. Fisherman who find the herd of anchovies is the first to reap the largest catch, reaching 700 - 1.800 kg. Fishermen who join after that will get a catch of 25-500 kg, depending on who joined first. This situation shows a high sense of togetherness among fishermen who make arrests. According to Afryanto (2012). The value of togetherness lies in humility, the value of service, the value of thought, sharing, and helping. These are reflected by the fact that fishermen share their catch with other fishermen who did not find fish hordes.

Sustainable fisheries are efforts made so that the results of fish resources can be utilized by present and future generations in a sustainable and sustainable manner. According to Marine Stewardship Council Principles (2014), sustainable fisheries are producing fish that can be sustainable while taking into account ecological health, minimizing side effects that disrupt the diversity, structure, and function of ecosystems, as well as being managed and operating fairly and responsibly in accordance with local laws and regulations. The practice of *Lombada* in fishing has been carried out by fishing communities by considering ecological, socio-economic, and sustainability aspects. It is agreed that the boat size used by the fisherman is 2-4 GT, and the number of lamps is 7-9 units per boat. Based on these conditions, the fishermen believe that in catching fish, they must pay attention to the stock and potential of fish. This is because the larger the operating fishing boats, and the more lights that attract the attention of the fish, the faster the stock and potential of fish will decrease.

Table 1 shows that the production number for the last five years has increased by 21.15%, the number of fishing boats in the same year has increased by 14.70%, meaning that the number of catches per unit of fishing gear continues to increase. Economically, the anchovy fishing business on Panjang Island is very feasible and profitable, but it is not followed by a significant increase in the number of boats. This is because a fisherman may only own one fishing boat in order to ensure the sustainability of the use of fishery resources. According to Stafford (2019), sustainable fishing through gear restrictions provides ecological, social, and economic benefits.

Fishing pressure through increasing boats and fishing gear results in the risk of fisheries failure itself (Brosset et al 2016). An increase in the number of boats and fishing gear will reduce catches. In Panjang Island never been a study on the utilization of anchovy fishery resources, but based on indicators, the addition of boats and fishing gear does not reduce the catch. This situation can illustrate the level of exploitation of anchovy resources in this area is still low. Patterson (2004) said that if the fish exploitation level reaches 0.5, it means that the exploitation rate is 50% of the potential fish resources. However, at this level of exploitation, optimization of fishing rates tends to still reduce the abundance of small pelagic fish stocks in their natural habitat. Therefore, he suggested an exploitation level of 0.4 (exploitation of 40% of potential fish resources) is sustainable fisheries exploitation. A study on the potential of anchovy in Panjang Island and its surroundings has never been carried out, but based on the description above, the

potential of anchovy in this area is estimated to be below 50%. This is possible because the number of used fishing gear is controlled and environmentally friendly.

According to information from fishermen, anchovy fishing in this area occurs every year from July to January 2020. Outside of these months, anchovy fishing is rarely done because the catch is relatively small. During the anchovy fishing season on Panjang Island, the largest catch for one boat is 1.8 tons in one operation, the average catch is 825 kg, and the lowest catch is 25 kg. The boats used to catch anchovies are fishing boats measuring 3-4 GT with 7-9 lamps (voltage is 50 watts per lamp). In the process of catching fish, fishermen use light to attract the attention of fish because anchovies are phototaxis positive. The light intensity is 3500-4000 lux (Guntur et al 2015). The light intensity at 3900 lux is very suitable for catching anchovy (*Stolephorus* sp). Nuraga et al (2018) said that anchovies is small pelagic fish that is phototaxis positive and swims in schools. According to Susanto et al (2017), anchovy is one of the important economic fishery commodities that are caught using light fishing technology. The use of lights in anchovy fishing has experienced a rapid development with various types and strengths of lights.

Fishermen try to find schools of anchovies assisted by light. After the fish are found, fishermen direct the school of fish to a shallower place with a depth of 6-9 meters. Once in shallower waters, anchovies are caught using a scoop net with a diameter of 80-90 cm, keeping the scoopnet size relatively the same. Other fishermen around the location can catch 3-4 boats in the same location, depending on the number of fish around the waters. This situation shows that the fishermen on this island have an understanding of joint ownership. According to Ridwan and Gunawan (2019) marine is natural resources that are common and open access.

Conclusions. This study concludes that the Lombada tradition, which is more than 100 years old in Aia Bangih, West Sumatra, contains three values of local wisdom: Islamic sharia values, social values, and sustainable fisheries principles. The sharia value is in the form of a charity fund of five percent of the fish caught, which is donated to the management of the mosque. Social values take the form of praying together and cooperation in fish catching. Meanwhile, the principle of sustainable fish is reflected in the regulation of the size of the boat, the lights to attract fish, and the size of the fishing gear.

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Appendix 1. Research questions list of lambada local wisdom

A List of Questions	Answer
a. Community Leaders/Traditional Leaders	
1. What is Lombada?
2. Since when did Lombada appear on this island?	Since
3. How can this local wisdom be formed?
4. What is the purpose of this Lombada infaq fundraising??	a. Source of funds for village development b. Source of funds for the construction and operation of the mosque c. Source of funds for community social welfare
b. Village Head	
1. What is the standard amount of Lomdada infaq that applies on this island?	a. < 5% of all fish sales b. 5% of all fish sales c. > 5% of all fish sales
c. Fishermen	
1. How many fishing boats do you have? unit
2. How many persons form your crew when you catch fish? person
3. What fishing gear do you use?
4. How many fishing gears do you have? unit
5. What is the size of the fishing gear that you use? square meters
6. What is the operational cost for fishing per day?	IDR.....
7. How many kilograms of fish catch per day? kgs
8. Where do you sell fish product?	a. I sell it to retailers b. I sell it to collectors
9. What is the value of fish sold per day?	IDR.....
10. How much infaq did you donate to the mosque administrators?	a. < 5% of all fish sales b. 5% of all fish sales c. > 5% of all fish sales
11. When did you hand over the Lombada infaq to the mosque?	a. Immediately after receiving the fish sales money b. When I have time
12. How do you pay your Lombada infaq?	a. I pay directly b. I pay through other fishermen
c. Have you ever been in arrears on your Lombada infaq payment?	a. Once b. Never
d. If your catch is low (so you have a financial loss), do you still pay the Lombada infaq?	a. Yes b. No c. I pay when the fish sales are profitable
e. Is the amount of money in Lombada you hand over always 5%?	a. Yes b. I tend to overdo it c. I tend to reduce
f. How do you build communication with other fishermen?	a. Contacting directly/by phone b. Come to the coffee shop, where fishermen gather c. Organize events and invite

d. Fish Collectors

1. How do you get fish from fishermen?
2. Where do you sell the fish?
3. When do you usually pay money for fish purchases to fishermen?

fishermen to their homes

- a. I pick up fish from fishermen
- b. The fishermen deliver it to me
 - a. To retailers in Panjang Island
 - b. To retailers outside Panjang Island, namely the Aia Bangih city
- a. I lend money before the fisherman goes fishing
- b. I pay directly at any time after buying fish from fishermen
- c. I pay the day after buying the fish from the fisherman
- d. I pay a few days after buying fish from fishermen

e. Mosque Administrators

1. When do the fishermen pay the Lombada infaq money?
2. Do you record that every fisherman pays Lombada infaq money?
3. What is the average value of income from Lombada infaq on this island per year?
4. What are the rules for using the Lombada infaq money by the Mosque Administrators?
5. What is the Lombada infaq money used for?
6. How is the reporting system for the use of Lombada infaq money by mosque administrators?

- a. Every day after selling fish
- b. Uncertain
 - a. Yes
 - b. NoIDR
- a. Arranged by the Mosque Administrators
- b. Discussed with fishermen in the mosque
 - a. For mosque operational cost
 - b. For social assistance for the community
- a. Not reported
- b. Reported every week to fishermen in the mosque
- c. Reported every month to fishermen in the mosque

f. Coffee Shop Owners

1. Do you open a shop every day?
2. Are there many fishermen who visit this shop?
3. If there are many, what are the activities of fishermen when they are in this shop?
4. How do fishermen pay for the food and drinks they consume?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- a. Yes
- b. No
- a. Just eat and drink
- b. Eat, drink, and chat normally
- c. Eat, drink, and have a serious discussion
- a. It is paid by each fisherman
- b. It is paid by fishermen in turns
- c. It is paid by the fisherman who caught the most fish that day

Note: Adapted from Sukmawati et al (2015); Widarmanto (2018).