

SANIRI RESILIENCE IN THE DYNAMICS OF MONOCULTURAL POLICY

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Abstract: *The condition of people in Maluku with multicultural dimensions has the potential to cause conflict and is actually proven by the Ambon Conflicts 1999-2000 and 2011. These conflicts, both potential and actual, must be managed to minimize the chance of escalation into destructive conflict. In that context, the Saniri indigenous institution is local wisdom that can be instrumented to maintain harmony and social cohesion in Maluku society. This institution has a crucial position because Saniri is used as a means of multicultural conflict resolution. Saniri's local wisdom is proven to have the ability to survive, especially in monocultural policies during the New Order. Saniri resilience is influenced by several factors: namely, socio-cultural, legal, political, and environmental.*

Keywords: *Saniri, Resilience, Conflict, Monocultural Policy*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a unitary state consisting of various regions with different levels of diversity and custom systems in each region. The pluralism is alive and legally guaranteed in Article 18B paragraph (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945, which states that "The State shall recognize and respect, to be regulated by law, the homogeneity of societies with customary law along with their traditional rights for as long as they remain in existence and agreement with societal development and with the principle of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia."

Long before Indonesian independence, the Dutch ruled Indonesia for about 350 years. Under conditions of colonization, traditional institutions that live in Indonesian society play an important role in solving various problems in the community. The existence of this indigenous institution is genuinely recognized and embraced by the Dutch in such a way that it can continue to carry out its actions in hegemonying the natural products owned by the Indonesian people (Alfredo, 2016).

Maluku is an area that cannot be separated from the clutches of the Dutch state. It was in this area that the Netherlands expanded as much as possible to natural wealth without experiencing significant obstacles. It can happen because the scope of power in Maluku society is fragmented, where a king only controls an area at the village level known as "Negeri" (Yanuarti, Lan, Masnum, Marieta, & Tryatmoko, 2007).

The indigenous institutional structure in "Negeri" continues to exist and can play an optimal role until it can create harmony in the social life of the Maluku people. The existence of traditional institutions in Maluku began to weaken as the issuance of Law Number 5 of 1979 concerning the Village Government. The law was issued when the New Order regime was under the Soeharto government, which systematically uniformed the local government system. Since then, the position and role of traditional institutions in the "Negeri" have increasingly weakened. The politics of uniforming the local government system not only marginalized the customary governance system of the State in Maluku but also marginalized the *Nagari* indigenous people in West Sumatra, *Banjar* in Bali, *pasirahan* in South Sumatra, *marga* (clans) in North Sumatra, and several other regions outside Java (Rafni, Suryanef, Yusran, & Indrawadi, 2008).

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One of the traditional institutions whose role is increasingly reduced is *Saniri*. Before the village law was enacted, a king in carrying out his duties was assisted by *Saniri*. *Saniri Negeri* is a traditional institution whose role is to protect customs and customary law. *Saniri* has a strategic role, which is to help the King or the Village Head in resolving any disputes within the country or village. In addition, from a socio-political perspective, there are several things that fundamentally sufficiently affect the implementation of the task, the role, and functions of the *Saniri* agency, for example, regarding the recruitment of members and the leadership of the *Saniri* institution.

The role, position, and function of *Saniri* eventually changed after the Law on village governance in the New Order era that made the same pattern of village government uniformity. Specific indigenous communities are forced to follow the rules of national law so that the customary-based system of government that has been in place for decades seems to be meaningless. The formulations of the problem in this paper are: (a) what is meant by the system of government of the *Negeri*?; (b) why *Saniri* can be one of local wisdom?; (c) how is the existence of *Saniri Negeri* in the dynamics of Indonesian policy?; (d) how is the existence of the *Saniri* traditional institution in Maluku?; (e) how is the resilience of *Saniri Negeri* in the dynamics of Indonesia's monocultural policy?; (f) what are the factors that cause *Saniri* indigenous institutions to minimize conflicts?; (g) What are the advantages of *Saniri* indigenous institutions? These issues would be discussed in this article.

2. Experimentals, Materials and Methods

This article was written based on research with a qualitative approach. The data collection technique used was the study of literature. Sources of data were obtained from journal articles and books related to *Saniri* indigenous institutions. Data analysis techniques were carried out through the stages of data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 *Negeri* Government System

The *Negeri* is a territorial legal community unit that is territorial genealogical, has territorial boundaries, has the authority to regulate and manage the interests of local communities based on the indigenous rights and local customs located in the Central Maluku Regency, which is recognized and respected in the system of Government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Article 1 point 14 of Regional Regulation of Central Maluku Regency Number 1 of 2006 concerning *Negeri*). The term *Negeri* originated from the Dutch idea of controlling the outcome of the Seram clove trade, which became migrants and lived in the mountains as a result of the community grouping system. Then, the Dutch government established the *Negeri* as a system of government that was associated with the appointment of government officials (Ajawaila, 2014). Currently, the *Negeri* government system is implemented by the *Negeri* government, which consists of the head of the *Negeri* government assisted by his apparatus and *Saniri Negeri*.

In the *Negeri* administration system, there are land and sea areas, which are under the authority of the *Negeri* based on the Central Maluku customary law called the territory of the *petuanan negeri*. This region is then divided into several smaller administrative unit areas. One *negeri* in general consists of three *soa*. In general, *soa* is formed from several *rumatau*, where this *rumatau* is formed from several families as subunits of one *rumatau*. *Rumatau* is a genealogical alliance, which is a regional unit that is inhabited by several groups of people, and each of which is a genealogical unit, namely the *rumatau*.

Anak Negeri is the citizen who occupies a *Negeri* to become residents and have domestic rights and obligations. *Anak Negeri* can transfer ownership of public land to private land, while migrants from abroad do not have ownership rights to land and can utilize *Negeri* land on a lease or contract basis. Therefore, *Anak Negeri* has a strong power because their relationship with the ancestors and founders of the *Negeri* is very strong (Ajawaila, 2014).

In general, the government of the *Negeri* is different from the village administration in general, such as in Java, Sumatra, and Madura. In the structure of the country's government system, the king is the person who has the highest position and acts as the leader of the *Negeri*, the chief judge, as well as the traditional leader. The king has a council of ministers called the Head of *Soa* with the task of helping the king when the king is unavailable. In addition to the Head of *Soa*, there are also institutions of *saniri*, *marinyo*, *kewang*, *kapitan*, and *mauwen* (Ajawaila, 2014). *Negeri* Government Structure in Central Maluku can be seen in the picture below.

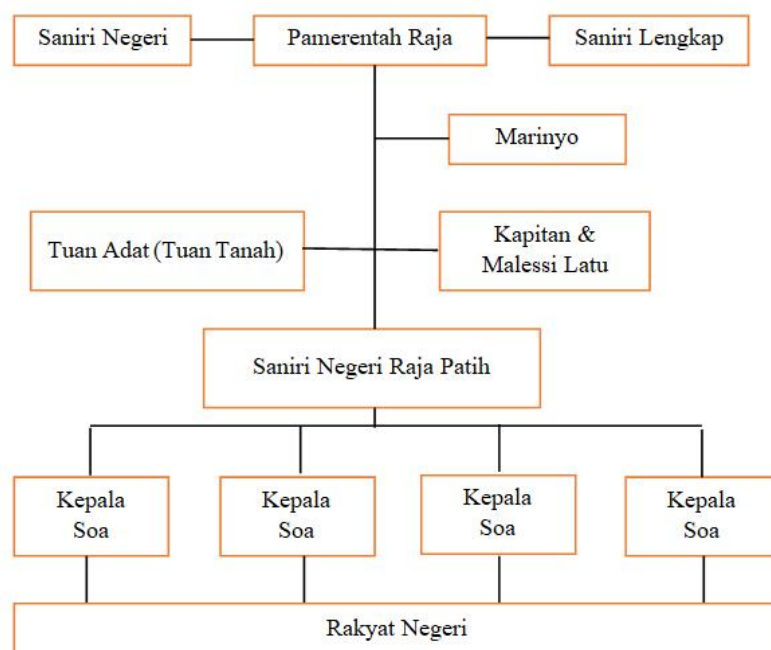


Figure 1. *Negeri* Government Structure in Central Maluku.

From the figure above, it can be identified that four institutions form the composition of the government of the *Negeri*, especially in Central Maluku, namely *pamerintah* (regent, ie village officials), the *Negeri* government/*saniri raja patih* (village government agency), complete *saniri* or *saniri Negeri* (complete village council), and *saniri besar* (large village council). *Pamerintah* is a village or country official, who leads the administration. This position is likened to the *lurah* or village head on the island of Java, but he is not the sole ruler who can rule as he pleases. The *Negeri* Government or *Saniri Raja Patih* is a village or *Negeri* government agency consisting of *pamerintah* and heads of *soas* (heads of a territorial-genealogical alliance).

Saniri Negeri is a group of people consisting of officials, namely *Saniri Raja Patih*, representatives of *soa*, customary heads, landlords, intellectuals, and spiritual officers. The task of *Saniri Negeri* is to make village regulations, deliberate on important issues, provide a line of wisdom, and issue regulations. In the provisions of Article 4 paragraph 2 of the Regional Regulation of Central Maluku Number 4 of 2006 concerning Guidelines for the arrangement of *Saniri Negeri* or the *Negeri* Consultative Body, it is stated that the *Saniri Negeri* functions to keep, maintain, protect, and preserve customs and customary law,

accommodate and channel the aspirations of the community, determine *Negeri* regulations, and supervises as well as sets the *Negeri* Revenue and Expenditure Budget. While complete/large *Saniri* consists of complete *Saniri* plus a man who is 18 years old. This body is responsible for making decisions about cases that affect the welfare of the whole village. This large *Saniri* is a kind of open meeting between *Saniri Negeri* directly interacting with residents who meet once in *baeleo* (Nendissa, 2010).

In addition to playing a role in the field of government, *Saniri* also plays a role in preserving nature while preventing the exploitation of nature by a party that can harm other parties and can cause conflict. In the *Saniri* government system, there is a *Sasi* institution. *Sasi Laut*, for example, prohibits all community activities related to the utilization or taking of certain benefits from a sea area until when *Saniri* is opened and the sea is enjoyed by the entire community. In the Ambon conflict, *Saniri*, as part of the resolution, succeeded in preventing the destruction of wider communities in the Seram Island region. It shows that *Saniri* is local wisdom that has a critical position for indigenous peoples in Maluku so that it is used as a means of solving public problems.

The other *Negeri* government apparatus that participated in helping the running of the government was *marinyo*, namely a Kapitan aide, a spokesman who was in charge of delivering instructions and decisions to the people, or in other words, he was "the mouth of the king." Landlords (*mauweng, matoke*) work in religious functions and traditional ceremonies. While the Kapitan and *malesi* work in the field of security and customary land (Nendissa, 2010).

3.2 *Saniri* as Local Wisdom

Dewi, Kwik, and Watloly (2017) explain that *Saniri Negeri* is a legislative body consisting of representatives of the *Soa*, customary law chiefs, elders, representatives from the workforce, officials, and other parties, who assist the *Negeri* government in drafting and adopting laws for the country. Previously, it assisted the king in carrying out their duties and filling the role of supervision and was responsible for protecting local customs and customary law.

Saniri Negeri can only be found in traditional/*Negeri* villages in the Maluku region. *Saniri Negeri* has several separate rules in its government system that are derived from the traditions or customs that they have carried out for many years and these rules do not violate the formal legal rules in the Act while not running from the road or the guidelines of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The existence of *Saniri Negeri* is still highly upheld and respected. In order to oversee and maintain the wheels of *Negeri* and social governance, the existence of *Saniri Negeri* is the driving force in managing social structure systems. Cultural values that emerged from *Saniri Negeri* as a form of legitimacy gave birth to a rule of values and norms. The manifestation of community compliance with local institutions through *Saniri Negeri* shows that the way of thinking and behaving in society still respects adat. Every social order in the form of rules, values, and norms is always obeyed (Tomia, 2018).

Local wisdom is a socio-cultural order in the form of knowledge, norms, regulations, and community skills in an area to meet the needs of living together that are passed down from generation to generation. It is as stated by Hidayati (2017) that local wisdom is social capital developed by the community to create a balance between the socio-cultural life of the community and the preservation of surrounding natural resources. It is in line with what was expressed by Rusilowati, Supriyadi, and Widiyatmoko (2015) that local wisdom is the values that apply in a society, which is believed to be true and becomes a reference in daily behavior, and illustrates how to behave and act to respond to changes that are typical in the physical or cultural environment.

Apart from the understanding of *Saniri* and local wisdom, we can associate both why *Saniri* is part of local wisdom. It is because the *Saniri* institution in the view of the community has a strategic role in an institution. Moreover, within the institution itself, it has values that are believed to be true as a reference for activities to minimize the things that trigger in the community. It is inseparable from the notion of local wisdom in the opinion of the experts that have been described above that local wisdom is the social capital developed by the community to create a balance between the socio-cultural life of the community. *Saniri* is a social capital developed by Maluku people from ancient times and passed down from generation to generation, which is believed to have positive values within the institution itself; so, *Saniri* is categorized as part of local wisdom.

3.3 *Saniri's* Existence in Indonesian Policy Dynamics

a. The Impact of Monocultural Policy on the Existence of *Saniri Negeri*

In many cases, the Indonesian state stands out in terms of its monocultural politics. The monocultural approach is taken by the government solely to create social stability and integration. The Indonesian government once practiced the politics of monoculturalism in the New Order era, namely during the Soeharto regime. The politics of monoculturalism destroy local cultural geniuses, such as the "*pela gandong*" tradition in Ambon, the *Nagari* in West Sumatra, and others. It is because the provisions in Law Number 5 of 1974 concerning Regional Government and Law Number 5 of 1979 concerning Village Government have uniformed government structures throughout Indonesia intending to facilitate governance, supervision, and village development.

On the other hand, the village structure owned by specific indigenous communities has different characteristics from other village communities. It gives rise to uniqueness in the form of a custom system that can be used to overcome various social, political, economic, and cultural problems in a particular society. For example, is the *Nagari* government system in West Sumatra, *marga* government in South Sumatra, and the *Saniri* government in Maluku. With a special feature, the entire government system not only contains an administrative service system but also includes custom service system and even has a conflict resolution mechanism.

Monocultural political policies adopted in the New Order era narrowed the space of coexistence between various multicultural elements. With the enactment of political policy monoculturalism, it adds to the natural potential of conflict with political weight. Moreover, the monocultural policy is instrumented with centralism and even authoritarianism. In terms of the policy, the combination of monocultural policies and the failure of state authoritarianism to oversee these policies is one of the essential factors that trigger, harbor energy, or allow protracted conflicts between cultural identities or multicultural or multi-ethnic conflicts.

Substantially, the enactment of the Village Governance law has changed the village administration system from the *Negeri* government system to the village government system. It then creates an anomalous condition among the people of Maluku. On the one hand, the community is less familiar with implementing the law, while on the other hand, the community is forced to implement the law without a reserve, resulting in a dualism of the village government system based on national and traditional regulations (Ajawaila, 2014). It has weakened the existence of *saniri* in the life of the community as partners of the *Negeri* government, where the presence of the village government system and the bureaucracy has made traditional institutions excluded because they do not meet the ideal criteria required by a modern bureaucracy (Astuti & Kolopaking, 2009).

Some of the impacts of monocultural political policies, as mentioned by Ajawaila (2014)

on the existence of an indigenous government system in Central Maluku, include the following.

- a. There is a grouping of people because there is no hereditary office pattern between the *Soa* and the *Soa* Head, where the local community does not recognize the *soa* system under the leadership of the *Soa* Head.
- b. The narrowing of the role of the village head was marked by the changing role of the customary head, who was no longer attached to a village head. The village head has initially been a king who functioned as the head of government administration and the head of the custom.
- c. Changes in terms of appointment of a head of government. In customary governance, the king is appointed among the governing group, but with the law, the king or village head is appointed from the ranks of ordinary people who have the right to choose and vote.
- d. The role of the *Saniri Negeri*, especially the *Saniri Kecil*, is limited to discussing issues related to custom because the political role is carried out by the Village Deliberation Institute (LMD) and the Village Community Resilience Institute (LKMD).
- e. Different applications in the implementation of the functions of the *Kewang* institution to protect the environment of the *petuanan negeri* from the threat of destruction in each village. Even in some villages, *Kewang* and *Marinyo* are no longer found.

b. Saniri's existence in Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government

Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government is a new beginning for the Indonesian democratic system that promotes the revitalization of the role, standing, and position of villages in the Indonesian government system. Through this law, local community units have the right to uphold their customary values as a guideline in the administration of government.

As the general explanation of item 10 of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government, it states that the law recognizes the autonomy that is owned by the village or other designations and to the village through the village government can be given an assignment or delegation from the government or regional government to carry out specific government affairs. As for villages outside the genealogical village, which are administrative villages, such as villages formed due to village splitting or transmigration or for other reasons whose citizens are pluralistic, compound, or heterogeneous, then village autonomy will be allowed to grow and develop following the development of the village itself.

The above description shows that the state has provided space for specific local community units to develop their government systems in accordance with the customary values they believe. The state no longer makes a uniform pattern of government that can reduce, injure, and even potentially eliminate the local wisdom values of certain indigenous peoples. It is a good start for the struggle of the Maluku citizens in maintaining the existence of the *Saniri Negeri* administratively. Indigenous peoples in Maluku often claim that the return of communities determined by customary values shows the return of communities to civilized communities that have almost disappeared due to the development of the last few decades (Bräuchler, 2010).

With the enactment of Law Number 32 the Year 2004 concerning Regional Government, *Saniri Negeri* began to get attention again from the Maluku local government, which was followed up with the Regional Regulation of Central Maluku Number 04 of 2006 concerning Guidelines for the Arrangement of *Saniri Negeri* or the *Negeri* Consultative Body. *Saniri Negeri* was formed in the *Negeri* as a partner of the *Negeri* government in carrying out the duties and authority of the *Negeri*, while the *Negeri* Consultative Body was formed in the Administrative *Negeri* as a partner of the Administrative Government in administering the duties and authority of the Administrative *Negeri* (Article 2 of the Regional Regulation of

Central Maluku Number 04 of 2006 concerning Guidelines for the Arrangement of *Saniri Negeri* or *Negeri* Consultative Body).

The presence of *Saniri Negeri* in a country as a traditional institution has a strategic role in maintaining and preserving the values of ethics and morality as culture and the rule of law in society. Although the influence of the village government remains at the local community level, traditional values are still maintained and used in the social system (Tuny, Naping, Lampe, & Arifin, 2016). It shows that modernization does not conflict with tradition; however, it instead gives people the means to revive traditional traditions, structures, and values, as well as the customary law (Bräuchler, 2010). Traditional institutions can explore and optimize existing social capital and develop in society as a set of values, regulations, and norms to strengthen indigenous, social, economic, and political institutions (Tuny et al., 2016).

In order to build an autonomous community, with this law, the *Negeri* Government can take policy in the field and not depend on top-level policy instruments. The local basis also needs to be strengthened by an ethical-political system (political norms) that underlies the whole process of policymaking and its implementation so that the political system is based on ethical principles of solidarity, providing space for public participation based on traditional values and norms, which are then referred to as egalitarian democracies. Thus, *Saniri Negeri* is a traditional institution in the community that makes an egalitarian basis as a collective spirit Tuny et al. (2016).

3.4 The Existence of *Saniri* Indigenous Institutions in the Maluku Region

Indigenous *Negeri* in Maluku, chiefly Ambon Island, were formed initially by a growing number of social community groups so that a village was formed consisting of several "*mata rumah*." Some of the *mata rumah*, which had genealogical connections, then joined themselves become a *soa* led by a *soa* head.

In general, a *Negeri* or village is led by a king based on the line of descent he carries, and *soa* head who is the *Negeri* primary aides and is assisted by:

1. *Kewang*: tasked with overseeing and protecting the land borders of the forest and marine products from the *petuanan Negeri*.
2. *Marinyo*: tasked with broadcasting all the king's orders to the people
3. *Maweng*: is a traditional priest and is obliged to lead traditional ceremonies.

All village government officials depend on a village council called the *Saniri* Agency. *Saniri* Agency can be divided into three types, namely:

1. *Saniri Raja Pati*, which consists of the king and the head of *Soa* and the administration of the central government.
2. *Saniri Lengkap* (Complete *Saniri*), which consists of the king, head of *soa*, and other officials to make customary rules in the *Negeri*/village.
3. *Saniri Besar* (Large *Saniri*), who are all state government officials as well as all adult male citizens.

After elaborating on the *Saniri* structure above, *Saniri* is a traditional institution that has a crucial role that can protect the customs and customary law, and *Saniri* also plays a role in assisting the king or village head in administering the village or *Negeri* government and the role of *Saniri* has a very good impact in solving problems and in discussions on the formulation of policies in the *Saniri* forum itself through the mechanism of deliberation, so that in the formulation of a *Negeri*/village policy, everything works well. Therefore, the *Saniri* institution, or better known as the *Saniri* agency, has been maintained until now. *Saniri* Agency has been formed in ancient times and bequeathed from ancestors to the next

generation of children/grandchildren for generations, and although the government structure is categorized locally, but can withstand the current of globalization, and the community's view of the institution is also believed to be true as a reference for activities to adapt in the environmental community as well as ongoing in Maluku.

The Maluku Community, in general, has interpreted *Saniri* as a village or *Negeri* apparatus as a local wisdom of customs and traditions that must be preserved to help maintain the security, comfort, and harmony of life *basudara* or Maluku people term "*Potong Dikuku Rasa Di Danging, Ale Ras Beta Rasa Serta Pela Dan Gandong*" which has a very strong attachment.

Saimima (2018) explains that from the perspective of cultural politics, the determination or mention of a "*Negeri*" by the Provincial Government in Maluku in the local regulations shows a people's identity and characteristics in Maluku; these customs still exist, and the local cultural wisdom is still upheld. The existence of customary government and socio-cultural institutions of customary law communities in Maluku from the past until now are still recognized. It is evidenced by the still mention of indigenous institutions, such as the *Negeri*. The administration of customary governance is dominated by hereditary actors, such as the king, who only held or elected/appointed from the ruling descendants and so on.

Dispute resolution in Article 64, Regional Regulation of Central Maluku District Number 1 of 2006 concerning the State, states that:

1. Settlement of disputes in the field of customary law, including *petuanan* disputes, can be handled and decided by *Saniri Negeri* or the Customary Council, which is specifically formed for that, according to the authority based on the provisions of local customary law, as long as it does not conflict with statutory provisions in force.
2. Local government and/or other law enforcement officers can act as mediators in dispute resolution in accordance with the provisions in paragraph (1).
3. In the event of a dispute in the area of customary law that has wide-ranging impacts and can disrupt public order and security, the regional government and/or other law enforcement officers can take steps to resolve them, both requested and unsolicited.

The *Saniri* existence is very much influenced by the cultural factors of the Ambonese community. Some of the traditional objects that are found in countries in Ambon have links to one another. Closely, the relationship between things exists. *Saniri* existence to handle legal problems in the community is indeed a necessity that is felt to be very urgent considering its role as the first layer in problem-solving, from minor criminal violations to other civil problems, such as land disputes, and others. Besides, *Saniri* becomes the first choice in dealing with community problems because it is considered capable of providing a complete solution, by adopting a family-friendly resolution mechanism that makes the parties to the dispute tend to comply with the decisions made by *Saniri*. Another advantage in the mechanism of problem-solving through *Saniri* that can be felt by the *Negeri* people of Ambon, which is the normal daily activities in meeting the needs of the family as farmers, is the problem of financing. If they have to take a legal mechanism through the police or up to the court, then the consequences of spending large amounts of funds are difficult to fulfill. *Saniri*'s position is essential and must be preserved because of several factors that have also been regulated in customary law, especially in Ambon, among others: socio-cultural, legal, political, and environmental factors (Alfredo, 2016).

3.5 *Saniri* Resilience in Indonesia's Policy Dynamics

Resilience is fundamentally a concept of change that specifically addresses the ability to cope with the pressures of change (Werther, 2014). This term is used to describe the ability of

oneself to cope with various pressures and stresses that are widely used in ecological and psychological studies (Budiasmoro, 2014). Resilience is needed to strengthen the resilience of individuals and society in the face of various social changes so that the presence and existence of individuals and communities can be maintained. When the power of community resilience is getting weaker, the community needs support, social capital, resources, and the ability to survive. It can be done by returning the function of community social relations, which in Kirmayer, Sehdev, and Isaac (2009) is called collective resilience, which is the idea of how people's resilience in facing the pressures and challenges of life through returning the function of social relations.

From the explanation above, it can be identified that the resilience of the Maluku people in maintaining the existence of *Saniri Negeri* is critical. The reality that *Saniri* has been maintained up to now shows that *Saniri's* existence is still maintained and held in high esteem by the community as part of customary law. The current of globalization and the dynamics of the government's monocultural policy do not necessarily eliminate the traditional *Saniri* values as a form of local wisdom. It is inseparable from several factors that strengthen *Saniri's* resilience in the indigenous system in Ambon.

The following is an explanation of these factors.

1. Social and Cultural Factors

The humanitarian tragedy that occurred in Maluku in 1999 has brought significant changes in the social and economic fields. Throughout the tragedy, many traditional events became the main instrument to move the masses in the battle between citizens where people of specific indigenous ancestors, who had essential positions in traditional instruments such as the captain, were spontaneously moved to form a network to win the war or defend their country, which then contributed to the escalation of the conflict. However, in its development, the traditional leader took the role as a binding tool in realizing peace (Alfredo, 2016).

Saniri's existence is strongly influenced by Ambonese cultural factors. Customary objects contained in Ambon *Negeri* have a relationship with one another. Among the traditional institutions, customary objects, and indigenous peoples, they have an inseparable relationship in the history of the formation of Maluku people, especially the Central Maluku Region and Ambon. For example, the original clans (*marga*) of each *Negeri* are shown by the presence of *teung* stones as evidence that they are the original inhabitants of the *Negeri*, then after the formation of the *Negeri*, from the clans (*marga*) formed several *soas*, which names are listed on poles supporting the roof of *baileo* (Alfredo, 2016).

The composition of the *Saniri* and *Baileo* membership as a traditional meeting place, which is also a symbol of the representation of all members of the community who inhabit the country itself, is a unified whole that cannot be separated, as was the case in the New Order era, which caused the imbalance of life in the *Negeri* community in Maluku or specifically in Ambon.

1. Legal Factors

The tragedy of the conflict that struck Maluku in 1999 left much pain for the people of Maluku. The failure of government institutions or formal institutions in revolutionizing the conflict in Maluku resulted in the loss of people's legitimacy to formal institutions. As a result, the community prefers indigenous institutions as instruments to reduce conflict and create peace in Maluku.

Saniri's existence is very strategic in handling legal issues, given its role as the first layer in solving problems, both minor criminal violations, and civil matters. This hope is undoubtedly not only based on people's dreams, but history has proven that traditional institutions have the power to solve problems that exist in society. *Saniri* becomes the main instrument in

revolutionizing the problems that developed in the community because it is considered capable of providing a complete solution by adopting a family resolution mechanism. (Alfredo, 2016).

2. Political Factors

According to Alfredo (2016), custom in Ambon society, especially *Saniri Negeri*, is known as a partner of the *Negeri* Government, which carries out its duties together with the king. The king in leading the *Negeri* cannot act arbitrarily, because the executive function in the customary *Negeri* is held by the king and the head of *soa*, which in Ambon is called the *Saniri Rajapati*. The demands of the king's existence must meet the criteria, according to the *matarumah parentah* lineage, where this situation causes the king is often not in place so that governmental tasks are carried out by *Saniri Rajapati* through guarding duties, where each head of *soa* has a turn to replace the position of the king when the king is not in the place. The head of the *soa* who gets his turn in the guard duty is called the "head of the *Soa Jaga*" or "the head of the Moon *Soa*" because the head of the *soa* takes turns in charge of representing the king for one month in carrying out the duties of the *Negeri* on behalf of the king concerned so that everything in that *negeri* can work well.

At the end of each year, the *negeri* government must account for its performance in a year in a large forum that involves the entire community. It is a form of direct democracy. In this accountability report, people who are classified as adults can provide their aspirations both related to the performance of the government (the king and *Saniri Negeri*) and provide other proposals that are constructive.

3. Environmental Factors

In addition to governmental duties, *Saniri* also carries the task of preserving the environment. Besides *Saniri Raja Patih*, there is also a *Saniri (Saniri Lengkap)*, which is in the second layer. Complete *Saniri*'s task is to protect and maintain the *Negeri*'s borders, forests, and gardens, so that they are regularly cared for and planted, and the harvest is carried out until the most favorable time or season, and if necessary, what is known by the people of Ambon as "*sasi*" (Alfredo, 2016).

Sasi is the local wisdom of the indigenous people of Maluku. *Sasi* is capital and model of environmental management and protection at the regional level, especially Maluku and national, where the use of natural resources must be aligned, harmonious, and balanced with environmental functions. The logical consequence of this is that a development policy, plan, or program must be imbued with the obligation to conserve the environment and realize sustainable development goals. Therefore, it is essential to protect nature so that the balance is not disturbed. The protection of nature can be in the form of activities to manage, maintain, and preserve.

Measures to protect against natural resources are jointly institutionalized through the *Negeri/village* government and traditional institutions, such as the *Saniri Negeri* Agency meeting. The consequence of the violation of the regulations made by the *Saniri Negeri* Agency regarding the law of *sasi* is to impose a sanction. The function of *sasi* is as a means of securing natural resources and the environment to form the attitudes and behavior of the community, which is an effort to maintain manners of social life and preserve natural resources. In other words, the community has the opportunity to make use of agricultural products with the following considerations: 1) Forest and marine products that are captured or taken must be outside the area that is temporarily *sasied* or prohibited; 2) Communities are only given the opportunity to take forest and marine products when the temporary *sasi* is opened or allowed to be taken, which is in accordance with the time limit specified since the closure of the *sasi* is subject to a ban of between three to six months.

3.6 *Saniri* Indigenous Institutions in Minimizing Conflict

The word indigenous does not always refer to the description of something common so that the "indigenous institution" cannot necessarily be interpreted as an institution, which has no influence or cannot be relied upon at present.

Saniri Institutions can minimize conflict due to several factors:

1. *Saniri* members have significant power to bring drastic changes in controlling a conflict or resolving an interpersonal problem in their *Negeri* through interpersonal communication. As a communication forum in resolving problems that exist in the *Negeri* or village, both in groups and individually, *Saniri* is currently still in a position of strength because there is much support, both according to custom and according to local laws and regulations.
2. *Saniri* Agency, in addition to functioning as a government agency (village), is also authorized to resolve conflicts in the scope of customary disputes, land disputes, and the issue of customary offenses. The role of *Saniri* was also able to resolve the very heartbreaking religious conflict that occurred in Maluku in 1999. The role of the king in resolving a problem, either related to land issues, conflicts, in the family, and other problems, is only as of the executor in deciding a problem that occurred. However, the process of discussion, negotiation, and mediation before the decision made is in *Saniri's* hands. The thought of the communication process is built by *Saniri* to position the problems faced by the two disputing parties; how *Saniri's* thoughts produced decisions in *Saniri's* internal communication forum are for efforts to resolve the problems faced.
3. *Saniri* is a central institution in Maluku society that is given a strategic role according to custom, which is built and highly maintained by the people in Maluku so that *Saniri* has the legitimacy to carry out its role optimally for the peace of life with the community. *Saniri's* position is critical because of several factors that have also been regulated in customary law, especially in Maluku, including socio-cultural, legal, political, and environmental factors. It is said to be central because basically the role of *Saniri* is very influential both in solving problems and in discussions of policy formulation in the *Saniri* forum itself through the mechanism of deliberation so that in the formulation of a *Negeri/village* policy, everything works well.

3.7 The Strengths of *Saniri* Indigenous Institutions

The advantage of being a *Saniri* indigenous institution by the community is that the existence of *Saniri Negeri* is still highly upheld and respected. In order to supervise and maintain the wheels of *Negeri* and social governance, the existence of the *Saniri Negeri* indigenous institutions is the driving force in managing social structure systems to ensure the security and harmony of the indigenous people of Maluku. Cultural values that emerged from *Saniri Negeri* as a form of legitimacy gave birth to a rule of values and norms. The manifestation of community compliance with local institutions is through traditional *Saniri* institutions. It shows that the way of thinking and behaving of the community still values custom more than other institutions. For example in 1999, there was a very heartbreaking conflict between religious communities, both Muslims and Christians, at the time of the conflict occurred, the public's distrust of institutions, both from the TNI (Indonesian national army) and POLRI (Republic of Indonesia Police), to resolve the conflict was absent because there were many alignments to the religion embraced.

One institution that was very important in resolving the conflict at that time was the *Saniri* indigenous institution. The Maluku indigenous people always obey every social order in the form of rules, values, and norms. As for the strengths, as well as the duties and functions of the indigenous *Saniri Negeri*, namely: 1) it is a traditional institution that plays a

role in protecting the customs and customary law that exist in the *Negeri*; 2) *Saniri*'s role is to assist the king or village head in resolving any disputes that occur in the scope of the *Negeri* or hamlet; 3) *Saniri Negeri* functions as an advisor or input in the resolution of a case/dispute in the village or *Negeri*; 4) *Saniri Negeri*, according to customary principle, is the heart of the unity of a *Negeri*'s customary community, because it has a complete relationship of all the people of the *Negeri*; 5) *Saniri Negeri* also helps determine the *Negeri* Regulations; 6) *Saniri Negeri* in conducting Supervision.

The authority of indigenous institutions in resolving customary disputes in Central Maluku has been implemented well with the existence of Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2006 explicitly regulating the authority, duties, and functions of indigenous institutions in resolving customary disputes in the law community of Central Maluku, having a positive impact in resolving customary offenses and customary dispute by the *Saniri Negeri* Agency by deliberation and consensus. Decisions and sanctions set by *Saniri Negeri* Agency are adhered to by people with a high level of compliance. In the process of resolving customary disputes and offenses carried out in deliberation and consensus with decisions and sanctions established by the *Saniri* Agency still exist and adhered to by the community to keep, maintain, protect, and preserve the customs, customary law, and culture of the community.

Various violations of customary offenses during the period of 2008-2013 recorded as many as 210 cases. Every year, it is found that violations of customary offenses can still reach 15 to 44 cases, whereas violations classified as severe, which cause immaterial losses, are recorded at 5 to 17 cases a year. Thus, the process of enforcement of customary criminal law in Maluku has been actively applied in accordance with Regional Regulation No. 04 of 2006 concerning the Process of Establishment of a *Saniri Negeri* Agency. The Regional Government of Central Maluku Regency must continue to uphold the law contained in the Regional Regulation in accordance with the cultural values adhered to and the awareness of the people of Central Maluku to the existing customary criminal law rules and must continue to be preserved and the phenomenon of weakening from the customary behavior itself in society, due to displacement of traditional life patterns towards modern life.

Based on the description and discussion above, Indonesia is a multicultural country where each region has different identity elements in the form of ethnicity, religion, customs, language, and others. The condition of a multicultural dimension of society is likely to cause conflict or friction. To minimize conflict or friction before it develops into more massive conflicts, it is necessary to have the *Saniri Negeri* indigenous institution, which is local wisdom in Maluku society. This institution has a critical position for indigenous peoples in Maluku because *Saniri* is used as a tool in terms of multicultural conflict resolution. *Saniri*, as a central institution that gains legitimacy from the community, is expected to be able to carry out its role, position, and function optimally, especially in maintaining the harmony of the people of Maluku.

3.8 Suggestion

This study suggests that:

1. The policy of the central government or regional government must contain substances aimed at keeping and maintaining the existence of *Saniri* as local wisdom in the people of Maluku.
2. The government must open space and give recognition to the existence of *Saniri* to exercise its authority, especially in solving various multicultural problems in community life.

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