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RESEARCH ARTICLE

LOCAL WISDOM OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (The Sasi Tradition at Haruku Village in Environmental Conservation)

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Abstract

Natural resource management is an important thing that should be done by the community for survival. However, in natural resource we should pay attention to the balance of nature in order to avoid degradation of the environment. In various parts of the world, environmental degradation is a global issue that is very troubling because the consequences have an impact on the reduction of natural resources, damage to ecosystems, the water level rise, climate change and others. Consciously of many ways in the management of natural resources has resulted in environmental damage, coupled with government policies that give permission without good supervision to entrepreneurs or private individuals in natural resource management adds a long list of environmental damage. On the other hand the tradition of natural resource management better have existed since time immemorial that in doing for generations by indigenous peoples. That local wisdom not only for environmental management at terrestrial but also at marine and coastal. In Haruku Village, Central Maluku, Indonesia, one of the traditions of natural resource management is known by Sasi tradition, a tradition in natural resource management which is famous to protect and preserve the environment. These traditions have been going on from generation to generation and remain on guard, even though there are trends of extinction due to the progress of time.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Among many agricultural and fishing communities throughout Maluku Islands, sasi is an historic family of institutions and practices which have been used to regulate access to particular resources and territories under a variety of property regime. regimes. Although there has not been systematic study of sasi over a broad geographic range, it is clear that a family of marine tenure institutions have been and in many areas continue to be practiced throughout the 1,029 or more Moluccan Islands of Eastern Indonesia.

Time and space are the most important media through which many Moluccan communities regulate access to resources and territories that are important from subsistence and commercial perspectives.

Historically, and in many contemporary Moluccan communities as well, sasi practices are not just a body of changing rules, but also a diverse set of institutional roles having varying degrees of relationship to central governmental and religious authority. Sasi role holders, including kewang and other practitioners, combine religious civil, martial and commercial functions. Attempts to characterize sasi monologically, as a religious institution, a secular commodity-procurement institution, or conservation: focused organization, would be inadequate and inaccurate

In certain areas of the Maluku Islands, sasi was, and as we shall see below, continues to develop as an instrument facilitating commercial regulation of access to valuable agricultural crops, especially coconuts, betel and kenari nuts, as well as cloves. Indeed, the pivotal historic role of the central and north Maluku Islands (including

Ambon, Saparua, Seram, Banda, Buru, Haruku, Banda, Ai, Hatta, and Ran, as well as the renowned Halmahera, Ternate and Tidore) as

supply centers for the world spice trade implies that sasi development in certain areas may have been stimulated by market. As we shall see below, contemporary marine sasi is being used as a way to institutionalize traders' access to commodities from local, village-based markets.

To some extent, the same kind of functions may have been historically provided by agricultural sasi. Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the 16th century traders from Makassar, East Java, the Philippines, and Banten were sailing to local Moluccan ports seeking agricultural commodities (Andaya). Like their European successors, these traders needed to establish and secure access to prized agricultural crops grown in remote village groves. During the 16th century Portuguese, British and Dutch traders also arrived, eager to establish monopolies on the Moluccan spice trade for European markets. The development of institutional control mechanisms, whether superimposed on already existing indigenous practices or invented by local native elites, traders, and later, Dutch government officials, may have been driven by commercial motives

The history of sasi in remote coastal hamlets of the Maluku Islands is largely the product of the ways variously powerful and differently positioned interests have interpreted, and continue to invent interpretations of this institution, its administrative structure, its rules, and most importantly, its purposes.

In Indonesia during the early 1980s and continuing into the 1990s, new kinds of talk about environment, economic development, and later, social equity, began to inform central government policy, institutions, and the discourse of political leaders and policy makers. Indonesia's Basic Law of the Environment was passed in 1982, and the influential Department of Population and Environment, directed by the charismatic, articulate Emil Salim, was formed in 1978. WALHI, the Indonesian Environmental Forum, an umbrella agency for more than one hundred nongovernmental environmental and social activist groups scattered across this archipelago, was formed in 1980.

Between the remote provincial villages of Maluku Province and the political center in Jakarta, persons, ideas, and new ways of talking about the environment and communities, moved across the seas. Since the 1980s, interaction among the environmental and economic interests, and discourses of Java-based governmental and non-governmental institutions, academic and scientific institutions in the Moluccan capital, Ambon, and formal and customary village leaders in remote Moluccan hamlets have driven changes in interpretation and implementation of sasi. Although there are so many kinds sasi that grow in Maluku, but the unique that until now surviving in the village of Haruku is Lompa fish. As in other villages in Maluku, in the village of Haruku as well, the traditional sasi law has existed since olden times. So far no authentic information or data has been found about the time that sasi was first applied in this village. From legends or folk tales, however, it can be estimated that sasi became a part of the culture of Haruku village in the 1600's.

DISCUSSION

a. The Meaning of Sasi

Sasi can be described as a prohibition on the harvesting of certain natural resources in an effort to protect the quality and population of that biological natural resource (animal or plant). Because the regulations for implementing this prohibition also touch upon man's relationship with nature and with other men in the area affected by the prohibition, sasi is also an effort to maintain the patterns of social life through the equal distribution among all local citizens / inhabitants of the benefits or income from the surrounding natural resource. Sasi, literally meaning 'ban', determines what people should or should not do, based on traditional social values. The use of resources – both on land and sea – is regulated through open and close season, with the chiefs of the Kewang, the body responsible for regulating resource use, vested with the authority to implement regulations and impose sanctions on those who violate them. The position of chief is hereditary, while the members of the Kewang also play active roles in creating environmental awareness among the community.

b. Legal Base and Institution of Sasi

The rules of sasi are decided in a meeting of the Dewan Adat (Customary Council) (Saniri; in Haruku referred to as Saniri'a Lo'osi Aman Haru-ukui or the "Supreme Customary Council of the Village of Haruku). The implementation of this decision is referred to the Kewang, the adat institution charged with supervision of the implementation of the rules of sasi.

The Kewang in Haruku was established when sasi was first applied in this village.

Its structure is as follows:

1. Head of Land Kewang
2. Head of Sea Kewang
3. Assistant of Kewangs

4. A Secretary
5. A Treasurer
6. Members

Members of the Kewang are chosen from every clan (soa) in Haruku. The head of the Land Kewang and the head of the Sea Kewang are both appointed according to inheritance or descent from the first officials who held these positions. The same is true for the assistant of Kewangs.

As monitors of the implementation of sasi, the Kewang are charged with: a) safeguarding the implementation of all sasi rules established by the Saniri meeting, b) punishing or disciplining those citizens who violate the rules. c) establishing and checking the borders of the land, sea and river areas included in the sasi area d) setting up or putting up sasi signs, and e) holding meetings or conferences in connection with the implementation of sasi.

b.1. Type of Sasi

Four types of sasi are known in the village of Haruku :

1. Sea sasi
2. River Sasi
3. Forest Sasi
4. Village sasi

b.2. The Rules of Sasi in Haruku

The following describes in detail the rules of the four types of sasi enforced in Haruku. Thus were adopted on June 10, 1985 by a meeting of the Supreme Customary Council of Haruku village (Siniri'a Lo'osi Aman Haru-ukui) and were signed by the Raja of Haruku (Berthy Ririmasse), the head of-the Land Kewang (Eliza Kissya) and the head of the Sea Kewang (Eli Ririmasse).

It must be stressed once again that these sasi rules in fact have existed for a long time, so that the rules which are here written down, in essence only reiterate the adat rules which has been handed down from the ancestors of the village. Nevertheless, as is seen clearly in the rules of river sasi, a number of additional regulation have been formulated (for example, the prohibition on the operation of motor boats - with engine running - on the river) to anticipate modern day developments. Similarly, the rules regulating the size of cash fine imposed for violations also have been adjusted to represent economic development. An example of an addition to the river sasi is the prohibition on the use of a certain of fine meshed factory made net (karoro) which was type formerly unknown and has only appeared in the last few years. Experience has shown that this type of fishing equipment is very damaging because it is capable of catching all fish regardless of size. (It resembles the "pukat harimau" or large trawling nets). The same is true of the prohibition in the village sasi of tree climbing by women, which has been renewed. This prohibition was changed to allow women to climb trees as long as they use appropriate clothing, a.o., because appropriate clothing is now also available (such as long pants) to be worn by women. All this indicates that sasi is not a collection of rigid regulations. It continues to be dynamic and responsive the changing times, as long as the essence of its spirit, soul or life (i.e., the principle of conservation and balance in man's life with other men and in his relationship with the surrounding natural world) does not change and is maintained.

Sea Sasi

1. The borders of the area covered by the sea sasi begin at the northern corner of the village hall, 150 meters to the west and to the south as far as Tanjung Wairusi.
2. The borders of the sasi on the lompia fish in the sea: begin at the harbor of Vetor, 150 meters toward the sea to the west and the south as far as Tanjung Hi-i.
3. The catching of fish in the sasi area is prohibited with any fishing equipment whatsoever, except the throw net (jala) but this must be used on foot and without boats. Fishing with a jala is allowed only in water that is waist high on an adult.
4. The free anchoring area stretches from the northern corner of the village hall to Tanjung Waimahu. In this free anchoring area people may catch fish with nets, but may not quarrel. If there are disputes this area will also fall under sasi rules.
5. If any lompia fish enter the free anchoring area, they may not be caught with a fine mesh net.
6. The catching of fish with a karoro net is forbidden in the sasi area as well as in the free anchorage area.

River Sasi

1. In the river the borders of sasi in the river begin at a. the mouth of the Wai Learisa Kayeli to Wai Hautotui

- b. the mouth of the Wai Learisa Kayeli to Air Kecil.
2. If lompas enter the river, they may not be bothered or caught, even though other fish entered the river together with the lompas.
3. When the sasi on lompas is lifted, it is forbidden to clean fish in the river or throw the heads of lompas into the river.
4. The washing of kitchen equipment such as dirty plates et al. in the river is prohibited.
5. Mixed bathing by men and women is forbidden. They must bathe in their respective places which have been provided as follows:

a. for women:

- at Air Besar
- at Air Pohon Lemon
- at Air Kecil
- at Air Pohon Lenggua next to Sebelah Air and as far as Gali Air, as indicated by sasi signs set by the Kewang.

b. for men:

- at Air piting
- at Air Cabang Dua
- next to Sebelah Air and as far as Gali Air as indicated by the sasi signs set by the Kewang.

6. People are forbidden to enter the river in motor boats or speed boats with engines running.
7. The washing of clothes or anything else whatsoever is forbidden in the place where drinking water is taken.
8. the felling of trees - except for sago trees - on the river banks near the sasi site is prohibited.

Forest Sasi

1. The taking of young fruits such as pineapples, candlenuts, cempedak (resembles jackfruit), durian (stink fruit), areca nuts and others is prohibited.
2. The cutting down of areca palms which are bearing fruit or of any other fruit tree for the making of fences is prohibited.
3. The cutting of palm leaves for roofing (atap) or young sago leaves (hahehi) without permission from the owner and the Kewang is forbidden.

Village Sasi

1. People are prohibited from disturbing the peace and making noise on Saturday nights.
2. Parties and other events held in the evenings must obtain permission from the Saniri Negeri (Adat Council).
3. The catching of (taba) fish is prohibited on Sundays from 5:00pm to 7:00pm Eastern Indonesian Time.
4. Except in an emergency or during the clove season and with the permission of the Kewang, going to the forest on Sundays is prohibited.
5. Drying palm leaves, burning grass, or coconuts shells etc., on the main road are prohibited.
6. Drying clothes on fences is prohibited.
7. Throwing grass and defecating into the river are forbidden.
8. Grass must be disposed of at least four meters from the river in places allocated by the Kewang.
9. Women when returning from the river are forbidden to wear their sarong only chest high.
10. Men are forbidden to wear sarongs at noon, unless they are ill. They are also prohibited from using a loincloth or a wrapped towel on the main roads.
11. Women are prohibited from climbing trees unless they are wearing appropriate clothing.
12. The area of Kolam Jawa (java pond) is declared closed and protected and it is guarded to prevent it from being damaged by anyone.
13. Those who violate these sasi regulations, will be fined as follows:
 - a. Cutting atap (palm leaves) without permission Rp 5,000
 - b. Entering the river with running engines Rp 10,000
 - c. Taking young fruit Rp 5,000
 - d. Bothering lompas in the river Rp 2,500
 - e. Women returning from the river wearing only a cloth; and men walking around the village wearing a loincloth or a wrapped towel Rp 10,000
 - f. Washing dishes, defecating or throwing grass into the river etc. Rp 2,500
 - g. Going to the forest or the sea on Sundays Rp 5,000

- h. Scolding or swearing Rp 5,000
- i. Taking coral Rp 10,000
- j. Cutting mangrove trees or other plants at Kolam Jawa Rp 5,000
- k. These are the general sasi rules in effect in Haruku.

b.3. Sasi On Lompa Fish In Haruku Village

Among all the fish in Haruku, the lompa are the most important. Of all forms of sasi in the village, the most significant and the one unique to Haruku is the sasi on lompa fish (Trisina baelama, a kind of small sardine). This type of sasi is described as specific to Haruku because in fact, it is not found anywhere else in Maluku. It is even more special because it represents an integration of sea sasi and river sasi. This results from a peculiarity of the lompa fish, which like the salmon that are widely known in Europe and America, can live both in sea water as well as in river water. These fish spend every day from 4:00 am to 6:30 pm in the Learisa Kayeli river at least 1,500 meters from the mouth of the river. Only in the evening do they move out to the open sea to search for food, returning again to the river in the early morning hours. Research of the Fisheries Department of Pattimura University in Ambon has shown that the Learisa Kayeli river where the fish live and rest all day long, in fact is surprisingly poor in the plankton which is their main food. This raises the question which remains unanswered to this day: where in fact do the lompa fish spawn to create their new generations ?

c. Implementation and Regulation Of The Lompa Fish Sasi

Usually young lompa fish are first seen off the coast of Haruku between April and May. At this time, the sasi on lompa fish goes into effect (sasi is closed). Usually a month or two after they first observed, these schools of young fish start to search for the river mouth to enter the river. The Kewang, as implementer of the sasi, has to place sasi signs in the form of a stick tied around with young coconut leaves (janur) at the tip. This stick signifies that the rules of sasi on lompa have gone into effect. They include, a.o.:

- 1..As long as the lompa fish are within the area covered by sasi they may not be caught or bothered in any way whatsoever.
 2. Sea-going motor boats may not enter the Learisa Kayeli with their engines running.
 3. Kitchen utensils may not be washed in the river.
 4. Refuse may not be thrown into the river, but may be placed about four meters from the edge of the river in places designated by the Kewang.
 5. If bait is needed for fishing, lompa fish may only be caught with a hook, but this may not be done in the river.
- Those who violate the rules are fined according to the rules of sasi. Even children who violate the rules are punished with five strokes with a rattan as a sign that the child must obey the instruction from the five clans of Haruku.

c.1. Ceremonies of the Lompa Fish Sasi

When the sasi on the lompa fish is imposed, a ceremony referred to as panas sasi (heat of sasi) is held. This ceremony takes place three times a year, beginning with the first time the lompa fingerlings are seen. The panas sasi ceremony is usually held in the evening at about 8:00pm. It begins when all members of the Kewang assemble in the house of the head of the Kewang, bringing with them dry coconut leaves (lobe) for a bonfire. After a conunon prayer the fire is lit and the Kewang proceed in a group to the center of the sasi site (Batu Kewang), the head of the Kewang lights the bonfire to accompaniment of drums playing an opening melody which indicates that there are five clans (soa) in Haruku Village. When the beat of the drum has faded away, it is followed by shouts of "siriwei!", which statement of intent, an oath, or a promise shouted in unison by all Kewang members.

This ceremony takes place at the crossroads where tabaos (decrees or announcements) are usually announced to all villagers and only ends at 10.00 pm in front of the Baileo (village hall) where the remaining dry coconut leaves which have not been burned must be thrown into the ocean.

c.2. Sign of Sasi on Lompa Fish

After the panas sasi ceremonies, the sasi sign are put up. These are usually referred to as kayu buah sasi and they consist of main kayu buah sasi as well as auxiliary signs. These wooden signs are made of sticks the tops of which are wrapped with fresh young coconut leaves and they are put up in certain places to define the sasi area. According to the rules, it is the head of the Land Kewang who has the right to take main Kayu buah sasi from the forest for setting up on land. The head of Sea Kewang takes the wood for the kayu sasi buah laut (wood indicating the sasi on the fruits of the sea) which is also referred to as kayu sasi buah anak, (wood indicating the sasi of the young (fish)). It is a stick of tongke (a kind of mangrove) which is then wrapped around with keker leaves (a plant

growing along the shore) to be set up in the sea as a sign of the sasi. The sea Area of the lompa fish sasi covers 500 by 200 meters, and that on land (river) covers 1,500 by 40 meters, beginning at the river mouth and going upriver.

c.3. Lifting the Sasi an Lompa Fish

After the protected lompa fish have grown large enough and are ready for harvesting (about 5-7 months after they were first sighted), the Kewang, in a routine weekly meeting held on Fridays will set a time for opening the sasi (ending the sasi). This decision is reported to the village head for immediate publication to all villagers.

The second ceremony (panas sasi) is carried out, it is the same as that held at the time the sasi was imposed. After the ceremony, at 3:00 am the Kewang carries out his duties by lighting a bonfire at the mouth of the Learisa Kayeli in order to draw the lompa fish into the river earlier than usual according to the calculations of the tide. Usually, not long afterward schools of lompa fish crowd into the river. The people are ready to stretch barriers across the river mouth so that the fish will not be able to escape to the sea when the tide ebbs.

When the tide begins to go out, the beating of drums first signals to the villagers, old and young, small and large, to get ready to go to the river. The second drum is beaten as a sign that all villagers which follows signifies that Raja, the Saniri Negeri and the Pastor should also go to the river and people should take their places at the edge of the river. The Village Head and his group arrive at the river and throw out the first net, they are followed by the Pastor, and then all villagers are free to catch whatever lompa fish there are.

Usually the sasi is lifted for one or two days, and then is quickly imposed again via another panas sasi ceremony. Research notes of the Fisheries Departement of Pattimura University taken at lifting of sasi 1984 show that the lompa fish harvested that year totaled about 35 tons of gross weight : not a small amount for one harvest with an easy an inexpensive method. Such a large a month of fish, clearly represents a plentiful source of nutrition, as well as useful additional income for all citizens of Haruku.

The problem is environmental damage to the coral reefs on the coast of Haruku through unauthorized bombing by irresponsible elements still continuing. Various efforts have been made by people (via the Kewang) to prevent the spread of this destruction of habitat, going as far as bringing this to court and to the police. But no justice for people in Haruku because they are simple and ordinary and do not have access to the centers of power which wield authority over these matters.

d. Indigenous People in Natural Resource Management Conservation

The role of customary institutions in natural resource management in Indonesia related to coastal and marine ecosystem, such as Sasi. Lucky Adrianto pointed that all components of fisheries management, perhaps in unwritten form, could be observed in the practices of customary management systems studied : for example, the boundaries of the resource are clearly demarcated ; right holders are clearly identified ; rules for regulating resource use ; system for monitoring use; and for sanctioning of violations are in place ; and there is a fisheries management authority (vested in the customary institution and its chief).

The evolution from centralization to decentralization was re-started during the Reform Era, with the enactment by Law (UU) Number 22/ 1999 (the Local Autonomy Law), which was revised with law Number 32/2004. The chance has been opened for a shift in the fisheries governance system, a shift of regime from a top-down to a bottom-up approach, which encourages more participation of the communities through the revitalization of community-based management system. The management system has to consider local custom, local customary practices as well as community involvement. Thus, a frame for the implementation of management already exist, but implementation needs stronger political support, with ecosystem and sustainable management principles as the bases. Historically and philosophically, tradition and customary law are considered the manifestation of a nation's soul from generation to generation

Sasi as tradition for local community still exist until now. With kewang as law enforcement of sasi rules, this tradition continues to thrive and survive in protecting the environment. Change of government system and the enactment a variety of products with regard to natural resources, both on land and at sea, does not alter the structure, the duties and authority of kewang. Kewang remained consistent implementing measures to protect natural resources, although the state constitution does not agree with it. Example case, when the problem occurred in 1997 between the kewang Haruku village, which representing people at Haruku Village against PT. Aneka Tambang when they have permission from central government to exploitation gold resources in the petuanan Haruku village. On the persistence kewang fight rejection the activity of PT. Aneka Tambang at the regional, national and international levels, then at the end PT. Aneka Tambang out of the petuanan Haruku village. Another case story, In 2007 when one of the Consultants Company who received permission from the central government and local government conduct a study of sources - geothermal resources in the petuanan Haruku village. Rejection by the

kewang Haruku village published and advocated at the local and central government, have an impact on the cessation of the study. Not because the Kewang refused exploitation and research, but the activity is done without good planning and not environmentally and damaging places around the location of the activities.

e. Closing

Adat (Customary) laws regulating sasi are truly alive among people. Sasi contains prohibition on the use of natural resources for certain period of the time to permit particular flora and fauna to renew itself, to maintain quality and increase the population of that resource. Sasi regulation do not only include the natural environment but also the social and the man-made environment. And the Kewang as the law enforcement is a good police and still relevant for this time. The practices of sasi and kewang in the adat communities in Maluku Islands, represent a good example of an effective and sustainable management of natural resources. Without the existence of Kewang, which functions as a supervising institution, the destruction of forests, river, coastal areas and marine resources, will not be resolved. In many adat communities in the Maluku Province, there are various effective customary rules that regulate how and when the utilization of natural resources may take place. Accordingly, the integrated resource management and its sustainability are indeed the key words for a good resource management. For this purpose, the availability of necessary legal tools is indeed of paramount importance. The legal tools can give legitimacy to the existence, structure, powers and functions of traditional governance institutions, including the Kewang So It is important that adat law of sasi is placed in context and adapted so that may continue to be relevant as times change. It is to be hoped that the development experts will assist the growth of sasi regulations so that their essence can be preserved, so the initiatives from below to uphold the prohibitions on the depletion of natural resources are maintained and to use then as much as possible for the prosperity of the people in development that is both environmentally oriented as well as sustainable.

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