

Institutional Studies Of Saniri Institutions In Negeri Of Hila And Mamala As Pillars Of Local Democracy In Central Maluku

Wahab Tunaya^{1*}, Atikah Khairunissa², Marno Wance³

^{1,2,3} Faculty of Social and Sciences, Universitas Pattimura, Indonesia.

* Corresponding Author:

Email: Wahab.tuanaya@fisip.unpatti.ac.id

Abstract.

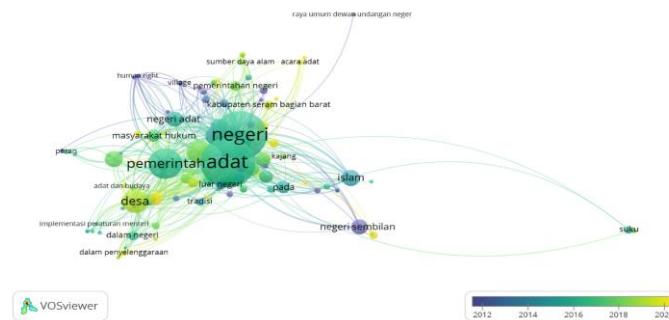
The selection for a negeri (village) government is a selection process through done mata rumah perintah (the leaders of clans) that have been recognized for a long time. Among the negeri government elections in Central Maluku, there is an election conflict between Hila negeri and Mamala Negeri, which until now has not been resolved and needs further research to figure out the reasons behind the conflict. The purpose of this study is to analyze in depth the institutionalization of Saniri institutions of the Hila and Mamala negeris in the process of selecting the negeri government. In order to achieve the described objectives this research is designed to be carried out for 2 (two) months to explore various data from various information regarding the research problem. The type of research used is qualitative research with a descriptive analysis approach. With this approach, the author is able to provide a more detailed description and explanation of the problem of the raja (headman) election conflict in Mamala and Hila negeri, Central Maluku regency. The findings of the research field were found that (1) the conflict in the election of the Raja of the Hila negeri was caused by a conflict between mata rumah perintah, namely Ollong and Lating in carrying out the candidate for the head of the Hila negeri. The occurrence of the vacuum of the raja government because until now mata rumah parentah is still submitting a lawsuit to the Ambon City Administrative Court (PTUN). Meanwhile, the election process for the raja of Mamala government did not occur because of the election conflict in which the saniri handed over the election process to the mata rumah perintah of Malawat. Mamala negeri only has one mata rumah parentah that caused a conflict in the election of the headman (raja).

Keywords: Negeri Government, Saniri Institution, Conflict of Saniri Institution, Election Conflict.

I. INTRODUCTION

Structures such as schemas, rules, norms, and routines become authoritative forms for the occurrence of social behavior (Scott, 2004). Institutional theory in organizational studies is equipped with the concept of isomorphism (DiMaggio et al, 1983) which is process of institutionalization, deinstitutionalization or re-institutionalization (Djambhuri et al, 2006). In the institutional theory there is a term called institutional logic. Institutional logic is the right approach to get a holistic and coherent view of how organizations are structured and managed (Greenwood, Hinings, & Whetten, 2014). There are 4 main principles in the perspective of institutional logic which are (1) the integration of institutions and structures; (2) the integration of material with symbolic; (3) pay attention to the historical contingencies of the institution; and (4) paying attention to institutions at all social levels (Zilber, 2013).

Institutional logics also represent a frame of reference that influences actors to make logical choices, formulating words to motivate their actions, feelings of self and identity (Thornton et al., 2012). Long before that, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) introduced isomorphic change called organizational change towards the same direction (homogenization) due to external influences. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify three mechanisms of isomorphic change, namely coercive isomorphism, normative isomorphism, and mimetic isomorphism. Coercive isomorphism is caused by political influence and legitimacy problems from outside the organization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). This study uses the VOS Viewer application by conducting a metadata analysis of 500 articles that have studies on the same topic and finds that there are different gaps with the research to be carried out. There is a similar issue that has been done about customary government, but there are still very few who try to compare the phenomenon of the conflict in the election of *raja* in the Hila and Mamala *negeris* as follows

Fig 1.Gap Analysis of Literature Review through VOS Viewer

Based on the analysis of VOS Viewer data with 500 articles, related publications were found. Two of which are the study of the *negeri* government of Saluhut by Maruapey, et al (2018) which found that the *raja* election was not effective due to resource and knowledge factors (Maruapey, et al, 2018) and the study of Hernandi, Sadikin, Mirolas (2017) who found that customary law is still very strong compared to formal law in *negeris*. Other related research are about government recognition through local regulations (Romadhon, et al, 2018), strengthening of *saniri* institutions (Dewi, 2021), conflict in the village (Wance, Ibrahim, 2019), the existence of customary law to protect the environment (Karepesina, Susilo, Indrayani, 2013), ownership of communal land (Sitorus, 2019), traditional leadership succession (Tuanaya, et al, 2021), the role of customary government (Zarmaili, 2014), and Hila *negeri* Development (Wance, Muhtar, Kaliky, 2020). Based on previous research studies, the institutional study of the *saniri* institution of Hila and Mamala *negeris* in the process of selecting the as a pillar of democracy in Central Maluku regency is the latest research to develop studies in the field of indigenous *negeri* government and government issues.

II. METHODS

The research method used in conducting quality descriptive research is to analyze the practice of democracy in *negeri* government in Central Maluku regency. According to Singarimbun and Effendi (1987), through qualitative methods, researchers must be able to hear and see directly the sources and speak the truth (so don't be influenced) about themselves according to their respective perspectives (perspective truth). According to Sugiyono (2010) descriptive research method is a method in research to analyze the status of human groups, study an object, condition, and system of thought or events in the present. The research was conducted with a period of one year, the researcher team conducted direct interviews with (1) secretary of Hila *negeri*, (2) the *saniri* board of Mamala, (3) member of the Mamala *saniri*, and (4) the people of Hila *negeri* and Mamala *negeri*. In addition, the researcher team also carried out a direct field observation process and studied the administration documents of *state* government in Hila and Mamala.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Saniri in Negeri of Hila

The customary government system is still exist and held by indigenous peoples in the Maluku Region. Customary governance in Maluku is a noble cultural heritage that has governed the life of the Moluccans since centuries ago and is still maintained today. In general, the previous government system was based on customary rules or a government system inherited from the Netherlands (John Haba and Lilis Mulyani, 2001). Headman or *raja* electoral system (Touwe, 2020) or the customary government of the *negeris* in Maluku was mostly formed along with the history of the formation of the *negeris* themselves. (Dokolamo, 2020). In Hila *negeri*, West Leihitu district, Central Maluku regency, enthusiastically welcomes the existence of government system which is based on the heritage of the ancestors.

This is in line with the existence of the Regional Regulation (Perda) of Central Maluku regency regulating the government system, which is based on the heritage of the ancestors. The regency at the same

time has no longer used the Javanese term in the governmental structure of Hila *negeri*. Unfortunately, behind that government system, it actually results in a prolonged conflict during the process of selecting the headman (*raja*). Regarding this matter, the following will be described in terms of: 1) mutual claims of *parentah*, 2) division of the *negeri*'s elite, 3) un-neutral *saniri* in the *negeri*, and 4) the *raja*'s non-optimal work. Hila *negeri* consists of four *soas* (clans) with the respective *mata rumah* or *rumah tua* (old house) and the title. The descendants of the *raja* or *upu parentah* (*raja*'s maids) come from the *mata rumah* of Lating. The kapitans (armies) come from *mata rumah* of Kapitanhitsu. The *raja* was supported by the *soa* heads from *mata rumah* of Tatisina, Ollong, Elly, and Selang. Sacred places are the old land of *mata rumah* of Wawane, Masapol and Batu Pata. The national ports are Nahaita and the springs of Uhaya and Wailoiu. The division of the four *soas* with the respective *mata rumahs* or old houses can be seen in the description of table 1 below:

Table 1. The *Soas* with the Respective *Mata Rumahs* or Old Houses as well as *Teons* and the Titles at Hila *Negeri*

No.	Soa Name	Mata Rumah	Teon Name	Title
1.	Lating	Kapitanhitsu	Nustapi	Upu Wanea
		Lating		
		Tatisina		
		Mahu		
		Launuru		
		Anjarang		
		Hatala		
2.	Ollong	Olong	Waimalaka	Upu Wael
		Ulema		
		Hakia		
3.	Selang	Uluelang	Totohatu	Upu Tomu
		Sopalauw	Ukutela	Masapal

Source: Data Field Analysis, 2022

Apart from this, Hila *negeri* has *pela* relationship (relatives) with Hative and Wakal *negeris*. This *pela* is connected through *pela gandong* (foster family) in which it is forbidden for the members of the family to get married to each other. The history of this relationship is still unclear to describe. However, many people claim that this relationship occurred after several wars in the past.

Soa Parentah's Conflict of Authority

The existence of the *negeri* and its customary government in Maluku began to disappear and erode when the Indonesian government in the New Order era implemented Law Number 5 of 1979 uniforming the village government system throughout Indonesia. However, in the era of autonomy, with the enactment of a law allowing each region to restore the existing customary governance system, the Moluccans and local government began to implement the law. The Maluku Provincial Government has issued Maluku Provincial Regulation No. 14 of 2005 which provides an opportunity for each district and city to restore the customary government system in each country (village). For several years Hila *negeri* has not had a definitive *raja*. This is because there are still mutual claims between two *soas* namely, Nustapy *soa* and Malakone *soa* that they are the *soa parentah* entitled to become the *raja* in Hila *negeri*. This claim is protracted which cannot be resolved properly. In the end, the elites of the Hila *negeri* and their citizens were also polarized in the pros and cons of following whether Nustapy *soa* or Malakone *soa*. This polarization often sticks out through ferbalism which also almost leads to physical fights between the supporters of the *soas*. Under such conditions, the provisional *raja* of Hila *negeri* and the *saniri* who have a direct responsibility to resolve the conflict cannot maximize their role. Likewise, the provisional *raja* of Hila *negeri* and the *saniri* could not hasten the decision of a definitive *raja*. Such conditions further prolong the conflict which drags on without any certainty when it will end. (One of the Hila community leaders, an interview on August 2022).

The provisional *raja* of Hila *negeri* always coordinates with the *saniri*, customary leaders, community leaders, and local scholars by conducting comprehensive discussions, regarding administrative and factual legitimacy based on genealogies of who the real *soa parentah* is. Only then did they communicate persuasively to Nustapy *soa* and Malakone *soa* who claimed they were entitled to be *soa*

parentah and chosen to be the definitive *raja* of Hila. For the provisional *raja* of the Hila, it is not an easy matter. It takes an optimization of roles to be able to resolve it amidst these mutual claims. This is also followed by the polarization of the Hila elite and the community following these two *soas*. If the provisional *raja* tries to recognize Nustapi as a *soa* who has the right to become a defensive *raja* of Hila, it will have an impact on protests from their opponent supporters. On the other hand, if the provisional *raja* recognizes Malakone *soa*, the protests will come from Nustapi's supporters. The crux of this issue is left to Nustapy and Malakone *soas* to wisely conduct deliberations to find a solution. The the provisional *raja* of Hila always pushes towards the settlement of deliberation in order to a definitive *raja* of the Hila *negeri* can be chosen. (Provisional *Raja* of Hila *Negeri*, M. Amin Sopaliu).

This is in contrast to Mamala *negeri* which in the process of selecting the *raja* only has one candidate that has gone through the mechanism of the *mata rumah*. The selection process runs smoothly in accordance with the local customary democracy election mechanism. The election mechanism applies only one command or *parentah* to be nominated as a headman. The *negeri*'s *saniri* hands over the selection process internally to *mata rumah parentah* of the Malawat to choose a candidate for the *raja* who come from the house. If there was only one candidate, then the direct election will be determined through *negeri* regulations. If there are two, direct elections will be held. In fact, during the process of changing the *raja* so far, Mamala *negeri* only had one candidate, so they still maintain the culture of choosing a *raja* based on their customary system to this day. (Mamala *Negeri* Secretary, an interview on August 2022).

Conflict of Authority of *Negeri* Leaders

Almost all *negeris* have declared their readiness to return to customary government or implement customary government, even though it turns out that they are faced with the problems regarding *mata rumah parentah* entitled to be the headman or *raja*. The *mata rumah parentah* in the past or in the period before the implementation of Law No. 5 of 1979 seemed to run very effectively and efficiently. The elements of the government apparatus from the *raja* to the *marinyo* (*forest rangers*) have been arranged and function well. Each *mata rumah* and *soa* in customary government in the *negeri* have their respective roles and functions in running the wheels of government and *negeri* development. The people in Maluku at that time seemed so obedient and very appreciative of the government in their *negeri*. The administration of government, development and society in the Maluku *negeris* in all aspects of life take place very harmoniously. Indigenous peoples in Maluku with all their socio-cultural institutions are developing very well. Likewise, the *negeri* government organization look so authoritative and highly respected by the people. Indigenous peoples in Maluku remain obedient and actively participate in every government activity and *negeri* development. All decisions of the government are always followed and implemented with sincerity and full responsibility by the community without any complaints. In essence, there is no conflict or controversy in the government in each *negeri* in Maluku regarding the right of *mata rumah parentah*. (Dokolamo, 2020).

The conflict between the elites in Hila *negeri* was caused by their siding with Nustapy *soa* and Malakone *soa*, each of whom claimed they were the *soa* who had the most right to become a *raja* in Hila based on genealogies from immemorial time. The conflict between the elites in the Hila also involved the people who acted as supporters of the elites. Conflicts between elites in Hila often involved verbal attacks which discredited each other. In fact, it often ended in physical clashes among the community. If only the elites of the Hila could wisely and wisely choose to sit together to resolve the conflict between them absolutely it would have an impact on the conducive atmosphere in Hila. However, it seems that the conflict is protracted and does not end. (Malik Selang, one of the Hila State Community Leaders). Apart from that, if until now there are still conflicts between the elites of between the elites in Hila. To him, the elites in Hila *negeri* should be role models by being able to provide solutions for the definitive resolution of *raja*'s problems. Unfortunately, they appear to support and take sides between the two *soas*. Such an attitude will only heat up the conflict, drag it on. Moreover, the involvement of the Hila, it is necessary to have the role of the provisional *raja* of Hila *negeri*, the district head of Hila, the chief of police (*Kapolsek*), the military district commander (*Danramil*) and various other strategic stakeholders to resolve the conflict. The head of government in Leihitu district is of course concerned about the conflict elite in Hila is also followed by the people of acting as their supporters. If not managed properly, this will have an impact on open conflict.

Seeing such conditions, as the head of Leihitu district, we always be there to provide guidance through persuasive ways and cooperate with stakeholders at the sub-district level, namely, the *latupati* or *raja* of Leihitu, provisional *raja* of Hila, *Kapolsek*, *Danramil*, *Babinkamtibmas*, *Babinsa* and other strategic stakeholders, so that the elites in Hila can stop the conflict, then wisely sit together to solve the problem. (Head of Leihitu Sub-district, an interview on August 2022).

Headman Selection Process through *Saniri*

Maluku Province Regional Regulation Number 14 of 2005 concerning re-determination of the *negeri* as a unit of customary law communities in the Maluku provincial government territory in principle has stipulates the *negeri* as a unit of customary law community in Maluku province (Holle, 2012). This regional regulation then accommodates the possibility of the emergence of a head of government who is appointed based on local customs according to lineage of the *mata rumah*. According to Maruapey (2018), the community is given the authority to recognize the right of origin (recognition). In this regulation, the neutrality of the Hila *saniri* is shown by not taking sides with one of the *soas*. As for Hila *negeri* problem regarding the conflict between the supporters of each *soa*, it is very diplomatic. Nevertheless, slowly one time they will find a solution. (The Head of Hila *Saniri*, an interview on August 2022).

Heretofore, several parties in Hila have accused the Hila *saniri* of not being neutral in carrying out their duties in accordance with their position, function and authority as stipulated in the Regional Regulation referred to by Central Maluku Regency Number 4 of 2006 concerning Guidelines for *Saniri* or the *Negeri* Consultative Board. The reason is that for almost a dozen years the performance of the smallest representative institution in the Hila *negeri* has worked very slowly to choose a definitive *raja*. This is expected because of the strong interest of Nustapy *soa* and Malakone *soa*. The mutual claims between the two *soas* are also supported by two other *soas* namely Totohatu *soa* and Upua Telu *soa*. Even the community members support the claim of two *soas* that they are the entitled *soa parentah*. In such a condition, the head of *saniri* his staff did not need to defend themselves with various classical reasons, but instead had to maximize their leadership to succeed the definitive *raja* of Hila. To them, by optimizing the intended leadership, they will be able to find the right solution for the quest of a definitive *raja* of Hila. (A Customary Leader of Hila, an interview on August 2022).

To see the democracy practice in Hila *negeri* and Mamala *negeri*, the table 2 below shows the picture of Hila *negeri*:

Table 2. A Picture of Democracy Practice in Hila *Negeri*

Strengths (S)	Opportunity (O)	Internal Problem (W)	External Problem (T)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The structure of the <i>negeri</i> government (<i>raja</i> and <i>saniri negeri</i>) is recognized as the value of the indigenous government in Hila. 2. The <i>negeri</i> government still exists in life of the people of Hila.. 3. Central Maluku District Regulation Number 03 of 2006 concerning Procedures for Election of <i>Negeri</i> Government. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hila <i>negeri</i>: the <i>raja</i> must come from <i>mata rumah</i> of Lating and Ollong. 2. <i>Mata rumah</i> of Lating and Ollong conduct discussion to carry the candidate for becoming the <i>raja</i>. 3. The election system is conducted democratically (<i>JURDIL, LUBER</i>). 4. The voters must come from <i>mata rumah</i> of Lating, Ollong and Selang. 5. People coming from outside of Hila have no right take part in the election. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conflict between <i>mata rumah</i> of Lating and Ollong is awaiting the decision from the Administrative Court 2. There is no <i>negeri</i> regulation (<i>Perdes</i>) on the headman or <i>raja</i> election system. 	<p>Prolonged conflict affects on the uncertainty of having definitive <i>raja</i> making the provisional <i>raja</i>'s has to work for very long period of time.</p>

Source: *Field Data Analysis, 2022*

Whereas in Mamala *negeri*, in the process of selecting the *raja*, the *saniri* hands over internal elections to *mata rumah parentah* that has the right to become a headman or *raja*. After a decision has been made from *mata rumah parentah*, the order is then handed over to the *saniri* to be determined based on existing regulations. In Mamala *negeri* until now there is almost no conflict of interest in the election of the

raja (A member of *saniri negeri* of Mamala, an interview on August 2022). The picture of Mamala's democracy can be seen at table 3 below:

Table 3. A Picture of Democracy Practice in Mamala *Negeri*

Strengths (S)	Opportunity (O)	Internal Problem (W)	External Problem (T)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The structure of the <i>negeri</i> government (<i>raja and saniri negeri</i>) is recognized as the value of the indigenous government in Mamala. 2. The <i>negeri</i> government still exists in life of the people of Mamala. 3. Central Maluku District Regulation Number 03 of 2006 concerning Procedures for Election of <i>Negeri</i> Government. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mamala <i>negeri: raja</i> must come from Latu (Malawat) <i>soa</i>. 2. The <i>saniri</i> decided the electoral system internally by which it was later continued to election. 3. Mamala <i>negeri</i> has 5 <i>soas</i> namely Latu (largest <i>soa/raja soa</i>), Polu <i>soa</i>, Loi <i>soa</i>, Pati <i>soa</i>, and Puta <i>soa</i>. 4. The number of Mamala <i>saniri</i> is 9 represented by 5 <i>soas</i>. 5. The election system is carried out democratically (JURDIL, LUBER) 	<p>There is no <i>negeri</i> regulation (<i>Perdes</i>) on the headman or <i>raja</i> election system.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The government is running well because there is no conflict. 2. Mamala is one of <i>negeris</i> without provisional governments in Central Maluku because there is no conflict among the <i>soas</i>.

Source: Field Data Analysis, 2022

The Duty of Provisional *Raja* in Selecting a Definitive *Raja*

A *raja* in a *negeri* has the highest position or the most important position in administering the government of the *raja*. The *raja* is obliged to protect, defend, and improve the welfare, knowledge, and life of the villagers. The *raja* is in charge of administering the *negeri* government, carrying out *negeri* development, fostering *negeri* society, and empowering the *negeri* community. This task can be carried out properly if the *raja* can cooperate with village officials and the community. In accordance with the duties and functions of a *raja* in a *negeri*, people can expect a wider sense of justice and peace, a higher level of independence in developing themselves and solve various problems, as well as improving the level of community welfare. (Fajriyanti, 2022). Aside from that, in the context of the succession of the *raja's* leadership in *negeris* within the administrative area of Central Maluku regency, usually the local district government appoints a civil servant to become the provisional *raja* with general duties such as running the government and doing special tasks. Most importantly, provisional *raja* has to facilitate the election of a definitive *raja* to lead the *negeri*. In fact, sometimes there is also a small number of provisional *raja* who do not work optimally to select a definitive *raja*. Regarding this matter, the researcher interviewed the provisional *raja* of Hila *negeri* on May 6, 2022 at the Hila *negeri* office. According to the provisional *raja*, he has worked optimally by bringing together parties related to the succession of the definitive *raja* namely Nustapy and Malakone *soas* who claim to be legitimate descendants to rule along with two other *soas* which are Totohatu and Upua Telu *soas* and the community and customary leaders in Hila.

However, until now no decision is made. Even so, there is optimism that a solution can be agreed by which the *saniri* will be able to succeed the definitive *raja* of Hila whether it is in the form of deliberation or direct election. Everything is still in process. The point is that the provisional *raja* of Hila has encouraged the succession of the definitive *raja* to be carried out immediately. The provisional *raja* has been optimizing their performance by bringing together, facilitating, coordinating and communicating towards solving the problems. Apart from that, the high friction based on political interests between Nustapy and Malakone *soas* including other *soas* which are Totohatu and Upua Telu *soas* as protectors has implications on the slow performance of provisional *raja* to facilitate the selection of a defensive *raja* of Hila. This is worsen by the performance of *negeri's* apparatus which is not optimal. The impact slows down the selection of the definitive *raja*. If the performance of provisional *raja* was effective and efficient and did not blame the conflicting parties, a definitive *raja* could soon be selected. In this regard, the researcher's interview with a community leader of Hila *negeri* on 24 May 2022 at the Hila *saniri* office revealed that the political interests

in Hila between Nustapy and Malakone *soas* has affected the performance of the *negeri*'s. Optimizing the performance of the provisional *raja* and his apparatus through his leadership is crucial to resolve the conflict in Hila. This is also the hope of all people of Hila *negeri* to the provisional *raja* in carrying out their duties.

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Based on the discussion above, conclusion is drawn that the headman or *raja*'s conflict occurred in Hila *negeri* between *mata rumah* of Lating and Olong is regarding filling the position of the *raja* which is still waiting for the decision of the State Administrative Court (PTUN). Aside from Hila, the *negeri* of Mamala's process of selecting the *raja* is running normally/ meaning that there is no conflict in the election. In the selection process, *raja of Hila negeri* must come from two *mata rumah* namely Lating and Ollong while in Mamala *negeri*, the *raja* must come from one *mata rumah* namely Latu (the biggest *soa*).

The governments of Hila and Mamala do not yet have a *negeri* regulation (**Perneg**) on the *raja* election system. The *negeris* have only referred to Perda 03 of 2006 which is still very general and needs more operational derivative rules. The recommendation is that the *saniri negeri* has the function of supervising the *raja*'s government process. *Saniri negeri* has a scope of authority to resolve the problem such as *raja*'s selection conflict in the *negeris*. However, the limited authority comparing to the power of *mata rumah parentah* **makes** the conflict far from the end. Therefore, there's there needs to be a revision of the regional regulation (Perda) to regulate the existence of *negeri* and *saniri* in one institution. There must be also the addition of authority to Regional Regulation Number 03 of 2006.

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