Habitus Disposition within Culture of Land and Marine Sasi in Moluccas

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Abstract. The Moluccan embraces a local wisdom namely sasi. It functions is a tool to manage their natural resources. The land and marine sasi belongs to the customs territory, yet along with the development of the community, this culture experiences various transformations. Therefore, it is necessary to explore, identify, and compare the transformations of sasi on the land and the marine. The research was conducted at Morella village and Haruku, both are within the administrative territory of the District of Central Moluccas. Observations and in-depth interviews were held to obtain data. The result of this research shows that there is a shifting in the implementation of sasi which was held by the customary leader (habitus disposition). Nevertheless, the shifting from custom to ordinary tradition is only found on plant sasi. Meanwhile, the marine sasi remains within the customs territory. A unique finding has shown at land sasi which has a connection with religion. Meanwhile, the marine sasi does not have many links to religion. Finally, this research provides recommendations to conduct further identification and analysis of sasi shifting on wider area coverage such as in Southeast Moluccas. It also recommends conducting further research on the implementation of sasi on more diverse natural resources.

Keywords: Habitus disposition, Land Sasi and Marine Sasi.

1. Introduction

The study aims to identify and compare the changes occur on the implementation of Sasi on land and sea. As a custom base local culture, the sasi experiences improvement to adjust itself along with the development of its society. Many studies which observe sasi’s improvement as an institution has been conducted. However, a question on how a change process happens within the territory of land and marine sasi has not been yet conducted. Therefore, this study focuses on the effort to identify the figures whom involve in the sasi implementation as well as the changes within. The habitus disposition analysis uses post-structuralist approach under a reference of main theory by Bourdieu on habitus. While the theoretical reference to identify land and marine sasi on this research employs the common-pool resources approach from Ostrom. Sasi has been widely understood as the local wisdom of Mollucan to manage the natural resources. The mechanism to manage the natural resources is based on three main basic procedure, they are, open sasi (permission to take the harvest), close sasi (prohibition to take the harvest in certain period of time, unless the permission from customary leaders are granted) and sanction for any violations [1,2,3]. The prohibition and permission to take
harvest are under the control of customary leaders. It is a signal that the power or authority in the village is dominated only by a certain people. The control figures are not free from vested interest including political and economic interest [4]. Custom romance on harmonization of nature that involved the community in the village at the end will be confronted with the power relations owned by a few people who act as the defining actors for the sustainability of sasi. Various degree of interests between the community and the determinant actors will continuously take place and against to each other. The habitus disposition of sasi in the Moluccas has occurred in this context.

In regard to custom, several studies show the diversity of custom terminology. Custom is understood as a form of traditional cultural form and perceived as aftermost and directly linked to one certain tribe, restricted on territory, or on owned cultural homogeneity [5,6]. People of Moluccas have their own rules to identify their place as custom village. The identification is due to the typical clan in the area, local language, the local leader is called a bapa raja (King), and has a pela (brotherhood/sisterhood) with the other custom villages [7]. On the other study, custom is a tool of struggle to recapture people’s rights who have been taken by the Government in the name of people’s interests. The same thing happened when the custom lands in Bali island experiencing price spikes due to development of tourism sector. Custom was again used to suppress the speed of land selling in Bali. Besides land, Bali traditional dance experienced commodification that is transformation from sacred to commercial dance to promote the tourism [5,8]

Sasi as the Moluccas cultural product experiences powerful tug on religion interest and then evolves to be economical interest. Indubitably on the tug of the interests there are figures whose play central role. They are the controller of the sasi cultural activity continuous progress. What happen to the actor of sasi who always experiences transformation is the most important part in this study. The answer of the question of what happen to the actor of sasi is the discussion of habitus disposition in the Bourdieu’s references.

The explanation about habitus disposition in analyzing the transformation of sasi culture in Moluccas is believed to be contributed to the efforts of revitalization local culture over wider platform. Revitalization in turn provides positive influence to the natural resource management on local basis of land as well as sea for the interest of the people. At this certain platform, the importance of a study of habitus disposition of land and marine sasi is offered.

2. Theories

Habitus is and individual or group behaviour which continuously occur and involving individual and community experiences over a social reality. The continuous behaviour is called as disposition terminology. Thus habitus disposition is a transformation process of individual or group behaviour to achieve certain goals [9,10]. At last, the habitus disposition creates classes within society due to the habitus character’s restriction. A research by Purwanto [11] uses habitus concept and capital utilization toward the people of Kasongan in Yogyakarta proves how certain design and type of raw materials become a characteristic which cannot be replicated by other groups. Each group forms their own habitus at last. The fight between habitus occurs when they scramble ceramics market especially the marketing lane of exports.

Field of sasi in this study is not at the marine or land zoning. Field or place of sasi’s fight is at where each figure or leaders are expanding their territory to obtain domination in sasi. Every single means is used by individual or group to win the fight that is gaining the most powerful authority in managing the sasi. The effort needs habitus’ intelligence in using various capitals. Bourdieu divided capitals into four groups, they are capital of culture, social, economy and symbolic [12].

The marine and land sasi’s positions are identified through the concept of natural resources utilization systems those are commons-pool resources and common property right. The natural resources management on community basis is what [13] called as community-based resource management (CBRM) system. In the context of natural resources utilization there are four good classifications they are public goods, commons-pool resources, tool goods, and private goods. Marine sasi is applied for several types of marine animals among other sea cucumber and certain fish and
every person is able to make use of that natural resource without any ownership bond. Therefore the marine sasi is categorized in *common-pool resources*. Unlike on land sasi whereas all types of managed plants are own by individuals (private goods). To organize the maximum utilization of common-pool resources, people must obey the common rules called *common property right*. Although the concept of common property rights by Ostrom applies only to common pool resources, however in reference to sasi’s law, the implementation of land sasi (plant) can also be bound by *common property right* [14]. Therefore, the rules of sasi is the implementation of what known as *common property right*.

3. Method

This article was composed based on the data which was collected through qualitative approach. The data collection process was commenced by holding identification over the area which conducting marine sasi, it is the Haruku village and land sasi at the Morella village. Geographically, Haruku and Morella are located on two different islands. Haruku is on Haruku island, whilst Morella is located on Ambon island. Nevertheless, both villages are administratively located at the Central Moluccas district. The people of Haruku villages implement the marine sasi on lompa fish whilst the nutmeg plant sasi is operated in Morella. In dept interview is a way to record information related to the focus of this study. Research was conducted in January 2016.

4. Result and Discussion

This part is to review two main issues they are elements identification inside the sasi implementation and secondly, habitus disposition analysis found in the implementation of *lompa* fish sasi in Haruku and nutmeg plant sasi in Morella. This part will be ended by providing recommendation for the government, community at large and academia.

4.1. The Elements of Land and Marine Sasi

In addition to the basic regulations of sasi implementation (open-close and sanction), this study found several other elements which even show the diversity of sasi culture implementations in Moluccas. The elements are type of commodity, local community involvement, leaders or the determinants of sasi implementation, form of sasi and time of implementation. The major differentiation between marine and land sasi is at the zoning whereby the sasi is implemented (marine and land). This study shows that the zoning differentiation is in fact the beginning of series of quite influencing differentiation affected to other elements.

Certainly there is no individual ownership on commodity nor area (territory) in marine sasi (*common pool resources*), meanwhile the ownership in land and nutmeg plant sasis is private (*private goods*). Lompa fish sasi is a custom sasi, therefore a consequence of custom sanction is applied to the offenders. In depth interview manages to reveal that custom sanction form is psychological not physical sanction. The offender will be considered as people who do not respect the customs. The punishment makes the offender be ashamed and isolated from local community. This kind of sanction looks effective at the local community who upholds the custom. The timing of lompa fish sasi is conducted once a year and its period is two months. The stipulation of open sasi is marked by a sacred custom ceremony. Normally, lompa fish sasi is conducted in October. Because the lompa fish sasi is a custom sasi, therefore the authorized leader for sasi ceremony is only the custom leader who assisted by seven custom stakeholders.

The people of Morella constructs nutmeg sasi as ordinary sasi (not custom). The controller of nutmeg sasi is not appointed by custom but auction mechanism. The auction winner normally comes from the economical player. Due to the agronomical character considerations, a sasi authority holder has the right for three harvesting times within a year. Through in depth interview reveals information that there is almost no case of harvest failure found because of the pest. Harvesting failure due to thefts is the biggest threat, and the climate change threat comes after. Consequently, nutmeg plant safety from thefts is the main issue in the activity of nutmeg plant production. The people pay
supervisory service to the authorized sasi holder at a ratio of 1:10. It means from ten nutmeg yields (usually on kilogram measure), the sasi manager of whom represented by kewang (plant supervisor) reserves the right one portion as the rewards for the service of supervising the nutmeg plant from theft (Azuz, 2017). Although there is now obligation to become sasi participant, all the nutmeg plant is participating in nutmeg sasi when the research is conducted in Morella.

| Table 1. Comparison of Land and Marine Sasi based on the Sasi Element |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| **Sasi Element** | **Lompa Fish Sasi** | **Nutmeg Plant Sasi** | **Remarks** |
| Basic Regulation | Open-Close-Sanction | Open-Close-Sanction | Same |
| Zoning | Sea | Land | Different |
| Commodity | Lompa Fish | Nutmeg Plant | Different |
| Type of sanction | Moral or Custom | Physical and Fine | Different |
| Form of sanction | Custom | New tradition | Different |
| Controller Figure | Custom Leader | Auction winner | Different |
| Community involvement | All member of the community | Individual | Different |
| Time | Once a Year | Three times a Year | Different |
| Reward | None | 1:10 | Different |

Source: Primary data

4.2. Habitus Disposition of Land and Marine sasi in Moluccas

On Table 1 shown there are nine elements works on lompa fish and nutmeg plant sasi. The discussion over habitus disposition is available at the element of sasi controller figure and the involvement of community. The history of lompa fish has been inherited through generations and formed an exclusive class for the custom leader as the controller of sasi. The custom leader’s position whom held by key informant was not shifted to other people as long as this figure is alive. In social reality of Moluccas traditional community, the descendant plays an important role as marked by clan identity. There is a clan whom from long time ago has been in charge to manage lompa fish sasi. The person in charge needs to make various efforts to maintain his power. In case he does not make the efforts there is a possibility that the position shifts to other person within the same clan.

This study reveals that one way to strengthen the position is by inserting environmental issue inside the lompa fish sasi culture. Whenever lompa fish sasi is linked to the environmental issue, there is a slot to establish cooperation with various parties. The local custom leader joins a national indigenous organization. This involvement makes lompa fish sasi sounded within the rhythm of environmental issue gains a lot of appreciation from national and international environmentalists. This success in one hand meant as the effort to lift up local wisdom values for the environmental sustainability. Yet at the same time, in the sociology point of view, the effort will strengthen the bargaining position of custom leader to the community. The stronger the position, the more solid the habitus class formed and the more difficult to penetrate by other parties. This position strengthening process is known as habitus disposition.

The habitus disposition as seen on nutmeg plant sasi is unlikely as seen on lompa fish sasi. If lompa fish sasi has the effort to keep its position through establishing cooperation and voicing the environmental issues, at the other side the nutmeg sasi the main issue sounded is the effort to keep nutmeg plant safe from thefts. The geographical condition causes nutmeg plant is vulnerable from stealing threats. In such situation those who are able to guarantee the community’s nutmeg plants are safe from thefts, would deserve to hold the power of nutmeg sasi. The power to hold nutmeg sasi in Morella formally gained through offering during the auction of nutmeg sasi.

Nutmeg sasi which take place for more than ten years has yielded changes of regulations from to time. The sasi power holder along with kewang ((plant supervisor) always renew regulations aiming to ensure the yield certainty. The certainty of yield in turn provides the guarantee of financial income for the nutmeg plants owner community. The change of the regulations actually strengthens the sasi
power holder position as a party who is able to provide protections. The continuous strengthening of position is in fact the habitus disposition to forming new social class whose walls are hard to penetration.

Through the study of lompa fish and nutmeg plant reveals that there is a difference main issue used to ensure the sustainability of sasi. The main issue results continuous changes which more strengthening to the position of the sasi controller figures position for the continuity of the habitus.

Through the study of lompa fish and nutmeg plant have shown the main different issue to ensure the sasi’s sustainability. The main issue has resulted in the continuous changes that strengthen the position of the control figures for the continuity of habitus. The discussion of land and marine sasi at the Moluccas has shown that the study on sasi is still paramount important. The study should broaden its scope to include another commodity. It is vital to obtain the full picture of the changing process on local culture from time to time. At the end, it may provide the picture of culture reproduction within the society.

5. Conclusion

Marine and land sasi have similarity in its basic regulation. There are quite a lot of differences on the element of sasi.

Habitus disposition occurs on two elements of sasi they are on the figure of controller. The main issue exhaled on the lompa fish sasi is environment. Meanwhile the assurance of to yield the nutmeg plant is the issue on land sasi. The sasi controllers use the main issue to strengthen their position in the community which means the process of habitus strengthening is taking place.

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7. References

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