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## INTEGRATION OF LOCAL WISDOM AND MODERN POLICIES: THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SASI IN MALUKU

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### ABSTRACT

*This study explores the role of traditional village governments in integrating local wisdom with modern policies through the implementation of sasi, a customary natural resource management system in Negeri Lima, Leihitu District, Maluku. Using a qualitative approach, data were collected through observation and in-depth interviews with local stakeholders, including customary leaders and government representatives. The findings reveal that traditional institutions, particularly the kewang, function as critical intermediaries that align indigenous practices with contemporary governance frameworks. The implementation of sasi has become more adaptive and structured due to this synergy, resulting in improved management of local resources such as nutmeg and coconut, while maintaining ecological sustainability and economic relevance. The study highlights that traditional village governments are not merely preservers of custom, but also agents of innovation who mediate change without sacrificing cultural identity. The novelty of this research lies in its focus on the evolving role of adat-based governance in responding to modern challenges, offering a new perspective on how traditional systems can collaborate with formal policies to produce sustainable, locally rooted solutions. This integration model not only reinforces the relevance of local wisdom in contemporary contexts but also presents a replicable framework for similar communities confronting ecological and developmental pressures. The study contributes to social sciences and humanities by providing empirical evidence of how tradition and modernity can co-create responsive, innovative models for natural resource governance.*

**Keywords:** Adat Collaboration, Local Wisdom, Natural Resources, Sasi Maluku, Traditional Village

### INTRODUCTION

The *sasi* system in Maluku, as part of local wisdom in natural resource management, has long been a cornerstone in maintaining the ecological and social balance of the community. However, in recent decades, *sasi* has faced growing challenges amidst modernization and policy changes that tend to be more top-down. Traditional villages, including Negeri Lima in Leihitu District, Maluku, are confronted with a crucial question: How can the relevance and effectiveness of *sasi* be maintained amidst the demands of modern policies that sometimes contradict local values? Adaptive natural resource management is crucial, not only for preserving the ecosystem but also for maintaining the socio-economic welfare of the local community, which relies on

resources such as nutmeg, coconut, and fish (Fadiyah et al., 2024; Muin & Rakuasa, 2023). Therefore, it is important to examine the role of traditional village governance in addressing these challenges.

Research on *sasi* has been conducted across various disciplines, but most have focused on the traditional aspects and its role in ecological conservation. For example, Uktolseja & Balik (2022) highlight how *sasi* remains a vital mechanism for marine protection, even though it has undergone practical changes in some regions. In another study, Putri et al. (2020) emphasize the role of *sasi* as an important tool for empowering local communities, despite the challenges in implementing policies at the local level. Meanwhile, Pahleviannur (2024) and Pelulessy (2024) argue that *sasi* has gradually lost its regulatory strength when confronted with economic policies that prioritize the exploitation of natural resources.

This literature shows that research on *sasi* has extensively discussed the aspects of tradition and conservation; however, the integration between *sasi* and modern policies remains relatively unexplored. Baldan & Retnoningsih (2024) mention that there is a significant gap in studies linking *sasi* with modern policies based on ecology and economy. This study aligns with the findings of Lubis (2022) and Noya (2023), which underline that without proper coordination between traditional village governments and national policies, *sasi* practices risk becoming symbols without practical function. This research is based on the idea that the role of traditional village governments in implementing *sasi* should be viewed within a more comprehensive policy framework.

So far, several researchers have attempted to explore how local wisdom can be integrated with modern policies, but these efforts are mostly theoretical and rarely empirically examined. Alvayedo & Erliyana (2022) argue that modern policies tend to overlook the role of adat (custom) in natural resource management, even though local wisdom has proven effective in preserving the environment. This weakness is also identified by Vindy & Subroto (2024), who found that modern policies often fail to align with local contexts, ultimately leading to resistance from indigenous communities. On the other hand, research by Renanda & Sari (2024) shows that traditional villages capable of blending local wisdom with modern policies can achieve more sustainable natural resource management.

Although literature has discussed various aspects of *sasi*, this study aims to go further by exploring in-depth the role of traditional village governance in navigating the dynamics of modern policies. This article seeks not only to understand how *sasi* continues to survive but also to explore how traditional villages can act as agents of change in adapting modern policies without losing their traditional identity. This is where the uniqueness of this research lies: not merely viewing *sasi* as a tradition but as a system that continues to evolve and innovate. This study also identifies a significant gap in broader research related to the synergy between adat and modernity. While many previous studies have emphasized tradition preservation, this article offers a new perspective: how traditional villages can lead in aligning government policies with local wisdom by creating natural resource management models that are not only adaptive but

also innovative and sustainable. By examining the role of traditional villages, which are now not only guardians of traditional values but also innovators in responding to changing times, this article seeks to show how the synergy between adat and modern policies can create a new harmony in natural resource management in Maluku. This study also provides a more holistic perspective on how adat-based management models can serve as relevant examples of adaptation in other regions with similar local wisdom.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative approach with a case study method, aiming to explore the role of traditional village governance in the implementation of *sasi* in Negeri Lima, Leihitu District, Maluku. This location was chosen because the region is known for its rich tradition and natural resource management based on local wisdom (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The research subjects include traditional leaders, community members, and village government officials, all of whom offer valuable experiences and perspectives within the context of *sasi* implementation.

The informants in this study were selected based on predetermined operational criteria. Key informants consisted of 15 individuals who possessed in-depth knowledge of *sasi* and were actively involved in its management. The criterion of “active involvement in the management of *sasi*” was defined as direct participation in activities such as planning, implementation, monitoring, and decision-making related to *sasi*. The selection of informants was carried out using the snowballing method, where three initial informants were purposively chosen based on their roles and knowledge. The search for informants was concluded when the information provided began to repeat, and no new findings emerged, in accordance with the principle of saturation (Adj, 2024; Fontana & Frey, 2019).

Data collection techniques were carried out through three main methods: participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. Participatory observation provided the researcher with the opportunity to directly engage in the practice of *sasi*, allowing for a deeper understanding of the social and cultural interactions that occur (Achjar et al., 2023). Furthermore, in-depth interviews were conducted using semi-structured guidelines, which enabled the exploration of informants’ views and experiences. By involving traditional leaders, community members, and government officials, these interviews uncovered the challenges and expectations regarding the integration of modern policies with local wisdom (Waruwu, 2023). Additionally, document analysis was used to examine government policies and records on *sasi* implementation, providing additional context on the relationship between policies and local practices (Fontana & Frey, 2019; Jailani, 2023; Lambert & Lambert, 2021).

In analyzing the data, the researcher followed several systematic steps. First, data reduction was performed by filtering irrelevant information to focus the analysis on aspects that support solving the research problem (Ritonga & Muhandhis, 2021b; Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). Next, coding was conducted to organize the data based on emerging themes, such as the role of

traditional village governance and challenges in *sasi* implementation (Adelliani et al., 2023). Afterward, thematic analysis was carried out to identify patterns and relationships between the identified themes, followed by data interpretation, which considered the social and cultural context (Kristanto & Padmi, 2020). Conclusions were drawn based on the analysis, providing an in-depth understanding of the integration between local wisdom and modern policies.

To ensure the validity and reliability of the data, several strategies were employed, including data triangulation by comparing information from various sources and member checking to obtain feedback from key informants on the researcher's interpretation (Kristanto & Padmi, 2020; Nuyts et al., 2020). Additionally, an audit trail was applied to maintain records of the data collection and analysis process. The research procedure was carried out systematically, starting from the preparation of the literature review, data collection through observation, interviews, and document analysis, to data analysis and the preparation of the final report. With this approach, this study is expected to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of traditional village governance in the implementation of *sasi* and how local wisdom can adapt to modern policies.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The *Sasi* Management System in Indigenous Villages in Maluku

In Maluku, particularly in the Leihitu region, the existence of indigenous villages is a distinctive feature that reflects the social and cultural dynamics of its people. Negeri Lima, as an example, is located in a mountainous area, where the community lives within a social structure based on specific territories. Each territory is led by a clan leader, creating a decentralized yet interconnected governance system. In this context, the community is divided into several groups known as *Soa*, each with its own identity and leadership. The five *Soa*—Hena Nau in Ulakhatu Hamlet, Hena Lale in Wasi Hedale Hamlet, Hena Helu in Hena Hamlet, Hena Ulasiahu, and Hena Nau Hena Ela Tua in Tunu Hamlet—demonstrate how geographical divisions play a role in building strong and supportive communities.

As time passed, the collective consciousness of living together led to an agreement among these five villages to move from the mountains to the coastal area. This step was not just a physical relocation but also marked a profound social transformation, where the relationships between indigenous communities became more closely intertwined. The previously separate areas now formed a unified entity known as Negeri Lima. Within this, each *Soa* functions as a subunit managed by a *Soa* leader, who is appointed through community deliberation. This reflects the continued importance of community participation in decision-making, even in a more modern context (Hakim & Baihaqi, 2024).

One significant finding in this study is that the village government holds the authority to organize auctions of *sasi* products, such as nutmeg and coconut. They also play a role in determining the distribution of these products to various local institutions, such as mosques and

schools, thus creating a more equitable distribution. Interviews with members of the Saniri (village council) of Negeri Lima revealed: “The village government acts as a mediator, ensuring that no group dominates the *sasi* harvest. The decision to open *sasi* must first be discussed with traditional leaders and the community.”

This statement demonstrates a symbiotic relationship between formal governance and traditional structures, which serves as the foundation for the continuation of the *sasi* practice. This addresses the first objective of the research: understanding how the village government plays a role in maintaining the *sasi* system. The implementation of *sasi* in Negeri Lima involves formal stages, starting from the landowner’s request to open *sasi* after the prohibition period. Currently, the focus of *sasi* is on high-value economic crops such as nutmeg and coconut. The auction process for these crops is conducted openly, involving the entire community and creating opportunities for all parties to participate in resource management. However, observations also reveal significant changes in the structure of *sasi* implementation, where the role of traditional institutions, such as *kewang* (traditional custodians), has diminished. One informant stated, “In the past, *kewang* protected the *sasi* crops, but now they are mostly replaced by community groups that win the auction.”

This change marks a transformation in the management of *sasi*, which was previously managed independently by traditional institutions, but now relies more on local community groups formed through the auction system. Although this change has had a positive impact in terms of increasing community participation, there is concern that the traditional values embedded in *sasi* may gradually erode over time. The main challenges in the implementation of *sasi* in Negeri Lima include the limited knowledge of the younger generation about this practice and economic influences that drive the community to focus more on commercial aspects than on traditional values (Manuputty et al., 2023; Ramdhan & Afdhal, 2023). Observations and interviews with the community reveal that many young people are not involved in the *sasi* process due to a lack of education about the importance of this tradition. One traditional leader revealed, “The younger generation is more focused on jobs in the city; they no longer care about traditions like *sasi*. This makes us worried that *sasi* could disappear.”

This challenge is crucial to discuss, as without the regeneration of knowledge about *sasi*, the continuation of this tradition will be threatened. This finding addresses the second research question regarding how the *sasi* process is currently carried out and the challenges faced. Through this research, it was found that the role of the Negeri Lima government in maintaining the local wisdom of *sasi* is highly significant. The village government not only functions as a manager but also as a guardian of tradition, creating synergy between formal elements and traditional structures. The existence of village governance in *sasi* management reflects a form of hybrid governance, where traditional and modern elements collaborate within one system. This aligns with governance theory, which emphasizes the importance of participation from various parties in natural resource management, as highlighted by Musavengane & Kloppers (2020) in the theory of communal resource management.

This study reveals a significant transformation in the practice of *sasi*, where the traditional authority of institutions like the *kewang* has gradually weakened due to the expanding role of village governments, potentially eroding the cultural values embedded in *sasi*. While the integration of auction-based mechanisms has enabled broader community involvement in the management of high-value resources like nutmeg and coconut, this commercialization risks diminishing *sasi*'s original function as a tool for environmental stewardship. Furthermore, the declining knowledge and participation of the younger generation, driven by urban job aspirations and lack of intergenerational knowledge transfer, presents a critical threat to the continuity of this tradition. Economic pressures have also shifted community focus from cultural preservation to profit orientation, underscoring the tension between maintaining traditional values and adapting to modern economic realities.

### **Collaboration Between Tradition and Modernity: Implementation of *Sasi* in Indigenous Villages of Maluku**

The role of the indigenous village government in Negeri Lima in implementing *sasi* highlights the importance of their position as a bridge between local communities rooted in traditional wisdom and the modern government, which often brings contemporary policies. The indigenous village government is not only tasked with maintaining the customary practice of *sasi*, but also navigating modern policies that may differ in approach and objectives. In this regard, the integration of government policies with local wisdom becomes a crucial focus in the sustainable management of natural resources.

Findings from this research show that the indigenous village government, through the role of *Kewang*—a traditional institution responsible for overseeing *sasi* regulations—plays a key role in ensuring that the tradition remains relevant and recognized by modern policies. One of the informants, the Raja of Negeri Lima, who was interviewed indirectly, affirmed, “*Kewang* is the institution that preserves the natural resources here, and we, as the indigenous government, ensure that *sasi* rules are adjusted with local government policies without losing the essence of the tradition.” This reflects how the role of the indigenous village government becomes dynamic; they function as a bridge allowing tradition and modernity to mutually reinforce one another.

The collaboration between *Kewang* and the village government in Negeri Lima is also the key to the successful implementation of *sasi*. *Kewang*, as the guardian of tradition, plays a central role in enforcing *sasi*, especially in overseeing the rules regarding the utilization of natural resources such as the sea and forests. However, in recent decades, *Kewang* has also begun to collaborate with the regional government to ensure that *sasi* practices can be recognized within the framework of modern law. In an interview with the Saniri of Negeri Lima, one member said, “We often face pressure from modernity, both from the market economy and regional policies, but the indigenous government and *Kewang* collaborate to find middle ground. For instance, in some aspects, we adjust *sasi* rules to align with environmental regulations from the regional government.”



This collaboration has led to a practice of *sasi* that not only focuses on resource protection but also on more efficient management by taking into account the economic value of commodities such as nutmeg and coconut. The indigenous village government in Negeri Lima, along with *Kewang*, has successfully formulated policies that allow for increased productivity of local commodities without sacrificing the traditional principles that underpin them. One important finding from this research is how the implementation of *sasi* has been adapted to respond to contemporary challenges. For example, challenges such as climate change and global economic pressures influence the way natural resources are managed in Maluku. The indigenous village government in Negeri Lima works with the regional government to develop more adaptive and sustainable management mechanisms. From a public policy perspective, the interaction between the indigenous government and the regional government in managing *sasi* can be seen as a collaborative model that integrates community-based policies with top-down approaches from the government.

### **Social and Economic Benefits of *Sasi*: From Local Commodity Management to Natural Resource Protection**

*Sasi*, as a traditional resource management system, has proven to have a positive impact on the local economy in Negeri Lima. One of the most evident benefits is the management of local commodities such as nutmeg and coconut, which are the backbone of the community's economy. As a result of the integration of customary practices and modern government policies, the use of these natural resources is regulated with sustainability principles, providing not only short-term economic gains but also ensuring the availability of resources for future generations (Matitaputty, 2023; Vindy & Subroto, 2024).

In an interview with a nutmeg farmer in Negeri Lima, he explained, "*Sasi* teaches us the right time to harvest coconuts and nutmeg. In the past, many would just take the produce immediately, but now we know when to wait to get better results." This statement illustrates that the rules within *sasi* enable the community to manage local commodities more wisely. Thus, agricultural productivity increases as people gain a better understanding of natural cycles and the best ways to utilize them. The *sasi* system, through coordination between *Kewang* and the regional government, ensures that local commodities such as nutmeg and coconut are not excessively exploited but are regulated through customary restrictions on harvesting and forest clearing. This aligns with the theory of sustainable development proposed by scholars like Amartya Sen, who emphasizes the importance of balancing economic, environmental, and social well-being. As such, the implementation of *sasi* not only provides economic benefits to the community but also ensures that these benefits can be enjoyed sustainably in the future.

In addition to economic benefits, *sasi* plays a significant role in protecting natural resources. The research findings indicate that the *sasi* tradition, integrated with modern policies, is able to manage natural resources more effectively, particularly in preventing over-exploitation that can damage ecosystems. *Kewang*, as the traditional guardian, plays a crucial role in ensuring

that the *sasi* rules are strictly followed by the community.

One informant, a member of *Kewang* in Negeri Lima, stated, “We don’t just protect tradition, but we also protect the forests and the sea from being damaged. For instance, when there is a prohibition on fishing during *sasi* laut, everyone complies, and it results in more fish when the *sasi* is lifted.” This illustrates how *sasi*, as a form of community-based regulation, gives nature time to recover from human use, thereby ensuring the sustainability of marine and terrestrial ecosystems. This natural protection policy through *sasi* aligns with the ecological policy theory proposed by Garrett Hardin in “The Tragedy of the Commons.” According to this theory, without strict regulation, shared natural resources would be exploited until they are depleted. However, in the case of Negeri Lima, *sasi* functions as a customary mechanism that prevents such a “tragedy.” With clear rules about when the community can utilize marine or forest resources, over-exploitation is avoided, and the environment remains preserved.

The success of *sasi* implementation in Negeri Lima depends not only on customary traditions but also on the successful integration of these traditions with modern policies issued by the regional government. Collaboration between *Kewang*, the indigenous village government, and the regional government ensures that *sasi* not only protects the environment but is also recognized as legitimate public policy. The regional government accommodates the *sasi* tradition into more formal regulations, such as Regional Regulations on Natural Resource Management, thereby ensuring its preservation amid rapid social and economic changes. This approach can be analyzed through the theory of adaptive governance, where local and state actors collaborate to create policies that are responsive to local and global challenges. As explained by Nobel laureate Elinor Ostrom, successful resource management policies are those that involve active participation of local communities, as is the case with *sasi* implementation in Negeri Lima. Through this mechanism, both *Kewang* and the regional government act as resource managers who respond to environmental and economic challenges.

Beyond economic and ecological benefits, *sasi* also provides significant social benefits for the community in Negeri Lima. *Sasi* is not only seen as a tool for managing natural resources but also as a symbol of tradition’s sustainability and community involvement. Through *sasi*, the community is not only taught to care for nature but also to work together and adhere to long-established norms. A head of the family in Negeri Lima said, “*Sasi* makes us more disciplined and more aware of the importance of protecting the environment for the future of our children.” This statement shows that *sasi* not only teaches people how to manage nature but also builds social solidarity. The community feels a shared responsibility to protect the environment, which ultimately strengthens social cohesion among them. The integration of the traditional *sasi* policy with modern regulations in Negeri Lima has successfully created significant economic and social benefits. The management of local commodities such as nutmeg and coconut is regulated with sustainability principles that maintain productivity without damaging the environment. Additionally, the implementation of *sasi* ensures the protection of natural resources by preventing over-exploitation. More than that, *sasi* serves as a social mechanism that strengthens



community cohesion and ensures the continuity of tradition while providing real solutions to the ecological and economic challenges faced by the local community.

### **Integration of Customary and Government Systems in Resource Management**

The integration between customary systems and modern policies in natural resource management is not a straightforward process. In many regions, tradition and modernity often clash, especially when modern policies prioritize market-based approaches or rigid state regulations (Indrawasih, 2023). However, in Negeri Lima, this integration has created a strong synergy, where tradition and modern policy mutually reinforce each other in managing resources.

*Sasi*, as a form of local wisdom, has long been an essential part of life for the people of Maluku in preserving natural resources, both marine and terrestrial. On the other hand, modern policies implemented by local governments often focus on economic growth and environmentally-based regulations. In an indirect interview with the Raja of Negeri Lima, he emphasized, “We strive to keep the traditions alive, but also follow the more formal regulations of the local government. For example, in forest management, *Kewang* works with the local government to ensure there is no excessive exploitation.” This statement highlights how integration is achieved through active communication and good coordination between traditional village governments and local governments.

This integration allows for more adaptive resource management, where customary rules such as *sasi* can be aligned with modern environmental and economic regulations. A concrete example of this integration is when *sasi* is applied to the management of local commodities such as nutmeg and coconut. Through this cooperation, the utilization of natural resources is strictly regulated based on natural cycles and customary rules, while also considering productivity growth and economic potential supported by modern government policies.

From a public policy perspective, the synergy between custom and modern policy aligns with the concept of collaborative governance, introduced by Ansell and Gash. They explain that successful public policies often involve actors from various sectors—both local communities and formal governments—working together to create more effective and inclusive solutions. In Negeri Lima, *sasi* serves as a clear example of how this collaboration can result in sustainable resource management that is relevant to the needs of the local community. The traditional village government in Negeri Lima plays a crucial role in bridging these traditional and modern systems. As customary managers, they deeply understand the importance of preserving local wisdom like *sasi*, but they also recognize that modern times require adjustments to ensure the tradition remains relevant and accepted by the broader society, including the government.

*Kewang*, as the traditional institution responsible for implementing *sasi*, does not work alone. They constantly coordinate with the traditional village government and the regional government to ensure that customary rules are accepted within the modern legal framework. One member of *Kewang* in an informal interview said, “In the past, *Kewang* only focused on

customary rules, but now we must also follow local government regulations, such as land use permits.” This shows that the role of the traditional village government is crucial in navigating various modern regulations while maintaining the core of local wisdom. The role of the traditional village government in Negeri Lima can be analyzed through the institutional theory developed by Douglass North, where formal and informal institutions work together to create widely recognized rules. In this context, the traditional village government serves as an institution that mediates between customary norms (informal institutions) and regional government policies (formal institutions), thus creating more flexible and locally appropriate resource governance (Rakuasa, 2022; Sahusilawane et al., 2024).

In many traditional areas of Indonesia, tradition-based resource management systems are often considered inefficient or at odds with modern policies that are more market-oriented. However, this research shows that with good collaboration between customary institutions and formal governments, these two systems can work together to address global challenges such as climate change, deforestation, and over-exploitation. For instance, in other areas with traditional resource management systems such as customary forests in Kalimantan or Papua, the collaborative approach seen in Negeri Lima could be applied to create more sustainable management.

This approach can also be analyzed through Richard Rose’s policy adaptation theory, which emphasizes the importance of learning from policy experiences elsewhere and adapting them to local contexts. Negeri Lima demonstrates that policies rooted in local wisdom, like *sasi*, can be adapted into more complex modern public policies, enabling more efficient and sustainable natural resource management. From a public policy perspective, the integration of custom and modern policy in resource management in Negeri Lima reflects broader global challenges, where developing countries often face dilemmas between preserving local traditions and pursuing modern development. Here, the role of local actors, such as traditional village governments, is essential in bridging these two interests.

In a global context, scholars such as Elinor Ostrom, with her theory of commons governance, suggest that local communities have great capacity to manage their resources, provided they receive adequate support from formal governments. The research in Negeri Lima shows that when local governments support the *sasi* tradition and provide a legal framework that allows this practice to thrive, the result is resource management that not only protects the environment but also improves the community’s economic well-being (Haulussy et al., 2020; Sahusilawane et al., 2024).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the research objective to examine the role of traditional village governments in integrating local wisdom with modern policies through the implementation of *sasi* in Negeri Lima, Leihitu District, the findings affirm that the success of adaptive and sustainable natural resource

management is significantly shaped by the ability of customary institutions—particularly the *kewang*—to mediate between traditional values and formal governance frameworks. Traditional village governments are not merely custodians of cultural heritage, but also active innovators capable of facilitating change without compromising their cultural identity. The collaboration between customary systems and modern governance in managing *sasi* has produced a more structured and context-responsive management model that addresses both ecological sustainability and economic viability. These findings reinforce the relevance of local wisdom in facing contemporary challenges and present a replicable model for other regions with similar customary systems. The novelty of this study lies in its reinterpretation of traditional village governance as a dynamic institution capable of driving socio-ecological transformation through the synergy of tradition and public policy. This integrated model illustrates how tradition-based approaches can contribute meaningfully to global sustainability efforts when supported by adaptive, cross-institutional collaboration.

## ETHICAL STATEMENT AND DISCLOSURE

This study was conducted in accordance with established ethical principles, including informed consent, protection of informants' confidentiality, and respect for local cultural values. Special consideration was given to participants from vulnerable groups to ensure their safety, comfort, and equal rights to participate. No external funding was received, and the authors declare no conflict of interest. All data and information presented were collected through valid research methods and have been verified to ensure their accuracy and reliability. The use of artificial intelligence (AI) was limited to technical assistance for writing and language editing, without influencing the scientific substance of the work. The authors express their gratitude to the informants for their valuable insights, and to the anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback on an earlier version of this manuscript. The authors take full responsibility for the content and conclusions of this article.

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