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Yapio Patai as a Clan Confederation of *Negeri-Negeri* in Customary Governance on Seram Island, Eastern Indonesia

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Abstract

Seram Island has a community of indigenous peoples who live in a particular form known as "Patai" in the Wemale language. This alliance is a means of bringing together customary law communities as well as a type of customary governance alliance that is not legally controlled in the current *Negeri* governance system, particularly based on statutory regulations. The purpose of this study was to investigate the position of *Yapio patai* as a clan confederation. The findings revealed that *Yapio patai* is an association of clans that promise to continue to exist as an alliance even though these clans have dispersed and settled separately in seven *Negeri* in the West Seram region, with that oath they entered into a social contract. The examination of the confederation's elements leads to the conclusion that *Yapio patai* is a clan confederation.

Keywords: *Yapio Patai*, Confederation of Clans

1. Introduction

Indonesian laws and regulations recognize the existence of the Customary Law Community (abbreviated as MHA). In Indonesia, numerous national legal instruments recognize the existence of MHA. The recognition and respect for indigenous peoples are enshrined in Article 18B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which states, "The State recognizes and respects the unity of customary law community units along with their traditional rights as long as they are still alive and following the development of society and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which are regulated by law."

This article establishes MHA's constitutional standing concerning the state, as well as the constitutional basis for state administrators to choose how MHA should be treated. The article is a declaration regarding:

1. The state's constitutional obligation to recognize and respect MHA, and
2. MHA's constitutional right to obtain recognition and respect for their customary rights.

Article 18B paragraph (2) of the Republic of Indonesian Constitution of 1945 is a constitutional mandate that must be followed by state officials to govern the recognition and respect for the existence of MHA in the form of legislation. The provisions of Article 18B paragraph (2) of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution state that the state recognizes and respects the unity of MHA, as well as the rights of origin and traditional rights, as long as they are alive and do not conflict with the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the laws and regulations.

The elaboration of the provisions of Article 18B paragraph (2) of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution is further regulated in various laws and regulations, including Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages that accommodate customary law communities as customary villages; and the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 52 of 2014 concerning Recognition and Protection of Customary Law Community Units, which substantially and technically regulates custodial law communities and their recognition in regent/mayor decisions.

MHA on Seram Island is a community of people who live in groupings in a particular form known as "Patai" in the Wemale language. This alliance also serves to bring together communities with customary law. The establishment of Law Number 6 of 2014, regulates traditional villages (known as *Negeri* in Central Maluku) as a kind of alliance of customary law communities to organize administration based on customary law for the welfare of indigenous peoples. As an MHA communal alliance in the form of a "Patai," it is not precisely controlled under the current state government system, particularly in terms of statutory regulations.

This research was conducted with legal issues that were raised to be researched, studied, and analyzed, namely "Can the *Yapio patai* customary government system be categorized as a clan confederation?". This study aims to analyze and find arguments for the *Yapio patai* customary government system as a confederation.

2. Research Methods

This research is of the empirical law type, which is research-based on field data by collecting data from a sample and assessing positive legal provisions and legal principles. This is because this is legal research, and the science of law has a unique nature (it is a *sui generis* discipline) (Hadjon 1997). This is an investigation into the rules and regulations, particularly those about the issue of establishing the customary government system on Seram Island. In this study, a statutory method and a conceptual approach were applied.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. State Recognition of Customary Law Community Units

Following the amendment to the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, the recognition of customary law communities is governed by Article 18B paragraph (2) and Article 28I paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution. According to the provisions of Article 18B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution: "The state recognizes and respects customary law community units and their traditional rights as long as they are alive and following the development of society and the legal principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia." This is also governed by Article 28I paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution, which states: "Traditional communities' cultural identities and rights are protected following the development of the times and civilization."

The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia was prompted to amend Article 18B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution by governance entities at the village level such as *gampong* (in NAD), *nagari* (in West Sumatra), *dukuh* (in Java), *desa*, and *banjar* (in Bali), *negeri* (in Ambon) and numerous community groups in various regions live based on adat with their rights such as ulayat rights, but only if the customary law community groups truly exist and live, rather than being forced to exist; not turned on. As a result, the group must be further regulated in a regional regulation provided by the DPRD in its execution. Furthermore, the stipulation comes with a caveat: it must not contradict the principles of the unitary state (Indonesia 2009).

About the formulation of the provisions of Article 18B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, Jimly Asshiddiqie (Asshiddiqie 2006), stated that "The affirmation of recognition by the State is carried out (a) on the existence of a customary law community and their traditional rights; (b) the existence that is recognized is the existence of customary law community units; (c) the customary law community is indeed alive (still alive); (d) in a certain environment; (e) the recognition and respect is given without neglecting the measure of eligibility for humanity according to the level of development of the nation's civilization; and (f) such recognition and respect may not reduce the meaning of Indonesia as a country in the form of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia".

Before explaining further the term Customary Law, it is first explained about the term "custom." The term *adat* comes from Arabic, namely "*Aadatth*" often referred to as "*urf*," meaning something that is known, known, and repeated and becomes a habit in a society, in the form of words or various forms of actions (Hasan Shadily 1980).

These habits are institutionalized and imbued with societal norms or beliefs. The act must be performed and/or not performed; if performed or not performed, the leader of the community may impose sanctions. Because the presence of sanctions, community leaders, or the community stipulates it as law, it is known as "customary law," which applies in community organizations and binds the community.

"Customary law communities are legal subjects, because they are autonomous, which is then called village autonomy; meaning that the legal community carries out legal actions, such as making decisions that bind citizens, administering justice, regulating land use, inheriting, and so on," Soerjono Soekanto stated (Soekanto and Taneko 1983).

According to Ter Haar, as quoted by Budi Riyanto, "customary law communities are regular human units, settled in a specific area, with rulers and tangible and intangible assets, where the members of the unit experience life in society as a natural thing according to the nature of nature, and none of the members have the mind or inclination to break the bond that has grown, or leave it, in the sense of breaking free from that bond for good." (Riyanto. 2004).

According to R. van Dijk, the term "custom" is derived from Arabic, but it is widely recognized in all Indonesian languages. This phrase originally meant "custom," but it has since been acknowledged as decency and custom for Indonesians in all aspects of life, including all standards governing any type of living conduct by which Indonesians behave. It also includes legislative laws that govern and govern living with Indonesians (Riyanto 2004).

Customary law is used as a branch of legal science. This stems from the efforts of a customary law professor named Cornelius van Vollenhoven who raised customary law into a separate branch of science and used the term customary law as the best one to be the center of attention for the development of law in the life of the Indonesian people. This is because, in the words or terms of customary law, there is an understanding that Indonesian 'law' and other people's morality, customary law, and other customs, are "not separated by a black line." H. Hilman Hadikusuma (Hadikusuma 2003) states that "custom" is the habit of the community and community groups, gradually making it a custom that should apply to all members of the community, so that it becomes "customary law." So, customary law is an accepted custom and must be implemented in the community concerned. These two terms, *adat* and *adat law* (customary law), go hand in hand (two in tandem) and cannot be separated, but may only be distinguished as existing customs that have and do not have legal consequences.

Soepomo went on to describe the customary law community/customary law association, stating that legal associations in Indonesia can be divided into two (two) groups based on their composition, namely: a) based on genealogical ties; and 2) based on the fundamentals of the regional (territorial) environment (Hadikusuma 2003).

It is a notion of recognizing and honoring indigenous peoples' unity and traditional rights, according to Bagir Manan. Furthermore, it is said that "What is meant by customary law communities is legal communities

(*rechtsgemeenschap*) based on customary law or customs such as villages, clans, nagari, gampong, meunasah, huta, negorij and others. A legal community is a community unit - territorial or genealogical - which has its wealth, has citizens who can be distinguished from other members of the legal community, and can act either internally or externally as a legal entity (legal subject) that is independent and governs themselves. Manan 2002).

Based on the reference to Law Number 6 of 2014, the existing system of customary government is formalistic-normative. The system of customary government has experienced significant changes, and an original form following customary law is required. There was a state penetration in the record of legal developments connected to customary law communities and customary villages, which was previously the Dutch colonial penetration. According to Yayan Hidayat and his colleagues, "...the regulations and laws that have been issued by both the colonial government and the early independence government clearly show the penetration by the State or the government. to the life of indigenous peoples in West Sumatra, which has existed since the 14th century" (Hidayat, Febrianto and Mahalli 2017).

This research focuses on the role of *Yapio patai* as a sort of customary government system on Seram Island concerning Law No. 6 of 2014. Article 18 B paragraph (2) of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution and Law Number 6 of 2014 both provide scope for customary law community units to administer customary government based on rights of origin.

On Seram Island, the customary government system was established through a community coalition known as "Patai." This indigenous community alliance sparked the development of an indigenous government alliance, which was followed by the dispersal of indigenous peoples along the coast and on other small islands.

As the character of the customary law community in the form of representatives and collectives, the customary government system based on the *Yapio patai* form can be considered to be in the form of a federation or confederation. This is consistent with the presence of Minangkabau cultural actors in the past (Yunus 2013), as the penghulu council is a penghulu federation.

This activity has the status of Competency-Based Research, which aims to increase lecturers' competence in research following the field of law as the scientific basis of researchers. The researcher hopes that the results of this research will contribute to the development of legal science, especially those related to the field of study of the customary government system in Maluku and nationally related to the formulation of national policies for the protection and fulfillment of the rights of origin and traditional rights of indigenous peoples according to the mandate 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

A researcher who interacts with science through research should have high expectations that the outcomes of his research will be used to solve societal problems. For a researcher, societal problems and the occurrence of policy changes are applications of previous research findings. Even if the discoveries are not absolute, because scientific advances will always be made to keep up with human requirements, they will always be relative.

The researcher assumed that the findings of this study will be utilized through the implementation of policies that benefit the interests of the nation and the state in general, and specifically for increasing the welfare of the entire community. The existence of Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages (Law Number 6 of 2014) allows customary law communities to create customary governance following their rights of origin and traditional rights.

3.2. *The Early History of the Formation of Yapio patai*

MHA is an indigenous entity that has lived in the same place for generations, established from a royal or state political body (Lawalata 2017). MHA live in a region in group living and employ a system to manage their lives. These MHA groups, however, can disperse and establish in new places. The history of the *Yapio patai* clan feud exemplifies this circumstance.

Yapio patai is a society that is made up of clan alliances. *Yapio patai* begins with a broader population that is a Wemale tribe and lives in the hilly hills of West Seram. Wemale means "live in the forest" in the local language.

This large alliance began in Tamenasiwa and later moved to Waraloin Sapula Latale. Suanamasela was founded in Waraloin Sapula Latale (because sin still exists). One of the faults was that everyone on the mountain killed Hanuwele's daughter while still in Tamenasiwa. Other historical occurrences are the result of the acts of the inhabitants on the mountain, who frequently fight and kill. These fights and killings occurred as a result of a huge number of people with diverse interests, which led to the occurrence of the aforementioned fights and murders. The traditional leaders then burned 9 (nine) pigs in the 9 burners that were provided. The exact purpose for using the number 9 is unknown. The goal of carrying out burning activities in 9 stoves as a gesture of peace is indicated by each clan participating in the burning stove and spreading it to the designated location. The *Yapio patai* Guild did not descend, but instead saw and looked at other clans who had descended and went to another location, while the *Yapio patai* clans remained on the mountain to guard and watch their descended brothers, *Uli Patai* (*Lumalatal*, *Lumapelu*, *Uweng* combined) and *Nuwetetu Patai* (*Hunitetu*, *Ursana Rumatita*, and others), and Hunitetu serves as *regentschap*. *Yapio patai* clans, including:

1. Haikuty,
2. Katayane,
3. Lumamina,
4. Tomalepu,
5. Lesiela,
6. Kapitane,
7. Rumauro,
8. Kasale,
9. Lapate,
10. Laale,
11. Taniwele,
12. Rumamina,
13. Lasuine,
14. Kasilale,
15. Latekay,
16. Pesinai,
17. Watimole,
18. Paturia,
19. Rumamite,
20. Taniwele,
21. Saparuane,
22. Mesinai,
23. Laamena,
24. Lapate,
25. Rumaluwane,
26. Tayane,
27. Walakone,
28. Lalu,
29. Yaman Upui,
30. Lasapatai,
31. Manuwamasi,
32. Lumalatene,
33. Nambele,
34. Mehune,
35. Selete,
36. Lumasewane,
37. Kesatomole, and
38. Insyaluwa.

'Yapio' means 'to look at or 'to see,' while 'Patai' indicates 'association' or 'union.' The word 'Patai' also means 'huge tree trunk,' and is analogous to clans clutching or hugging the trunk of a large tree together. This means that *Yapio patai* can be described as a group of clans who stay on the mountain in a brotherhood bond and watch or view others going somewhere else and coming down from the mountain.

The Yapio government is well-established, and it consists of *Upu Latu* (King) *Solisau Watimole*, *Kapitan Haikuty*, *Machineay*, *Watimole*, *Negotiator Latekay*, and *Mauweng* (customary priest) the great *Laamena*. The government's job is to keep an eye on the community as well as *Yapio patai*'s leadership. Aside from that, *Yapio patai* has a *Teong* named *Heleyapi*, which means "watching" or "seeing).

Further developments saw the dispersal of clans in *Yapio patai*, with each tribe scattering to the coast or remaining in the mountains. Because they did not want to be ruled by the Dutch, *Yapio patai* split away. For almost 3.6 years, *Yapio patai* battled the Dutch. After battling the Dutch, who were located in Hunitetu (the first Dutch fort). Yapio Patao suffered a military setback because the Dutch damaged the community's logistics, such as gardens and sago trees, as part of their battle strategy.

Interviews with traditional elders who are the original descendants of *Yapio patai* yielded knowledge that the clans inside *Yapio patai* gathered together before dispersing, and the Sapulalatale area became the last gathering place for clans within *Yapio patai* before they parted and scattered. This clan then decides on a suitable location, such as:

1. Clans in Waraloin, namely: Haikuty, Katayane, Lumamina, Tomalepu, Lesiela, Kapitane, Rumauro;
2. Clans in Sahulau are: Kasale, Lapate, Laale, Tanuwele, Rumamina, Lasuine, Kasilale
3. Clans in Pokloweny are: Latekay, Rumauro, Haikuty, Pesinai, Watimole, Paturia
4. Clans in the Stone Tree are: Rumamina, Rumamite, Kapayate, Taniwele, Soparuane
5. Clans in Tala are: Latekay, Watimole, Machineai, Haikuty, Paturia

Yapio patai fraternity with the motto:

“*Sou Yaule Sou Nuele, Soo Hetale Sai Tana Yani-Yani Mau Yaule Yo Sai Teki Poi-Poi Mo Nuele Hunui Sai Tana Puei-Puei Mau Maluku Lumei Hapahe Newele Hunui Yaule Soo Hetale*”

(The law of bamboo is the law of coconut, no one should take one bunch of arrows one by one, no one should take one stick of bamboo one by one, no one should take one sign, no one should take one piece of fruit, Katong Bakumpul is the same as one sign coconut, one bunch of arrows, one stick of bamboo).

The ties of brotherhood in the oath above demonstrate that, even though the clans inside *Yapio patai* will separate at some point to choose a new region to dwell in, the clans will stay in a brotherly bond. The *Yapio patai* clan's fraternity tie is a type of social agreement that is carried out and applies to the *Yapio patai* clans to become an ancestral promise that must be kept.

3.3. *Yapio patai* as a Social Contract

A social contract is defined as an agreement formed between two individuals that results in obligations for the persons who bind themselves to the agreement. The duties arising from the agreement are political, with the specifics of these political obligations depending on a variety of factors, including what is agreed in the contract. Persons are assigned a status as subjects in the social contract, whereas institutions other than individuals, such as the state, are artificial constructs owned by individuals through agreements. A new state is real in this sense if each individual agrees to form a state. This view of the social contract was developed by four figures, namely Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and John Rawls.

Humans, according to Thomas Hobbes, are creatures who dwell in a place known as '*homo homini lupus, bellum omnium contra omnes*.' Humans are described as wild creatures in this condition. In his book '*Leviathan*,' Thomas Hobbes suggested that the preceding circumstances supported the establishment of a people's

agreement, in which the people's agreement gave over their rights to the authorities (Appadorai 2005; Chand 1994).

This viewpoint was slightly disputed by John Locke, who stated that persons do not completely abandon their rights to an authority. Other rights remain unaffected by the assignment of rights connected to state agreements.

Treaties of Civil Government. One of the divisions called the first treaty is an agreement between individuals and individual citizens aimed at the formation of political society and state. In John Locke's parlance, it is referred to as the '*Pactum Unionist*,' arguing that:

"Men by nature are all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power another, without his consent, which other men to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe and peaceable, living one amongst another. . . ." (Locke 1953)

According to Rousseau, the basic problems that can be solved by the social contract are:

"Looking for a type of organization that maintains and defends the personal and property of each member of the organization with all of the common authority, and in that organization, each person who joins the group is only obedient to himself and remains free as before. Meanwhile, the contract's "articles" can be reduced to one: the total alienation of each member of the association and all of their rights to the entire community." (Rousseau 2010)

The essence of Jean Jacques Rousseau's Social Contract thesis is that each delegates all of his particular rights to the community as a whole. Thus, all natural rights, including complete freedom to do anything they like, that people have in natural life are transferred to the community, or, in political terms, the sovereignty of the people resides in the community as a whole, and this sovereignty cannot be split. (Rousseau, Social Contract, translated by Sumardjo, Social Contract 1986).

Jean Jacques Rousseau's viewpoint was followed by John Rawls' concept of direct democracy through the formation of a council. A council attended by all residents is not a council that represents the people.

John Rawls reformed Jean Jacques Rousseau's direct democracy by proposing a "purely fictional conference" in which citizens vote freely and equally. John Rawls also proposed the justice principles that regulate people's interactions. It is referred to as a hypothetical encounter by John Rawls (Basri 2021).

According to John Rawls' social contract, agents have previously made decisions concerning their society's core charter or its original position. Rawls proposes that a society ruled by a set of principles chosen in this basic position can be a voluntary system, fulfilling a set of principles on which equal and free individuals would agree under equitable conditions. Individual membership is thus autonomous, yet the obligations imposed on them are acknowledged (Basri 2021).

By reference to the concept of the social contract (social contract) and the philosophy of the oath or vow in the *Yapio patai* brotherhood's motto: "*Sou Yaule Sou Nuele, Soo Hetale,*" *Yani-Yani Sai Tana Yaule, Mau Yo Sai Teki Poi-Poi Mo Nuele Hunui Sai Tana Puei-Puei Mau Maluku Lumei Hapahe Newele Hunui Yaule Soo Hetale*", the oath or vow with the phrase above can be stated to be a social compact formed by the clans inside *Yapio patai*. The carried out social contract intends to protect and preserve the kinship relationships between clans in *Yapio patai*, which may at some point spread to a new location to their present and future generations. That is the law of bamboo, the law of coconut, no one should take one bunch of arrows, one stick of bamboo, no one should take one segment, no one will take one sign, no one will take one piece, we gather together like one coconut, one sign, one bunch of arrows, one stick of bamboo. Brotherhood relationships cannot be severed and cannot be severed by anything.

3.4. *Yapio patai* as Confederation of Clans

The term confederation has a meaning related to the federation, therefore starting the discussion in this section, the meaning of the two words in question will be presented. Federation comes from the Latin *foeduratio*, which means 'agreement.' The federation was first used to mean the 'treaty' of the Roman Empire with the Germanic tribes who settled in the province of Belgium, around the 4th century AD, at that time, they promised not to fight each other, but for the same work (Triyadi 2018).

The definition of the federation in the Big Indonesian Dictionary online (The Great Indonesian Dictionary online) is conceptualized as:

"1. a combination of several associations that work together and act as if they are one body, but still stand alone: the *All Indonesian Badminton Association is incorporated in -- international badminton*; 2. *Pol* several states coordinated by the central government which takes care of matters concerning the national interest entirely (such as finance, foreign affairs, and defense)" (Setiawan n.d.)

As the second definition offered in the online KBBI, the federation is currently used to construct a type of governance comprised of countries that work together to form a single entity. This type of collaboration between these countries is known as a federal state, or 'bondstaat' in Dutch, in which each country has some high specific autonomy and can administer it freely, but the central authority supervises those items considered national.

The definition of Confederation in the online Great Indonesian Dictionary is defined as, "1. a combination of several countries formed to regulate common interests, such as defense, but each remains fully sovereign; 2. a combination of several organizations, for example, a hunting organization" (Setiawan n.d.)

Confederation is defined as a type of union formed by treaty or law between sovereign countries to pursue a common policy. Because each country that forms a confederation still has international standing as a sovereign state, the form of a confederation is not recognized as a separate sovereign state in international law or what is referred to in Dutch as a 'Statenbond.' The confederations include the European Economic Community (EEC), ASEAN, and the Arab League.

According to the preceding definition, the difference between a federation and a confederation is that a federation is a country with a federal constitution in which there are several countries, each with its constitution. The purpose of the federal constitution is to limit the authority of the center (federal), and the rest is left to the regions (states) to handle. Meanwhile, a confederation is an alliance of independent and sovereign states that have a constitution and self-government but agree to form a loose union called a confederation. A confederation of states is a grouping of sovereign states with only one instrument, the congress.

Borrowing the definition of a confederation (statenbond) above, this study tries to draw closer to the meaning of a confederation (statenbond) as an alliance of independent countries with their constitution, with *Yapio patai*.

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by the regions (states). Meanwhile, a confederation is an alliance of independent and sovereign states that have a constitution and self-government but agree to form a loose union called a confederation. A confederation of states is a grouping of sovereign states with only one instrument, the congress.

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The definition of Confederation in the online Great Indonesian Dictionary is defined as:

- a. unity
- b. among the independent countries
- c. by agreement or law
- d. as a joint policy

To place *Yapio patai* as a clan confederation, each component is characterized as follows:

a. Unity

As previously noted, the word 'Patai' means 'huge tree trunk' in the local language, which is analogous to the clans of *Yapio patai* clutching or hugging a large tree trunk together. 'To cling or embrace the trunk of a huge tree together' is regarded as a clan affiliation that remains in one brotherhood even though each clan in *Yapio patai* will divide at some point.

b. Among the independent countries

Clans are the smallest group in a kinship system. According to the online KBBI, one of the clans is *Antr* clans: 1. exogamous and unilinear kinship groups, both matrilineal and patrilineal; 2. a rather large area (a group of hamlets) (in South Sumatra) (Setiawan n.d.). The clans in *Yapio patai* are exogamous kinship groups formed by matrilineal or patrilineal marriages.

c. By agreement or Law

The oath is a form of kinship between the clans in *Yapio patai* with the motto: “*Sou Yaule Sou Nuele, Soo Hetale Sai Tana Yani-Yani Mau Yaule Yo Sai Teki Poi-Poi Mo Nuele Hunui Sai Tana Puei-Puei Mau Maluku Lumei Hapahe Newele Hunui Yaule Soo Hetale,*” indicating that there is a promise that has been made and has binding power for all clans in *Yapio patai* to keep their promise to remain together even though in time each of the promised clans split up and settle in a new territory (seven *negeri*). The agreement that is made becomes a kind of social agreement that is carried out and applies to the clans in *Yapio patai* to continue to be held.

d. As a joint policy

Yapio patai's oath of brotherhood with the motto: “*Sou Yaule Sou Nuele, Soo Hetale Sai Tana Yani-Yani Mau Yaule Yo Sai Teki Poi-Poi Mo Nuele Hunui Sai Tana Puei-Puei Mau Maluku Lumei Hapahe Newele Hunui Yaule Soo Hetale,*” is a policy with all clans in *Yapio patai* to keep familial links between each clan even if they are no longer altogether in one area.

Even though the clans of *Yapio patai* have lived in seven *negeri* with their customary laws, the customs and habits of *Yapio patai* have not changed. The *Yapio patai* alliance is still maintained and protected in clan life, particularly in addressing customary law problems like land, marriage, disputes, and others.

As previously stated, Yapio has a Teong as well as a governance structure comprised of *Upu Latu* (King), Kapitan, Negotiator, and *Mauweng Besar*. This means that *Yapio patai* possesses features of a state or organization. Each clan has its leader. As a result, the *Yapio patai* alliance can be classified as a Clan Confederation. It is called a clan confederation because each clan has been separated and settled in seven regions (*Negeri*) and has formed a national alliance with other customary law communities. Clans descended from *Yapio patai*, on the other hand, continue to employ the *Yapio patai* customary law community alliance system for matters relating to customary law in a bond according to the pledge or promise.

4. Conclusion

Based on the above research results description and analysis, the following conclusions are presented: The *Yapio patai* alliance and other patai can be classified as clan confederations because each clan has been separated and settled in 7 regions (*negeri*) and together with other customary law communities in the *negeri* alliance. Clans descended from *Yapio patai*, on the other hand, continue to employ the *Yapio patai* customary law community alliance system for matters relating to customary law in a bond according to the pledge or promise. This indicates that these seven *negeri* are inextricably linked.

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