Muwaffiq Jufri 02004988

Editing_Agung Ali Fahmi

S1 ILMU HUKUM

Document Details

Submission ID
trn:oid:::3618:149782059

Submission Date
Aug 28, 2026, 9:04 PM GMT+7

Download Date
Aug 28, 2026, 9:15 PM GMT+7

File Name
Editing_Agung Ali Fahmi.docx

File Size
164.7 KB

39 Pages

9,928 Words

64,851 Characters

16% Overall Similarity

The combined total of all matches, including overlapping sources, for each database.

Filtered from the Report

- Bibliography
- Quoted Text
- Cited Text

Match Groups

150 Not Cited or Quoted 16%
Matches with neither in-text citation nor quotation marks

0 Missing Quotations 0%
Matches that are still very similar to source material

0 Missing Citation 0%
Matches that have quotation marks, but no in-text citation

0 Cited and Quoted 0%
Matches with in-text citation present, but no quotation marks

Top Sources

14% Internet sources
12% Publications
12% Submitted works (Student Papers)

Match Groups

150 Not Cited or Quoted 16%
Matches with neither in-text citation nor quotation marks

0 Missing Quotations 0%
Matches that are still very similar to source material

0 Missing Citation 0%
Matches that have quotation marks, but no in-text citation

0 Cited and Quoted 0%
Matches with in-text citation present, but no quotation marks

Top Sources

14% Internet sources
12% Publications
12% Submitted works (Student Papers)

Top Sources

The sources with the highest number of matches within the submission. Overlapping sources will not be displayed.

1	Internet	
cdn.juris.id		2%
2	Internet	
ejournal.undip.ac.id		<1%
3	Internet	
ejournal.uin-malang.ac.id		<1%
4	Internet	
journal.unnes.ac.id		<1%
5	Internet	
ejurnal.ung.ac.id		<1%
6	Publication	
Mega Amelia Putri, Syafruddin Karimi, Endrizal Ridwan, Fajri Muharja. "Fertilizer ...		<1%
7	Student papers	
UIN Raden Intan Lampung on 2026-07-20		<1%
8	Internet	
www.journal.unrika.ac.id		<1%
9	Internet	
journal.uii.ac.id		<1%
10	Internet	
ejournal.unuja.ac.id		<1%

11	Internet	
doaj.org		<1%
12	Internet	
ejournal.uinbukittinggi.ac.id		<1%
13	Internet	
novumjus.ucatolica.edu.co		<1%
14	Internet	
ejournal.uinsaizu.ac.id		<1%
15	Student papers	
Universitas Negeri Surabaya The State University of Surabaya on 2026-08-03		<1%
16	Internet	
acikbilim.yok.gov.tr		<1%
17	Internet	
journal.ipb.ac.id		<1%
18	Internet	
journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id		<1%
19	Internet	
ojs.unud.ac.id		<1%
20	Internet	
jurnal.fh.unila.ac.id		<1%
21	Internet	
yurisdiksi.unmerbaya.ac.id		<1%
22	Student papers	
UIN Sunan Gunung DJati Bandung on 2026-05-19		<1%
23	Publication	
Muhammad Taufiq, Ayu Mega Tri Sukma, Achmad Suparno Suparno, Aullia Vivi Y...		<1%
24	Student papers	
UPA Perpustakaan UNTIRTA on 2026-07-01		<1%

25 Student papers
University of Edinburgh on 2023-08-02 <1%

26 Internet
journal.fh.unsri.ac.id <1%

27 Internet
juna.nusantarajournal.com <1%

28 Internet
www.ejournal.um-sorong.ac.id <1%

29 Publication
Rosdalina Bukido, Nurlaila Isima, Hamzah Kamma, Misbahul Munir Makka, Nayla... <1%

30 Internet
ebin.pub <1%

31 Internet
jurnal.uns.ac.id <1%

32 Student papers
Lambung Mangkurat University on 2026-06-22 <1%

33 Internet
jurnal.iaibafa.ac.id <1%

34 Internet
www.researchgate.net <1%

35 Internet
journal.trunojoyo.ac.id <1%

36 Internet
journal.uir.ac.id <1%

37 Publication
Hajed A. Alotaibi, Bandar A. Alyahya, Salem R. Alazizi. "<b>Electronic Signatures i... <1%

38 Internet
e-journal.metrouniv.ac.id <1%

39 Internet
jurnal.iainponorogo.ac.id <1%

40 Internet
research.birmingham.ac.uk <1%

41 Internet
semarakilmu.com.my <1%

42 Student papers
Moodle2025 on 2026-08-10 <1%

43 Publication
Putra Perdana Ahmad Saifulloh, Yuliandri Yuliandri, Charles Simabura, Khairul Fa... <1%

44 Internet
e-jurnal.peraturan.go.id <1%

45 Student papers
Fakultas Hukum Universitas Indonesia on 2024-02-05 <1%

46 Student papers
IAIN Kudus on 2025-10-08 <1%

47 Student papers
University of Northampton on 2026-04-21 <1%

48 Internet
journal.austrodemika.org <1%

49 Internet
journal.staitaruna.ac.id <1%

50 Student papers
Universitas Negeri Semarang on 2023-06-23 <1%

51 Publication
Nurdiana Nurdiana, Joko Sutarto, Wasino Wasino, Tri Joko Raharjo, Taufikin Taufi... <1%

52 Internet
journal.iaincurup.ac.id <1%

53 Internet
repository.uinsaizu.ac.id <1%

54 Student papers
IAIN Palopo on 2026-07-01 <1%

55 Student papers
UM Surabaya on 2026-01-21 <1%

56 Internet
www.mdpi.com <1%

57 Internet
www.orfonline.org <1%

58 Publication
Aidha Febriani, Firdaus Firdaus, Zainal Azwar. "The Perspective of ‘Urf on the Impl... <1%

59 Publication
Julianda, Diana Zuhroh. "The Malay-Chinese Family Inheritance System in East Be... <1%

60 Internet
digilib.uin-suka.ac.id <1%

61 Internet
ejournal.uit-lirboyo.ac.id <1%

62 Internet
en.mkri.id <1%

63 Internet
journals.usm.ac.id <1%

64 Publication
Dewandira Darruning Sripradnya Rahmaidha, Adi Sulistiyono, Ayub Torry Satrio K... <1%

65 Publication
Jenny Kristiana Matuankotta, Eric Stenly Holle. "State Recognition and Respect fo... <1%

66 Publication
Nasrullah, Moh Najib, Uu Nurul Huda, Enceng Arif Faizal. "Reconstructing the Ind... <1%

67 Student papers
School of Oriental & African Studies on 2025-02-25 <1%

68 Student papers
Universitas Diponegoro on 2026-05-19 <1%

69 Student papers
Universitas Islam Riau on 2026-01-12 <1%

70 Student papers
University of Warwick on 2016-01-12 <1%

71 Student papers
University of the Free State on 2023-10-23 <1%

72 Internet
europub.co.uk <1%

73 Internet
journal.uib.ac.id <1%

74 Internet
journal.walisongo.ac.id <1%

75 Internet
jurnal.uin-antasari.ac.id <1%

76 Internet
open.uct.ac.za <1%

77 Internet
sci-cult.net <1%

78 Internet
www.journalkeberlanjutan.com <1%

79 Publication
"Meridians of Salt", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2025 <1%

80 Publication
Antun Mardiyanta, Donny Ermawan. "Gray area between policy success and failu... <1%

81 Publication

Md Sharif Mia, Shyamal Kumar Paul, K.M. Mahfujur Rahman, M. Maksud Alam et ... <1%

82 Student papers

Universitas Muslim Indonesia on 2026-08-06 <1%

83 Student papers

Gauhati University on 2026-07-05 <1%

84 Publication

Muslim Lobubun, Iryana Anwar, Ahmed Mohamed Barak. "Pancasila and Justice f... <1%

85 Publication

Roger Cotterrell. "Living Law - Studies in Legal and Social Theory", Routledge, 2017 <1%

86 Student papers

University of Leeds on 2023-05-25 <1%

87 Internet

dspace.library.uu.nl <1%

88 Internet

gtg.webhost.uoradea.ro <1%

89 Internet

e-journal.iain-palangkaraya.ac.id <1%

90 Internet

f1000research.com <1%

91 Student papers

Tilburg University on 2026-03-27 <1%

92 Internet

ejournal.unisda.ac.id <1%

turnitin Page 10 of 48 - Integrity Submission Submission ID trn:oid:::3618:149782059

E-ISSN: 2715-2081
P-ISSN: 2686-1496

Nyadhar as Living Law in Coastal Salt Governance

Abstract

This article examines Nyadhar as living law in the traditional salt governance of the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community in Sumenep, Madura. It analyzes how Nyadhar functions as a community normative system and interacts with national salt governance. Using a socio-legal approach, the study draws on participant observation of Nyadhar rituals in 2025–2026, semi-structured interviews with 26 informants, and document analysis. The findings reveal that Nyadhar functions not merely as a cultural ritual but as living law sustained through customary authority, intergenerational transmission, and collective compliance, while coordinating aspects of salt production, production ethics, and locally grounded ecological knowledge. Its relationship with national salt governance is characterized by asymmetrical coexistence: state law retains formal regulatory authority, while Nyadhar derives normative authority from customary legitimacy and continued social compliance. From a legal pluralism perspective, community norms retain internally generated normative legitimacy while remaining embedded in and structurally constrained by state regulation, markets, bureaucracy, and national policy. The study extends the analytical application of living law from maintaining social order to organizing aspects of community-based production and resource governance, advancing a relational understanding of legal pluralism between community normative authority and state governance.

Keywords: *Nyadhar, Living Law, Legal Pluralism, Community-Based Governance, Salt Governance*

Introduction

The *Nyadhar* tradition practiced within the salt-farming community of Pinggirpapas Village, Sumenep Regency, not only represents a cultural ritual of coastal society but also reflects a social normative system that is collectively observed and maintained within community life. The practice embodies the values of social solidarity, ecological relations, and the community's attachment to traditional salt-farming activities passed down across generations. From a socio-legal perspective, however, the continuity and collective acceptance of *Nyadhar* alone are insufficient to characterize it as living law. This study distinguishes cultural ritual from living law by examining whether the practices associated with *Nyadhar* contain identifiable norms, are interpreted or maintained through recognized community authority, generate mechanisms of compliance and social consequences for non-compliance, and possess the capacity to regulate social

https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v8i1.30732

turnitin Page 10 of 48 - Integrity Submission Submission ID trn:oid:::3618:149782059

behavior beyond the ritual event itself.[1] These criteria provide the analytical basis for assessing whether Nyadhar operates merely as an inherited cultural practice or as a normative order that functions within the everyday governance of the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community.

In the context of the Pinggirpapas community, Nyadhar does not merely represent a cultural expression of coastal society, but also functions as a normative framework for organizing particular aspects of traditional salt production, social solidarity, and locally grounded ecological knowledge. Through community solidarity, collective mechanisms, and resource management ethics, *Nyadhar* establishes a social order that has been preserved across generations by the salt-farming community.

In the development of legal pluralism theory, customary law and community norms are no longer understood merely as symbolic complements to state law, but rather as normative systems capable of operating autonomously within the social life of society[2]. Griffiths distinguishes between weak legal pluralism, which places non-state law under the dominance of state law, and strong legal pluralism, which recognizes multiple normative systems operating coexistently outside the state[3]. At the internal community level, Nyadhar exhibits characteristics associated with strong legal pluralism because its normative authority and social legitimacy are reproduced within the community rather than derived from formal state recognition. This characterization, however, does not imply that the Pinggirpapas community is institutionally isolated from or fully autonomous of the state. At the state–community level, the relationship may instead exhibit characteristics of weak

[1] Eugen Ehrlich, *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002).; Marcos Augusto Maliska, "The Legal Sociology of Eugen Ehrlich and Constitutional Law: The Fact of Pluralism and the Role of Constitution," *Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy* 105, no. 3 (2019): 340–358, http://www.jstor.org/stable/45175372.

[2] Brian Z Tamanaha, *Legal Pluralism Explained: History, Theory, Consequences* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190861551.001.0001.

[3] John Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 18, no. 24 (1986): 1–55, https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.1986.10756387.

legal pluralism insofar as community norms receive limited recognition while formal authority over salt governance remains predominantly structured through state law and administrative institutions. The concepts of strong and weak legal pluralism are therefore employed in this study at different analytical levels: the former to examine the social operation of community norms, and the latter to analyze their institutional position in relation to state governance.

The continuity of *Nyadhar* persists amid a national salt governance system increasingly oriented toward industrialization, modernizing production, and stabilizing the national salt market. Various studies on the salt sector in East Java indicate that national salt development has increasingly focused on modernizing production technology, innovating in salt-derived products, and adopting sustainability approaches grounded in economic, social, and environmental efficiency[4]. This orientation is reflected in Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Farmers, and Salt Farmers, which places productivity enhancement and the modernization of salt trade management as the primary strategies for the development of the national salt sector. In practice, this approach tends toward state-centered governance, positioning the state as the dominant actor in managing the salt sector, while the governance systems of coastal communities have yet to receive substantive recognition in national salt policies.

In the context of national salt production, Madura Island constitutes one of the primary bases of smallholder salt production in Indonesia. Madura's contribution to both East Java and national salt production during the 2019–2023 period demonstrates that the sustainability of the national salt sector heavily depends on smallholder salt-farming communities in the coastal areas of Madura. For the Pinggirpapas community, salt ponds are understood not merely as economic

[4] Roudlotul Badi'ah et al., "Traditional Salt Production in East Java: Economic, Social, and Environmental Management Innovations," in *BIO Web of Conferences*, vol. 199 (EDP Sciences, 2025), 03006, https://doi.org/10.1051/bioconf/202519903006.

assets but also as socio-cultural spaces in which community values, solidarity, and normative systems are preserved across generations.

Table 1.
Contribution of Madura Salt Production to East Java and National Salt Production (2019–2023)

Year	Madura Production	National Production	Madura Contribution	Socio-Legal Implication
2019	652,718	2,898,125	22.5%	Madura became one of the primary bases of national salt production
2020	362,954	1,365,711	26.5%	National production increasingly depended on coastal salt communities
2021	290,121	1,092,103	26.6%	Traditional salt farmers remained central despite production decline
2022	631,826	700,635	90.2%	Madura dominated national salt production during national supply contraction
2023	700,706	2,551,730	27.4%	Madura continued to sustain national salt production stability

Source: Processed by the Author from Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan (KKP) Salt Production Statistics Madura Region and East Java and National Salt Production Statistics, accessed 13 May 2025.

At the internal community level, Nyadhar exhibits characteristics associated with strong legal pluralism because its normative authority and social legitimacy are reproduced within the community rather than derived from formal state recognition. This characterization, however, does not imply that the Pinggirpapas community is institutionally isolated from or fully autonomous of the state. At the state–community level, the relationship may instead exhibit characteristics of weak legal pluralism insofar as community norms receive limited recognition while formal authority over salt governance remains predominantly structured through state law and administrative institutions. The concepts of strong and weak legal pluralism are therefore employed in this study at different analytical levels: the

former to examine the social operation of community norms, and the latter to analyze their institutional position in relation to state governance.

Madura's substantial contribution to the national salt sector demonstrates a strong dependency between the sustainability of national salt production and traditional salt-farming communities in coastal areas. Various studies indicate that efforts to increase national salt production continue to be directed through approaches emphasizing production efficiency, technological intervention, formal empowerment programs such as Pugar, and the strengthening of smallholder salt trade systems[5]. Nevertheless, national salt governance still tends to position salt-farming communities as objects of industrialization policies rather than as subjects possessing their own knowledge systems, governance structures, and normative mechanisms in the management of salt resources.[6]

In the context of the Indonesian constitutional system, the recognition of customary law communities is constitutionally grounded in Article 18B paragraph (2) and Article 28I paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Nevertheless, such recognition remains largely state-centered, as the validity of customary law continues to be placed under the dominance of state regulations[7]. This problem reflects a broader limitation of Indonesia's recognition framework, in which the constitutional acknowledgment of customary communities

[5] Elys Fauziah, Ifan Maflaha, and Dwi Ratna Hidayati, "Optimizing Salt Farming Efficiency Based on Frontier Model: Empirical Insights from Coastal Madura, Indonesia," *Egyptian Journal of Aquatic Biology and Fisheries* 29, no. 4 (2025): 4901–16, https://doi.org/10.21608/EJABF.2025.446716.

[6] Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?"; Hairan et al., "Sovereignty and Human Rights : Examining Sustainable Plantation Enterprises in Indonesia" 5, no. 1 (2024): 81–96, https://doi.org/10.25041/aelr.v5i1.3415.

[7] Daniel Fitzpatrick, "Disputes and Pluralism in Modern Indonesian Land Law," *Yale Journal of International Law* 22, no. 1 (1997): 171–212.; Chris Thornhill et al., "Legal Pluralism? Indigenous Rights as Legal Constructs," *University of Toronto Law Journal* 68 (2018): 440–93, https://doi.org/10.3138/utlj.2017-0062.; Umi Rozah and Aldi Yudistira, "Penal Policy Analysis of The Formulation of Customary Law in The 2023 KUHP," *Indonesian Journal of Criminal Law Studies*, no. 1 (2023): 83–114, https://doi.org/10.15294/ijcls.v10i1.19939.

remains dependent upon state-defined conditions and administrative recognition[8]. In this context, the practice of Nyadhar demonstrates that coastal communities continue to preserve their own normative systems and social governance amid the dominance of industrialization policies in the national salt sector.

Previous studies on Nyadhar have examined the tradition through the lenses of cultural resistance, religion, collective memory, ecology, gender, and local economic practices[9]. Meanwhile, studies on the Indonesian salt sector have predominantly focused on production, productivity, trade, imports, technological modernization, and industrialization[10]. These studies provide important explanations of the cultural and socioeconomic significance of Nyadhar and the structural challenges facing salt-farming communities, but they leave an important socio-legal question unresolved: how do ritual practices and community norms acquire normative authority and operate as mechanisms of governance in everyday salt production? Existing scholarship has not sufficiently explained who produces and interprets these norms, how compliance is maintained, how local ecological

26
39
72
10
46

[8] Kartika Winkar Setya et al., "Fulfilling Communal Rights through the Implementation of the Second Principle of Pancasila towards the Regulation on Agrarian Reform," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* VI, no. 1 (2023): 89–102, https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i1.7868.

[9] Iskandar Dzulkarnain et al., "Nyadar: Religious and Cultural Resistance of Madurese Salt Farming Community," *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan* 8, no. 2 (2020): 53–68, https://doi.org/10.22500/8202031832.; Rofiatul Azizah, Akhmad Arif Musadad, and Cicilia Dyah Sulistyaningrung Indrawati, "Nyadhar Traditional Ceremony: History and Collective Memories of Pinggir Papas Village Community, Sumenep," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 6, no. 12 (2023): 7250–59, https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v6-i12-09.;Khomsiyatul Mukarromah, "Ritual Nyadhar, Ecology and Gender," *MUHARRIK: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial* 5, no. 1 (2022): 165–180, https://doi.org/10.37680/muharrik.v5i1.1627.; Athifatul Wafirah, Nur Lailatul Musyafa'ah, and Hammis Syafaq, "Ceremony of 'Nyadar' on the Pinggir Papas Sumenep Regency from the 'Urf Perspective," in *The 2nd ICONITIES (International Conference on Islamic Civilization and Humanities)* (Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2024), 1001–15, https://proceedings.uinsa.ac.id/index.php/iconfahum/article/view/1867/1329.; Nur Latifa Isnaini Putri, "Studi Essensial Marketing Pada Ritual Adat 'Nyadhar' Madura," *Journal of Management and Social Sciences (JIMAS)* 2, no. 1 (2023): 172–86, https://doi.org/10.55606/jimas.v2i1.221.

[10] Yety Rochwulaningsih et al., "Marine Policy Basis of Indonesia as a Maritime State : The Importance of Integrated Economy," *Marine Policy* 108 (2019): 103602, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2019.103602.; Campina Illa Prihatini et al., "Exploring the Relation Between Farmer Organization and Welfare Using Propensity Score Matching Approach: Evidence from Madurese Traditional Salt Farmers in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development* 14, no. 3 (2024): 108–18, https://doi.org/10.55493/5005.v14i3.5178.

knowledge informs collective production decisions, and how such normative arrangements interact with state-based salt governance. The gap, therefore, is not merely the limited conceptualization of Nyadhar as living law, but the absence of an explanation of the normative mechanisms through which a cultural-religious practice becomes a community governance institution. This article addresses that gap by examining Nyadhar as an empirically observable normative order in which customary authority, social compliance, ecological knowledge, and salt-production ethics operate within a legally pluralistic setting.

In global studies on community-based natural resource governance, various studies have shown that customary normative systems and local ecological knowledge within coastal communities can effectively maintain ecosystem sustainability through mechanisms such as customary restrictions, ecological mobility, and collective community compliance[11]. Ethnographic studies on traditional salt-producing communities in South and Southeast Asia demonstrate that salt production practices are not merely associated with economic activities but are also closely connected to rituals, social structures, local identity, and community mechanisms in sustaining traditional salt governance amid the pressures of modernization and industrialization[12]. Nevertheless, most of these studies have

[11] Youness Achmani, "Applying Ostrom's Commons Governance Principles to Maritime Straits for Sustainable Navigation: Case Study of the Dover Strait," *Discover Sustainability* 6 (2025): 1078, https://doi.org/10.1007/s43621-025-01878-3.; Carol Warren, "Leadership, Social Capital and Coastal Community Resource Governance: The Case of the Destructive Seaweed Harvest in West Bali," *Human Ecology* 44, no. 3 (2016): 329–39, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-016-9832-y.; H.M. Tuihedur Rahman et al., "A Framework for Analyzing Institutional Gaps in Natural Resource Governance," *International Journal of the Commons* 11, no. 2 (2017): 823–53, https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.758.; Helen Dancer, "Harmony with Nature: Towards a New Deep Legal Pluralism," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 53, no. 1 (2021): 21–41, https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2020.1845503.; Yusfriandi Dwi Ariesna et al., "Local Ecological Knowledge in Coastal Resource Management: A Comparative Study of Maluku and Bajo Communities," *BERESI: Journal of Environmental Research (BJE)* 1, no. 1 (2025): 7–12, https://doi.org/10.37905/bje.v1i1.

[12] Biswarup Ganguly and Bina Gandhi Deori, "Salt-Making Traditions and Salt Trade in the Eastern Himalayas," in *Meridians of Salt* (Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2025), 295–316, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-96692-7_14.; Kattika Kittiprasan et al., "The Art of Salt Festival in Phetchaburi, Thailand: The Nexus of Nature and Culture to Sustain Local Identity," *Journal of Convention and Event Tourism* 26, no. 5 (2025): 358–65, https://doi.org/10.1080/15470148.2025.2593825.

primarily focused on indigenous forest communities, agrarian resource management, and environmental conservation communities, while studies examining living law within the governance of traditional salt-farming communities remain relatively limited. In this context, the practice of Nyadhar offers a new empirical perspective on how coastal communities construct socio-ecological governance based on community norms amid the dominance of state-led industrialization approaches.

Table 3.
Development of Studies on Nyadhar and Coastal Community Governance

Previous Studies	Main Focus	Key Findings	Research Gap
Dzulkarnain et al. (2020)	Cultural resistance of salt communities	Nyadhar functioned as socio-cultural resistance	Did not analyze Nyadhar as living law
Azizah et al. (2023)	Collective memory of Pinggirpapas community	Nyadhar preserved collective social memory	Did not examine legal governance dimensions
Mukarromah (2022)	Ecology and gender	Nyadhar contained ecological and gender dimensions	Did not analyze legal pluralism
Wafirah et al. (2024)	Nyadhar from the perspective of ‘urf	Nyadhar reflected socio-religious practices	Did not examine socio-legal governance
Putri (2024)	Essential marketing and cultural branding	Nyadhar possessed economic and tourism value	Did not position Nyadhar as normative governance system
This Article	Nyadhar as living law in salt governance	Nyadhar functions as living law within an asymmetrical relationship between community normative authority and state governance	Integrates living law, legal pluralism, and coastal resource governance

Based on the foregoing discussion, this article departs from the argument that Nyadhar is not merely a cultural tradition of coastal communities, but also represents a living law within the traditional salt governance of the Pinggirpapas

turnitin Page 17 of 48 - Integrity Submission Submission ID trn:oid:::3618:149782059

community. Through a socio-legal approach, this article analyzes how Nyadhar functions as a normative mechanism that regulates community solidarity, socio-ecological relations, and the governance of salt production within coastal communities. This article also examines the relationship between the living law of salt-farming communities and national salt governance, which remains dominated by a state-centered approach.

This article contributes to socio-legal and legal pluralism scholarship by explaining the mechanisms through which community norms acquire normative authority and operate as governance institutions in coastal resource management. Rather than merely identifying Nyadhar as living law, the study demonstrates how customary authority, collective compliance, local ecological knowledge, and production ethics interact to regulate salt-farming practices within a legally pluralistic setting. In this sense, the Pinggirpapas case extends the analysis of living law from the maintenance of social order to the organization of particular aspects of community-based production and resource governance.

Methods

This study employs a socio-legal approach, combining a conceptual and a statutory approach, to analyze the relationship between state law and the normative systems within the salt-farming community of Pinggirpapas Village, Sumenep Regency. The socio-legal approach is used because this study does not merely examine law as written norms, but also as a social practice that lives and operates within society. From this perspective, law is understood as part of social dynamics that acquires meaning through the everyday practices and experiences of the community[13]. The conceptual approach is employed to analyze the concepts of living law, legal pluralism, and legal centralism[14], Meanwhile, the statutory approach is

[13] Victor Imanuel W. Nalle, "The Relevance of Socio-Legal Studies in Legal Science," *Mimbar Hukum* 27, no. 1 (February 2015): 179–192., https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.15905.; David Nelken, "Eugen Ehrlich, Living Law, and Plural Legalities," *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 9, no. 2 (2008): Article 6, http://www.bepress.com/til/default/vol9/iss2/art6.

[14] Tamanaha, *Legal Pluralism Explained: History, Theory, Consequences*.; Nelken, "Eugen Ehrlich, Living Law, and Plural Legalities."; Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?"

employed to examine regulations related to national salt governance, particularly Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Farmers, and Salt Farmers.[15].

Primary data were obtained through field research conducted from June to August 2025 in Pinggirpapas Village, Sumenep Regency. The study was carried out through participant observation involving the researcher's direct participation in the implementation of *Nyadhar 1, Nyadhar 2, and Nyadhar 3* in 2025. Such involvement enabled the researcher to directly observe ritual practices, customary authority structures, community social mechanisms, and the relationship between the community and salt production activities in the everyday life of the coastal community. The participant observation approach was employed to understand how community norms live, are practiced, and obtain social legitimacy within society[16].

In addition to participant observation, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 26 informants representing different positions and forms of knowledge relevant to Nyadhar and the salt-farming community. Sixteen key informants were selected purposively based on one or more of the following criteria: knowledge of Nyadhar, social or institutional position, genealogical relationship to customary authority, ritual function, relevant expertise, experience in salt production and community life, or formal authority related to the community and local governance. This group included customary authorities and descendants of Anggasuto, religious and community figures, village and regional government representatives, and individuals possessing specific knowledge of Nyadhar and salt production. To broaden the range of community perspectives beyond formally recognized or institutionally prominent actors, an additional ten incidental

[15] Esti Renatalia Tanaem and Puguh Toko Arisanto, "Rezim Global Dan Liberalisasi Perdagangan Sektor Garam Di Indonesia," *Madani Jurnal Politik Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 12, no. 2 (2020): 120–39, https://doi.org/10.52166/madani.v12i2.2003.

[16] Sally Engle Merry, "Legal Pluralism," *Law & Society Review* 22, no. 5 (1988): 869–96, https://doi.org/10.2307/3053638.

informants were recruited among participants encountered during Nyadhar 1, Nyadhar 2, and Nyadhar 3 in 2025. These informants represented varied forms of participation in the ritual and community life. The combination of purposive and incidental recruitment was intended to capture both specialized knowledge and everyday community perspectives concerning customary authority, ritual practices, salt production, and the relationship between community norms and state governance.

Fieldwork and interviews were conducted from June to August 2025, with key informants engaged repeatedly throughout the research period rather than through one-off interview encounters. Interviews and field interactions were conducted in Indonesian and Madurese. Because the researcher's proficiency in Madurese was limited, communication requiring greater linguistic clarification was assisted by local interpreters, consisting of Universitas Trunojoyo Madura students or alumni familiar with the local language and community context. Data collection combined audio or video recording, photographic documentation, and field notes. Recording was conducted only with the informant's permission; where an informant did not consent to being recorded, the interview was documented through written notes. The resulting interview records, field notes, and visual documentation were subsequently organized and categorized according to the recurring themes relevant to customary authority, community compliance, local ecological knowledge, salt-production practices, and state–community relations, and were used comparatively in the interpretive analysis.

Prior to interviews and field participation, informants were informed of the researcher's academic identity, institutional affiliation, and the purpose of the research. The researcher also presented an official research assignment letter issued by the Faculty of Law, Universitas Brawijaya, when establishing access to the research setting. Participation was based on verbal consent, reflected in the informants' willingness to provide information and, in several instances, to involve the researcher in relevant community activities. Separate permission was sought for

audio or video recording and photographic documentation; where permission to record was not granted, information was documented only through written notes. No formal ethical clearance was obtained because such institutional ethical review was not available for this research at the Faculty of Law, Universitas Brawijaya. Nevertheless, voluntary participation, informed consent, and respect for informants' preferences regarding documentation were maintained throughout the fieldwork.

Secondary data were obtained from laws and regulations, journal articles, books, previous research findings, as well as statistical data on national salt production and salt pond areas relevant to the object of the study. To enhance the credibility of the findings, triangulation was conducted across informants, participant observation, and documentary materials rather than by treating any single account as conclusive. For example, the customary authority exercised by the descendants of Anggasuto was examined through interviews with customary figures and community members and was also observed directly during the implementation of Nyadhar. Similarly, accounts concerning the use of Bintang Karteka (Pleiades) and Bintang Nanggele (Orion) in determining the salt-production season were compared across customary knowledge holders and salt farmers and with direct observation of the relevant practices. Norms concerning salt quality, including the practice of not mixing *air tua* before it reaches the locally recognized quality threshold, were likewise examined through both direct observation of salt-production practices and accounts provided by salt farmers. Where accounts differed, such differences were retained as variations in perspective rather than being forced into a single interpretation. Triangulation was therefore used not merely to seek consistency, but also to identify convergence and variation across different sources and social positions.

All data were analyzed qualitatively through an interpretive socio-legal approach. The analytical process began by organizing interview records, field notes, audio-visual documentation, and relevant documents according to recurring issues

identified during fieldwork. The data were then categorized thematically around customary authority, mechanisms of community compliance, local ecological knowledge, salt-production practices and ethics, social solidarity, and interactions between community norms and state governance. Accounts and observations within each theme were compared across different informants and data sources to identify recurring patterns as well as divergent perspectives. These empirical patterns were subsequently interpreted through the analytical concepts of living law, legal pluralism, and legal centralism[17]. Rather than presuming that Nyadhar constituted living law, the analysis assessed whether the empirical practices demonstrated identifiable norms, recognized authority, mechanisms of compliance and social consequences, and the capacity to regulate social behavior. This process enabled the theoretical characterization of Nyadhar to be derived from the empirical findings rather than imposed on them in advance.

The researcher's participation in the Nyadhar rituals was undertaken as an observer-participant rather than as a member of the community's customary authority or ritual structure. Direct participation provided access to the social practices, interactions, and normative meanings through which Nyadhar is experienced by community members, but such proximity also created the possibility that interpretation could be influenced by the perspectives of customary leaders or other socially prominent actors. To address this reflexively, accounts obtained from customary authorities, community leaders, and public officials were not treated as representing the community as a whole, but were compared with observations and with the perspectives of salt farmers and incidental informants encountered during the three Nyadhar rituals. Interpretations were therefore developed through comparison across actors occupying different social and institutional positions rather than through reliance on a single authoritative narrative. This reflexive

[17] Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law," *Journal of Law and Society* 14, no. 3 (1987): 279–302, https://doi.org/10.2307/1410186.

approach was used to distinguish participants' own understandings of Nyadhar from the researcher's socio-legal interpretation of those practices.

Discussion

A. **Nyadhar as Living Law in the Governance of Coastal Salt Communities.**

The implementation of *Nyadhar 1, Nyadhar 2, and Nyadhar 3* in 2025 demonstrates that the tradition remains alive and possesses strong social legitimacy within the coastal community of Pinggirpapas. Based on participant observation conducted in June, July, and August 2025, the series of Nyadhar rituals was centered at the Anggasuto Cemetery complex in Kebundadap Barat Village, as well as at several Pasarean of community figures, including Anggasuto, Syeh Bangsa, Nyi Dukun, and Syech Kabbasa in Pinggirpapas Village, Kalianget District, Sumenep Regency. The exact origins of the Nyadhar tradition remain uncertain; however, an inscription dated 1408 AD carved on the gate of the Anggasuto Cemetery complex is believed by the community to mark the early restoration of the cemetery complex. This indicates that the Nyadhar tradition has deep historical roots and is preserved within the life of the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community.

The Nyadhar ritual is attended not only by local residents, but also by people originally from Pinggirpapas who return with their families from various regions across Indonesia. The series of activities begins with collective mutual cooperation (gotong royong) to clean the cemetery and pasarean areas, followed by ritual processions concluded with the recitation of mocopat using the Jatiswara manuscript entitled "Sampurnaning Sembah". The high level of community participation demonstrates that Nyadhar is not merely preserved as a ceremonial tradition but also functions as a collective social space that reinforces intergenerational community solidarity. This condition indicates that community rituals within coastal societies function not only as cultural expressions but also as mechanisms for reproducing social solidarity and normative legitimacy, sustaining community governance across generations. These findings are consistent with Sally Falk Moore's concept of the semi-autonomous social field, namely a community

social space capable of creating, maintaining, and enforcing norms relatively autonomously outside formal state institutions.[18].

The structure of the Nyadhar ritual demonstrates that customary rituals within the Pinggirpapas community function as mechanisms of social organization possessing normative authority in community life. Such authority is not established through formal state institutions, but rather through social legitimacy embedded within the relationships of the salt-farming community. In this context, Nyadhar cannot merely be understood as a cultural expression but rather as a community-normative system that regulates social compliance, relations among community members, and the socio-ecological order of coastal society. Within the context of Madurese society, similar practices can also be found in the Rokat Pandhaba tradition, which has been positioned as a local legal system with the characteristics of living law sustained through collective consciousness and community authority[19].

The Nyadhar ritual is led by customary authorities descended from Anggasuto who possess social legitimacy within the community. The current customary leadership is held by Abdurrahman, a descendant of Anggasuto and Bhengaseppo, whose authority extends beyond determining the timing, sequence, and provisions of the Nyadhar ritual to decisions that affect salt-production practices, particularly the timing of the production season. These decisions are highly respected and followed by the Pinggirpapas salt farmers. In practice, community members comply with these provisions as part of their adherence to the community's customary authority. These findings demonstrate that normative authority within coastal communities can function effectively outside formal state institutions through social legitimacy embedded in everyday community relations. From the perspective of legal pluralism, this condition indicates that community law

[18] Merry, "Legal Pluralism."

[19] Jamiliya Susantin et al., "Rokat Pandhaba Tradition as a Local Legal System from Clifford Geertz's Perspective in Madura.," *Trunojoyo Law Review (TLR)* 8, no. 1 (2026): 145–77, https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v8i1.32099.

does not occupy a subordinative position to the state, but instead possesses autonomous capacity in shaping the social order of coastal society[20].

Community compliance with the customary provisions of Nyadhar is not established through formal coercive mechanisms as found in the state legal system, but rather through the internalization of collective community values and beliefs. A comparable pattern has been identified in Madurese customary practice in Bondowoso, where community compliance with the Pamogih tradition is sustained through customary authority, collective belief, and social consequences, allowing the practice to operate as living law despite the absence of formal state enforcement[21]. This mechanism demonstrates that the effectiveness of community norms within coastal societies does not depend on the existence of formal state sanctions, but on the community's moral and social attachment to the customary value system living within the community. From a socio-legal perspective, this condition illustrates how community norms are maintained through everyday social practices rather than through formal state institutionalization. In this context, the effectiveness of community norms indicates that social order does not always depend on state coercive mechanisms, but can also be constructed through the internalization of collective societal values[22]. These findings reinforce John Griffiths'

[20]Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Bertram Turner, "Legal Pluralism, Social Theory, and the State," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 50, no. 3 (2018): 255–274, https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2018.1532674.; Keebet. von Benda-Beckmann, "Relational Social Theories and Legal Pluralism," *The Indonesian Journal of Socio-Legal Studies* 1, no. 1 (2021): Article 2, https://doi.org/10.54828/ijsls.2021v1n1.2.

[21] Ali Akhbar Abaib Mas Rabbani Lubis and Muhammad Abdul Kholiq Suhri, "Relasi Hukum Islam Dan Adat Dalam Tradisi Pamogih Pada Perkawinan Masyarakat Muslim Bondowoso," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 3, no. 2 (2020): 45–63, https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v3i2.4014.

[22] Cahya Wulandari et al., "Penal Mediation : Criminal Case Settlement Process Based on the Local Customary Wisdom of Dayak Ngaju," *Lex Scientia Law Review* 6, no. 1 (2022): 69–92, https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v6i1.54896.; Yusrizal Hasbi and Ferdy Saputra, "Criminalising Women , Silencing Victims : Human Rights and Sharia Enforcement in Aceh," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar'iah* 17, no. 1 (2025): 175–203, https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v17i1.29635.

18 critique of legal centralism, which positions the state as the sole source of legal legitimacy within society[23].

74 The Nyadhar tradition also possesses a normative dimension directly related to the traditional salt governance of the Pinggirpapas coastal community. In practice, Nyadhar is understood not only as a cultural or religious ritual, but also as a marker for the beginning of the community's salt production season. The timing of the Nyadhar ritual is determined by traditional astronomical observations of the appearance of particular constellations, such as Bintang Karteka (Pleiades) and Bintang Nanggele (Orion), which are believed to signify the arrival of the dry season and the readiness of seawater to crystallize into salt. These astronomical observations are translated into concrete production decisions by the Bhengaseppo, particularly in determining when salt farmers should begin preparing their ponds and commence salt production[24]. The decision is communicated to the salt-farming community and is generally respected and followed by the farmers. This decision is also embedded in the ritual cycle: the completion of Nyadhar 1 marks the commencement of the salt-production season, thereby connecting customary astronomical knowledge and ritual authority with the practical organization of salt production.

Knowledge concerning the reading of these constellations has been passed down across generations from Syekh Anggasuto, who, in community narratives, is regarded as possessing traditional astronomical expertise. Although modern meteorological information and production technologies are available and are used by a limited number of salt farmers, fieldwork did not reveal significant

---

4 [23] Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?"; Tody Sasmitha Jiwa Utama, "Between Adat Law and Living Law: An Illusion of Customary Law Incorporation into Indonesia Penal System," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 53, no. 2 (2021): 269–89, https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2021.1945222.; Nalle, "The Relevance of Socio-Legal Studies in Legal Science."; Rena Yulia et al., "Conflict Resolution Patterns in Indigenous Communities of Indonesia: A Comprehensive Study of the Customary Laws of Baduy, Kajang, and Anak Dalam in Jambi," *Indonesian Private Law Review* 6, no. 2 (2025): 159–76, https://doi.org/10.25041/iplr.v6i2.4671.

5 33 [24] Nurul Miqat et al., "Local Wisdom of Customary Law Community to Realize Food Sovereignty in Central Sulawesi," *Jambura Law Review* 3, no. 02 (2021): 277–94, https://doi.org/10.33756/jlr.v3i2.10167.

disagreement within the community concerning the authority or meaning of Nyadhar. Salt farmers generally continued to respect customary decisions made through deliberation among customary authorities, indicating that the adoption of modern sources of production knowledge does not necessarily displace the normative authority of Nyadhar. This condition demonstrates that salt production governance within coastal communities is not entirely determined by the administrative rationality of the state, but also by systems of knowledge and normative legitimacy living within society. These findings indicate that the Pinggirpapas coastal community maintains a form of epistemic autonomy in salt production governance through local knowledge systems that exist outside the technocratic rationality of the state. In this context, the practice of Nyadhar demonstrates that the governance of natural resources within coastal communities is constructed not only through formal state regulations, but also through local knowledge systems that continue to live and be collectively transmitted within the community.

In addition to its role in determining the salt production season, Nyadhar also embodies normative values regarding the relationships among humans, the sea, nature, ancestors, and community life. The sea is perceived not merely as an object of economic exploitation but as a living space with spiritual dimensions, respected through rituals of gratitude as part of the human relationship with nature. Salt is understood as a civilizational heritage and a source of blessing that must be produced honestly in accordance with traditions passed down by ancestors. From the community's perspective, unsuccessful salt harvests are believed to be associated with an imbalance in the relationship between humans, nature, and ancestors. Therefore, adherence to natural cycles and customary rules is essential for maintaining successful salt production. This perspective demonstrates that the relationship between coastal communities and natural resources is not constructed solely through the logic of economic exploitation, but also through moral, spiritual, and ecological dimensions embedded within the community's value system.

https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v8i1.30732

One of the customary authorities stated that "salt is not merely a product of the sea, but part of an ancestral trust that must be preserved in the proper way." This statement demonstrates that salt production within the Pinggirpapas community is understood not merely as an economic activity, but also as a moral and religious practice embedded within the community's value system. From a socio-legal perspective, this condition indicates that the economic activities of coastal communities are not constructed entirely through market rationality, but also through moral values, religiosity, and social relations living within the community. These findings demonstrate that the economic practices of coastal societies exhibit the characteristics of an embedded economy, in which production activities are embedded within social relations and the community's collective values.

The Nyadhar tradition also strengthens community social solidarity through practices such as gotong-royong and the collective financing of rituals, without the involvement of the government or private actors. These practices demonstrate that Nyadhar functions as a mechanism of social solidarity, maintaining togetherness and equal community participation. From a socio-legal perspective, compliance with community norms is not established through formal coercive mechanisms, but through social solidarity and the internalization of values within the life of coastal society. This condition illustrates that social solidarity within coastal communities not only serves cultural functions but also operates as a mechanism of social organization in the governance of community resources. In this context, social solidarity serves as a basis of legitimacy, enabling community norms to remain alive and effective without relying on formal state bureaucratic structures.[25].

In addition, the community recognizes norms of honesty in the salt production process, such as prohibiting mixing air tua that has not yet reached a certain quality standard to maintain the quality of the salt produced. These various

[25] Warren, "Leadership, Social Capital and Coastal Community Resource Governance: The Case of the Destructive Seaweed Harvest in West Bali."

practices demonstrate that Nyadhar functions not only as a cultural ritual but also as a normative mechanism within the community, particularly in organizing customary authority, social relations, production timing, production ethics, community solidarity, and locally grounded knowledge related to salt production.

These production norms are not formally enacted rules established through a codified customary procedure. Community members understand them as inherited teachings associated with Anggasuto that have been transmitted across generations and maintained through the Bhengaseppo, senior salt farmers, family transmission, the Nyadhar tradition, and everyday practices in the salt ponds. Their normative force is reflected in the way salt farmers describe compliance not merely as a technical preference but as an obligation that should be observed to preserve honesty, product quality, communal trust, and the blessing associated with salt production. Compliance is reinforced through repeated practice and interpersonal evaluation within the farming community. Violations may result in admonition from other farmers, negative judgments concerning honesty, diminished trust, and practical consequences for salt quality and price. These consequences, however, do not constitute formal customary sanctions comparable to sanctions in state law. Rather, the regulatory force of these norms operates primarily through internalized moral obligation, social reputation, collective belief, and the perceived loss of blessing. The absence of formal coercive sanctions therefore does not mean the absence of normative consequences; it indicates a mode of compliance grounded predominantly in social and moral legitimacy.

Various social practices within the implementation of Nyadhar demonstrate that the tradition functions as a living law that obtains legitimacy within the life of the Pinggirpapas community. This perspective is consistent with Eugen Ehrlich's concept of living law and Brian Z. Tamanaha's theory of legal pluralism, both of which suggest that law does not always originate from the state but also lives within

the social order.[26] In this context, Nyadhar demonstrates that living law functions not only as a community social norm but also as a governance mechanism that organizes social relations and specific aspects of salt production within the Pinggirpapas community. These findings extend the analysis of living law beyond the maintenance of social order by demonstrating how community norms can also structure customary authority, production timing, production ethics, and locally grounded knowledge within traditional salt production.

Taken together, these characteristics demonstrate that Nyadhar operates as living law in a sociological sense and exhibits features of strong legal pluralism at the internal community level.[27] Its normative authority is reproduced through recognized customary authority, intergenerational transmission, collective compliance, moral and social consequences, and its practical capacity to organize specific aspects of salt production. The relative autonomy identified here therefore refers to the community's capacity to maintain and reproduce these normative arrangements without deriving their legitimacy from formal state institutions, rather than to institutional independence from the state. In this sense, Nyadhar demonstrates how a community normative order can coexist with state law while retaining its own source of social legitimacy and regulatory capacity within the everyday life of the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community.

B. The Relationship Between Living Law and National Salt Governance

In practice, national salt governance remains oriented toward the stability of national salt production and markets, while the welfare of traditional salt farmers has not yet become the primary policy focus. Based on interviews with salt farmers and field observations, informants consistently associated salt import policies with

[26] Nelken, "Eugen Ehrlich, Living Law, and Plural Legalities."; Tamanaha, *Legal Pluralism Explained: History, Theory, Consequences*.; Ratih Lestarini, "The Sociological Perspective on The Study of The Living Law: Is It a Part of Legal Discipline or Social Discipline?," *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 11, no. 3 (2023): 450–64, https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v11i3.1270.

[27] Achmad Hariri and Basuki Babussalam, "Legal Pluralism: Concept, Theoretical Dialectics, And Its Existence In Indonesia," *Walisongo Law Review (Walrev)* 6, no. 2 (2024): 146–70, https://doi.org/10.21580/walrev.2024.6.2.25566.

declining local salt prices and difficulties in market absorption, which they perceived as weakening the economic position of traditional salt farmers. Community members also believe that the government has yet to establish a clear mapping of national salt needs across consumption, industrial, pharmaceutical, and health sectors, resulting in national salt policies being implemented uniformly without considering the characteristics of traditional smallholder salt production. This condition demonstrates that national salt governance continues to be dominated by technocratic and administrative approaches that primarily position salt production as a matter of economic management and national market stability[28].

Salt-farming communities perceive that national salt policies have not fully supported the sustainability of smallholder salt production. According to an interview with Makhfud Efendy, an expert in salt-production technology at Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, administrative mechanisms related to competency certification, industrial standardization, and salt price governance remain difficult for traditional salt farmers to access due to high costs, limited regional regulatory support, and complex bureaucratic procedures[29]. Several empirical legal studies on the salt sector in Madura have also shown that weak salt price protection policies, the absence of regional regulations supporting salt farmers, and limited infrastructural and institutional support remain major problems in the governance of smallholder salt production[30]. Moreover, the government is perceived as being more oriented toward industrialization and the expansion of new salt production areas than toward strengthening the governance systems of salt-farming

92 47

[28] Tanaem and Puguh Toko Arisanto, "Rezim Global Dan Liberalisasi Perdagangan Sektor Garam Di Indonesia.";Iwan Hermawan et al., "Investigating the Impacts of Salt Import Tariffs on Trade, Production, Employment, and Welfare - the Case of Indonesia," *Mineral Economics*, 2026, https://doi.org/10.1007/s13563-025-00579-7.; Rochwulaningsih et al., "Marine Policy Basis of Indonesia as a Maritime State : The Importance of Integrated Economy.";

[29] Makhfud Efendy, "Interview with Prof. Makhfud Efendy on National Salt Governance and Traditional Salt Farmers" (Laboratorium Garam, Universitas Trunojoyo, di Pamekasan, 2025).

[30] Mukhlis et al., "Regional Regulation Problems in The Field of Salt Industry Development Perspective of Farmers in Sampang Regency," *Trunojoyo Law Review (TLR)* 6, no. 1 (2023): 78–95, https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23321.

43

1

communities that have existed across generations. These findings demonstrate an imbalance between the state's industrialization-oriented rationality and the governance mechanisms of coastal communities embedded within traditional salt-farming societies[31].

The relationship between national salt governance and traditional salt-farming communities demonstrates a divergence in paradigms regarding salt production and the lives of coastal societies. The state positions salt governance within the framework of industrialization, production enhancement, and national market stability, whereas the Pinggirpapas community perceives salt production as part of religious relations, social solidarity, and respect for ancestral traditions embodied through Nyadhar. In this context, salt production is understood not merely as an economic activity, but also as part of the socio-ecological value system of coastal communities[32].

The industrialization of the national salt sector has increasingly been directed toward a technocratic approach focused on production innovation and efficiency enhancement through strengthening institutional capacity, technology, and the productivity of salt farmers[33]. This approach stands in contrast to the governance systems of coastal communities, which are grounded in social solidarity, customary legitimacy, and ecological sustainability. From the perspective of legal pluralism, this condition reveals a tension between the state's technocratic and industrialization-oriented governance framework and the community-based

[31] Prihatini et al., "Exploring the Relation Between Farmer Organization and Welfare Using Propensity Score Matching Approach: Evidence from Madurese Traditional Salt Farmers in Indonesia."; Rahman et al., "A Framework for Analyzing Institutional Gaps in Natural Resource Governance."; A. Junaedi Karso, "Natural Resources Governance and the Vulnerability of Indigenous Communities in Indonesia," *Frontiers in Political Science* 7 (2025): 01–14, https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2025.1601480.

[32] Dancer, "Harmony with Nature: Towards a New Deep Legal Pluralism."; Ana Silviana et al., "Land Management Policy in the Coastal Area Based on the Local Wisdom," *AACL Bioflux* 14, no. 6 (2021): 3403–15, http://www.bioflux.com.ro/docs/2021.3403-3415.pdf.; Warren, "Leadership, Social Capital and Coastal Community Resource Governance: The Case of the Destructive Seaweed Harvest in West Bali."

[33] Agus Heri Purnomo et al., "Socioeconomic Feasibility of Biocatalyst Technology in Salt Farming : Insights from West Nusa Tenggara , Indonesia," *World Development Perspectives* 42 (2026): 100773, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wdp.2026.100773.

normative arrangements through which the Pinggirpapas salt farmers organize particular aspects of salt production.[34]

The state constructs salt governance through administrative and industrialization-oriented approaches, while salt-farming communities maintain governance systems based on customary norms, social solidarity, and local ecological knowledge[35]. These findings are consistent with John Griffiths' critique of legal centralism, which holds that the state is the sole source of legal legitimacy in society. In this context, Nyadhar demonstrates that community norms continue to live and function effectively despite not receiving formal legitimacy from the state[36].

Although the regional government recognizes Nyadhar as part of the cultural identity of the coastal community of Sumenep, such recognition remains largely symbolic and cultural. In practice, the state has not fully regarded Nyadhar as a community normative system possessing resource governance functions within the life of coastal society. This condition demonstrates that state recognition of customary communities remains predominantly administrative and has not yet provided substantive space for community governance in the management of natural resources[37]. From the perspective of legal pluralism, this situation illustrates that the relationship between the state and customary communities still operates within a pattern of weak legal pluralism, in which community norms are recognized

[34] Santos, "Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law."; Hariri and Babussalam, "Legal Pluralism: Concept, Theoretical Dialectics, And Its Existence In Indonesia."

[35] Sulaiman, "Interaksi Hukum Negara Dan Hukum Adat Dalam Penanggulangan Trawl Di Indonesia," *Litigasi* 17, no. 2 (2016): 3377–3426, https://doi.org/10.23969/litigasi.v17i2.139.; Helmi et al., "Local Wisdom in Indonesia: Assessing Its Legal Status and Role in Forest Protection," *Jambe Law Journal* 6, no. 2 (2023): 125–41, https://doi.org/10.22437/jlj.6.2.125-141.

[36] Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?"; von Benda-Beckmann and Turner, "Legal Pluralism, Social Theory, and the State."

[37] Muhammad Hatta Roma Tampubolon, "Legal and Problematic Protection of Social Movements to The Tau Taa Wana Indigenous People," *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law* 3, no. 2 (2020): 147–66, https://doi.org/10.33096/substantivejustice.v3i2.77.; Nova Yarsina, Ari Budianto, and Dian Arfianto, "Ulayat Land Registration in Providing Legal Certainty through Certification Based on the Principle of Justice," *Nusantara: Journal of Law Studies* 5, no. 1 (2026): 187–204, https://doi.org/10.66325/nusantaralaw.v5i1.121.

only to a limited extent while remaining under the dominance of the state legal system[38].

This relationship, however, should not be understood as a simple opposition between the community and the state. Field findings indicate that Pinggirpapas salt farmers continue to operate within the formal framework of national salt governance while simultaneously maintaining Nyadhar as a normative basis for organizing particular aspects of their internal social and production practices. The coexistence of these normative orders is therefore asymmetrical rather than mutually exclusive: state law retains formal regulatory authority, while Nyadhar derives its authority from customary, legitimacy, community recognition, and continued social compliance[39].

The sustainability of traditional salt-farming communities also faces challenges of generational regeneration. Interviews with community members indicate that economic uncertainty and fluctuations in salt prices influence the willingness of some younger community members to continue working as salt farmers. However, informants also associated this shift with increasingly diverse educational backgrounds and expanding social and occupational networks, which provide younger generations with opportunities beyond salt farming. The regeneration challenge therefore cannot be attributed solely to national salt policy or market conditions, but reflects the interaction between economic pressures and broader social transformations within the community. Although Nyadhar continues

[38] Thornhill et al., "Legal Pluralism? Indigenous Rights as Legal Constructs."; Choirul Fahmi and Muhammad Siddiq Armia, "Protecting Indigenous Collective Land Property in Indonesia under International Human Rights Norms," *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights* 6 (2022): 1–25, https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.V6i1.30242.; Herlambang P Wiratraman, "Cultural Expertise and the Social Justice Defense of Indigenous Peoples Rights in the Indonesian Constitutional Court," *Constitutional Review* 11, no. 2 (2025), https://doi.org/10.31078/consrev1122.; I Gusti Agung Mas Rwa Jayantiari et al., "The Rights of Customary Law Communities to Resources: The Relationship of Coexistence of State Law and Customary Law," *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 13, no. 1 (2025), https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v13i1.1329.

[39] Istislam et al., "Adaptive Environmental Governance within a Legal Pluralism Framework: A Case Study of the Tengger Indigenous Community in Indonesia," *Jurisdictie: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah* 17, no. 1 (2026): 1–36, https://doi.org/10.18860/j.v17i1.41228.

to maintain strong intergenerational participation and social legitimacy, this does not necessarily mean that younger generations will continue salt farming as their primary occupation[40].

On the other hand, the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community continues to preserve the communal values embedded within the Nyadhar tradition as the foundation of their social ethics and salt production governance. For the local community, salt production is not solely oriented toward increasing economic quantity, but is also associated with moral responsibility toward the environment, social solidarity, and the sustainability of community life. The religious values underlying Nyadhar influence salt production practices that are considered more environmentally friendly, strengthen gotong royong among salt farmers, and encourage adherence to norms of honesty in maintaining the quality of the salt produced. From a socio-legal perspective, this condition demonstrates that the governance of natural resources within coastal communities is not constructed entirely through market logic and state regulation, but also through moral values and social relations living within the community[41].

From the perspective of legal pluralism, the governance of natural resources cannot be based solely on a centralized state law approach, but must also take into account the community normative systems living within society. Therefore, recognition of salt-farming communities should not merely manifest in symbolic-cultural forms, but also in more participatory salt governance policies that support

[40] Bambang Sudaryana and Puji Pramesti, "The Strategy of Welfare Improvement for Salt Farmers in Indonesia," in *MATEC Web of Conferences*, vol. 05062 (EDP Sciences, 2018), 1–7, https://doi.org/10.1051/matecconf/201815005062.

[41] Mukarromah, "Ritual Nyadhar, Ecology and Gender."; Zesizwe Ngubane et al., "A Systematic Overview of Institutional Pathways and Constraints in the Integration of Local and Indigenous Knowledge into Water Resource Policy : An African Perspective," *Water* 18, no. 7 (2026): 1–34, https://doi.org/10.3390/w18070827.; Reza Raihandhany and Purnomo, "From Culinary Practices to Rituals, Cultural Uses of Local Food Plants in Banceuy Traditional Village, West Java, Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Ethnobiology* 9, no. 1 (2026): 1–9, https://doi.org/10.13057/asianjethnobiol/y090106.

the sustainability of coastal communities[42]. These findings demonstrate that the sustainability of natural resource governance in coastal societies requires a more balanced relationship between state regulation and community governance based on living law.[43].

C. Implications of Legal Pluralism for the Recognition of Community-Based Salt Governance

The theoretical significance of the Nyadhar case lies not merely in confirming that socially legitimate norms can exist beyond formal state law, as established in living law and legal pluralism scholarship.[44] Rather, the findings extend these perspectives by demonstrating that living law within a coastal salt-farming community can simultaneously perform multiple governance functions: reproducing customary authority and social legitimacy, coordinating the timing and ethics of salt production, and transmitting locally grounded ecological knowledge relevant to production decisions. Nyadhar therefore extends the analytical reach of living law from the regulation of social relations to the organization of specific aspects of community-based resource governance.

Recognition of customary communities in the governance of natural resources cannot stop merely at the symbolic-cultural level, but should also encompass meaningful participation in resource governance and the protection of

[42] Absori et al., "The Integration of Positive and Islamic Law in Contemporary Forest Conservation Policies Based on Sustainable Development: A Comparative Study of Indonesia and Malaysia," *MILRev : Metro Islamic Law Review* 5, no. 1 (2026): 458–91, https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v5i1.13038.

[43] Merry, "Legal Pluralism."; Achmani, "Applying Ostrom's Commons Governance Principles to Maritime Straits for Sustainable Navigation: Case Study of the Dover Strait."; Arsyad Aldyan et al., "Legal Pluralism in Environmental Management : Evidence from Bali , Indonesia," *Journal of Law, Environmental and Justice* 3, no. 2 (2025): 229–67, https://doi.org/10.62264/jlej.v3i2.131.

[44] Aldyan et al., "Legal Pluralism in Environmental Management : Evidence from Bali , Indonesia."; Dancer, "Harmony with Nature: Towards a New Deep Legal Pluralism."; Achmani, "Applying Ostrom's Commons Governance Principles to Maritime Straits for Sustainable Navigation: Case Study of the Dover Strait."; Bagio Kadaryanto, Ardian Kurniawan, and Burhanuddin, "Reconstruction of Indigenous Community Inclusion in Village Autonomy Policy: Towards a Substantive Autonomy Model in Indonesia," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 25, no. 1 (2025): 1–19, https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v25i1.1845.

community-based institutions and knowledge[45]. Administrative recognition without the redistribution of participatory space and normative legitimacy will only sustain the dominance of state-centered governance in natural resource management[46]. In the context of the Pinggirpapas community, substantive recognition would require creating participatory space for locally legitimate normative arrangements and community knowledge to inform those aspects of salt governance that directly affect traditional salt-farming practices. The social practices of the Pinggirpapas community demonstrate that values of religiosity, gotong royong, solidarity, deliberation, and social justice live within community life as part of a collective value system aligned with the principles of Pancasila. In this context, community governance not only possesses cultural dimensions but also functions as a mechanism of social organization and community-based natural resource governance.

The Pinggirpapas community does not fundamentally reject the presence of the state, but rather seeks a form of recognition that respects the normative legitimacy of customary law and community governance systems that have existed across generations. From the perspective of legal pluralism, substantive recognition does not require the displacement of state authority, but rather institutional arrangements that acknowledge the distinct normative legitimacy of community-based practices and create meaningful participatory space for community knowledge and norms in those aspects of salt governance that directly affect traditional salt-farming practices. In this context, recognition of Nyadhar does not merely signify the protection of coastal cultural rituals, but also the recognition of

[45] Amah Emmanuel Ibiam and Hemen Philip Faga, "Indigenous Peoples' Rights over Natural Resources: An Analysis of Host Communities' Rights in Nigeria," *Lampung Journal of International Law* 3, no. 2 (2021): 119–36, https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v3i2.2402.; Zulfikar Jayakusuma et al., "Local Wisdom and Coastal Protection on Rupat Island : The Role of the Akit Indigenous Community," *Lampung Journal of International Law* 8, no. 1 (2026): 35–44, https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v8i1.3429.

[46] Zaka Firma Aditya and Sholahuddin Al-fatih, "Legal Protection of Indigenous People's Rights Through Strengthening the Licensing Principles Based on Social Sensitivity," *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 6, no. 1 (2021): 1–34, https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v6i1.44671.

the socio-ecological governance of the salt-farming community that lives and functions effectively within society. These findings are consistent with Boaventura de Sousa Santos' view of legal pluralism, which demonstrates that multiple normative systems can coexist and operate alongside one another outside the exclusive dominance of the state[47].

Furthermore, the experience of the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community demonstrates that religious values and collective social consciousness can function as normative mechanisms in organizing particular aspects of salt production even without formal state sanctioning mechanisms. Community compliance with the customary norms of Nyadhar arises from religious consciousness passed down across generations and internalized within community life. This consciousness forms a collective commitment to maintaining the quality and ethical standards of salt production, respecting locally understood relations between the community and its natural environment, and sustaining social solidarity. In this context, religiosity and social solidarity function not only as elements of cultural identity, but also as mechanisms of social control that reinforce community compliance with norms governing particular aspects of traditional salt production[48].

The Nyadhar case therefore confirms the central insight of living law theory that normative order may derive its authority from social practice rather than formal state enactment, while extending that insight in an important respect[49]. The findings demonstrate that living law can operate not only as a mechanism for maintaining social order, but also as a practical framework through which a coastal community coordinates particular aspects of production, transmits locally

[47] Santos, "Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law."; von Benda-Beckmann and Turner, "Legal Pluralism, Social Theory, and the State."
[48] Mukarromah, "Ritual Nyadhar, Ecology and Gender."; Titi Setiyoningsih, Sumarwati, and Andayani, "Pilgrimage, Folklore, and Ecological Ethics: Symbolic Conservation Practices in Dieng's Sacred Landscape, Indonesia," *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites* 64, no. 1 (2026): 217–26, https://doi.org/10.30892/gtg.64119-1670.; Raihandhany and Purnomo, "From Culinary Practices to Rituals, Cultural Uses of Local Food Plants in Banceuy Traditional Village, West Java, Indonesia."
[49] Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?"; Merry, "Legal Pluralism."; Dancer, "Harmony with Nature: Towards a New Deep Legal Pluralism."

grounded ecological knowledge, and legitimizes customary authority. At the same time, the case qualifies a purely autonomous conception of strong legal pluralism: Nyadhar retains an internally generated source of normative legitimacy while the community remains embedded in, and structurally constrained by, state regulation, markets, bureaucracy, and national salt policy. The theoretical contribution of the Pinggirpapas case therefore lies in understanding living law and legal pluralism relationally—as community normative authority that remains socially effective without being institutionally independent from the state

Conclusion

This study finds that *Nyadhar* functions as living law within the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community through identifiable normative mechanisms rather than merely through the continuity of ritual practice. Its normative authority is manifested in the recognized role of customary authorities, intergenerational transmission of community norms, collective compliance, moral and social consequences of non-compliance, and its practical capacity to organize particular aspects of salt production. These functions include coordinating the timing of the production season, maintaining production ethics and salt quality, transmitting locally grounded ecological knowledge, and reinforcing social solidarity. The findings therefore answer the first objective of this study by demonstrating empirically how *Nyadhar* acquires normative authority and operates within the everyday practices of the Pinggirpapas salt-farming community.

The study further finds that the relationship between *Nyadhar* and national salt governance is characterized by asymmetrical coexistence rather than simple opposition. Pinggirpapas salt farmers continue to operate within the formal framework of state regulation and national salt policy while maintaining *Nyadhar* as a normative basis for particular aspects of their internal social and production practices. State law retains formal regulatory authority, whereas *Nyadhar* derives its authority from customary legitimacy, community recognition, and continued

https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v8i1.30732

social compliance. This relationship also demonstrates that the community's normative capacity does not imply institutional independence from the state, as traditional salt production remains embedded in and affected by national policy, markets, administrative mechanisms, and broader socioeconomic transformations. These findings answer the second objective of the study by demonstrating that the relationship between living law and state governance is relational and asymmetrical rather than mutually exclusive.

These findings have implications for national salt governance. Recognition of traditional salt-farming communities should move beyond symbolic-cultural acknowledgment toward participatory arrangements that allow locally legitimate norms and community knowledge to inform those aspects of salt governance that directly affect traditional salt-farming practices. Such recognition does not require displacing state regulatory authority, but rather creating meaningful institutional space in which community knowledge, customary authority, and production practices can be considered alongside national policy objectives. In this sense, a more pluralistic approach to salt governance requires not the separation of community norms from state law, but a more balanced and participatory relationship between them.

Theoretically, this study confirms the central insight of living law theory that normative authority can emerge from social practice rather than formal state enactment, while extending its analytical application from maintaining social order to organizing particular aspects of community-based production and resource governance. The Nyadhar case demonstrates that living law can simultaneously coordinate production practices, transmit locally grounded ecological knowledge, and reproduce customary authority and social legitimacy. The study also qualifies an autonomous reading of strong legal pluralism by demonstrating that community norms may retain an internally generated source of normative legitimacy while remaining embedded in and structurally constrained by state regulation, markets, bureaucracy, and national policy. The contribution of this study therefore lies in

advancing a relational understanding of living law and legal pluralism in which community normative authority can remain socially effective without being institutionally independent from the state.

This study has several limitations. Its empirical findings are derived from a single salt-farming community and from fieldwork conducted from June to August 2025, encompassing one complete cycle of *Nyadhar* 1, *Nyadhar* 2, and *Nyadhar* 3. The findings therefore should not be generalized to all traditional salt-farming or coastal communities in Indonesia, whose normative systems and relationships with state governance may differ. Future research could examine comparable salt-farming communities across different regions and over longer periods to assess how community normative systems interact with changing markets, technologies, and state policies. Such comparative and longitudinal research would further test the relational understanding of living law and legal pluralism developed through the Pinggirpapas case.

Acknowledgement

This research and the publication of this article were supported by: 1) The Indonesian Education Scholarship (Beasiswa Pendidikan Indonesia or BPI); 2) The Center for Higher Education Funding and Assessment, Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia; and 3) The Endowment Fund for Education Agency (Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan or LPDP), Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia.

References

Absori, Arief Budiono, Mohammad Indra Bangsawan, Rizka, and Aminuddin Mustaffa. "The Integration of Positive and Islamic Law in Contemporary Forest Conservation Policies Based on Sustainable Development: A Comparative Study of Indonesia and Malaysia." *MILRev : Metro Islamic Law Review* 5, no. 1 (2026): 458–91. https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v5i1.13038.

Achmani, Youness. "Applying Ostrom's Commons Governance Principles to Maritime Straits for Sustainable Navigation: Case Study of the Dover Strait." *Discover Sustainability* 6 (2025): 1078. https://doi.org/10.1007/s43621-025-

01878-3.

Aditya, Zaka Firma, and Sholahuddin Al-fatih. "Legal Protection of Indigenous People's Rights Through Strengthening the Licensing Principles Based on Social Sensitivity." *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 6, no. 1 (2021): 1–34. https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v6i1.44671.

Aldyan, Arsyad, Rizal Akbar Aldyan, Kartika Asmanda Putri, and Abdelrahman Alasttal. "Legal Pluralism in Environmental Management : Evidence from Bali , Indonesia." *Journal of Law, Environmental and Justice* 3, no. 2 (2025): 229–67. https://doi.org/10.62264/jlej.v3i2.131.

Ariesna, Yusfriandi Dwi, Sudarmanto Hasan, Eka Reza Saputra Widodo, Irwan Bempah, and Sukirman Rahim. "Local Ecological Knowledge in Coastal Resource Management: A Comparative Study of Maluku and Bajo Communities." *BERESI: Journal of Environmental Research (BJE)* 1, no. 1 (2025): 7–12. https://doi.org/10.37905/bje.v1i1.

Azizah, Rofiatul, Akhmad Arif Musadad, and Cicilia Dyah Sulistyaningrung Indrawati. "Nyadhar Traditional Ceremony: History and Collective Memories of Pinggir Papas Village Community, Sumenep." *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 6, no. 12 (2023): 7250–59. https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v6-i12-09.

Badi'ah, Roudlotul, Budi Harsanto, Umi Kaltum, Armen Zuham, and Budi Wardono. "Traditional Salt Production in East Java: Economic, Social, and Environmental Management Innovations." In *BIO Web of Conferences*, 199:03006. EDP Sciences, 2025. https://doi.org/10.1051/bioconf/202519903006.

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet. von. "Relational Social Theories and Legal Pluralism." *The Indonesian Journal of Socio-Legal Studies* 1, no. 1 (2021): Article 2. https://doi.org/10.54828/ijsls.2021v1n1.2.

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von, and Bertram Turner. "Legal Pluralism, Social Theory, and the State." *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 50, no. 3 (2018): 255–274. https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2018.1532674.

Dancer, Helen. "Harmony with Nature: Towards a New Deep Legal Pluralism." *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 53, no. 1 (2021): 21–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2020.1845503.

Dzulkarnain, Iskandar, Endriatmo Soetarto, Rilus A. Kinseng, and Sofyan Sjaf. "Nyadar: Religious and Cultural Resistance of Madurese Salt Farming Community." *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan* 8, no. 2 (2020): 53–68. https://doi.org/10.22500/8202031832.

Efendy, Makhfud. "Interview with Prof. Makhfud Efendy on National Salt Governance and Traditional Salt Farmers." Laboratorium Garam, Universitas Trunojoyo, di Pamekasan, 2025.

Ehrlich, Eugen. *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002.

Fahmi, Choirul, and Muhammad Siddiq Armia. "Protecting Indigenous Collective Land Property in Indonesia under International Human Rights Norms." *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights* 6 (2022): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.V6i1.30242.

Fauziah, Elys, Ifan Maflaha, and Dwi Ratna Hidayati. "Optimizing Salt Farming Efficiency Based on Frontier Model: Empirical Insights from Coastal Madura, Indonesia." *Egyptian Journal of Aquatic Biology and Fisheries* 29, no. 4 (2025): 4901–16. https://doi.org/10.21608/EJABF.2025.446716.

Fitzpatrick, Daniel. "Disputes and Pluralism in Modern Indonesian Land Law." *Yale Journal of International Law* 22, no. 1 (1997): 171–212.

Ganguly, Biswarup, and Bina Gandhi Deori. "Salt-Making Traditions and Salt Trade in the Eastern Himalayas." In *Meridians of Salt*, 295–316. Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2025. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-96692-7_14.

Griffiths, John. "What Is Legal Pluralism?" *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 18, no. 24 (1986): 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.1986.10756387.

Hairan, Tunggul Anshori, Setia Negara, Imam Koeswahyono, and Bambang Sugiri. "Sovereignty and Human Rights : Examining Sustainable Plantation Enterprises in Indonesia" 5, no. 1 (2024): 81–96. https://doi.org/10.25041/aelr.v5i1.3415.

Hariri, Achmad, and Basuki Babussalam. "Legal Pluralism: Concept, Theoretical Dialectics, And Its Existence In Indonesia." *Walisongo Law Review (Walrev)* 6, no. 2 (2024): 146–70. https://doi.org/10.21580/walrev.2024.6.2.25566.

Hasbi, Yusrizal, and Ferdy Saputra. "Criminalising Women , Silencing Victims : Human Rights and Sharia Enforcement in Aceh." *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar'iah* 17, no. 1 (2025): 175–203. https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v17i1.29635.

Helmi, Dony Yusra Pebrianto, Hafrida, Retno Kusniati, and Beny Saputra. "Local Wisdom in Indonesia: Assessing Its Legal Status and Role in Forest Protection." *Jambe Law Journal* 6, no. 2 (2023): 125–41. https://doi.org/10.22437/jlj.6.2.125-141.

Hermawan, Iwan, Carunia Mulya Firdausy, Khoiru Rizqy Rambe, Fadhlan Zuhdi, and Ezra Putranda Setiawan. "Investigating the Impacts of Salt Import Tariffs on Trade, Production, Employment, and Welfare - the Case of Indonesia." *Mineral Economics*, 2026. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13563-025-00579-7.

I Gusti Agung Mas Rwa Jayantiari, I Nyoman Prabu Buana Rumiartha, I Gst Pt Bagus Suka Arjawa, I Gusti Ngurah Dharma Laksana, and Anak Agung Sagung

Ngurah Inradewi. "The Rights of Customary Law Communities to Resources: The Relationship of Coexistence of State Law and Customary Law." *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 13, no. 1 (2025). https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v13i1.1329.

Ibiam, Amah Emmanuel, and Hemen Philip Faga. "Indigenous Peoples' Rights over Natural Resources: An Analysis of Host Communities' Rights in Nigeria." *Lampung Journal of International Law* 3, no. 2 (2021): 119–36. https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v3i2.2402.

Istislam, Iwan Permadi, Hezron Sabar Rotua Tinambunan, Pitoyo Widhi Atmoko, and Cuikitalia. "Adaptive Environmental Governance within a Legal Pluralism Framework: A Case Study of the Tengger Indigenous Community in Indonesia." *Jurisdictie: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah* 17, no. 1 (2026): 1–36. https://doi.org/10.18860/j.v17i1.41228.

Jayakusuma, Zulfikar, Maria Maya Lestari, Tengku Arif Hidayat, and Davit Rahmadan. "Local Wisdom and Coastal Protection on Rupat Island : The Role of the Akit Indigenous Community." *Lampung Journal of International Law* 8, no. 1 (2026): 35–44. https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v8i1.3429.

Kadaryanto, Bagio, Ardian Kurniawan, and Burhanuddin. "Reconstruction of Indigenous Community Inclusion in Village Autonomy Policy: Towards a Substantive Autonomy Model in Indonesia." *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 25, no. 1 (2025): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v25i1.1845.

Karso, A. Junaedi. "Natural Resources Governance and the Vulnerability of Indigenous Communities in Indonesia." *Frontiers in Political Science* 7 (2025): 01–14. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2025.1601480.

Kittiprasan, Kattika, Hiram Ting, Kreangkrai Kirdsiri, and Andrea Yankowski. "The Art of Salt Festival in Phetchaburi, Thailand: The Nexus of Nature and Culture to Sustain Local Identity." *Journal of Convention and Event Tourism* 26, no. 5 (2025): 358–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/15470148.2025.2593825.

Lestarini, Ratih. "The Sociological Perspective on The Study of The Living Law: Is It a Part of Legal Discipline or Social Discipline?" *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 11, no. 3 (2023): 450–64. https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v11i3.1270.

Lubis, Ali Akhbar Abaib Mas Rabbani, and Muhammad Abdul Kholiq Suhri. "Relasi Hukum Islam Dan Adat Dalam Tradisi Pamogih Pada Perkawinan Masyarakat Muslim Bondowoso." *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 3, no. 2 (2020): 45–63. https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v3i2.4014.

Maliska, Marcos Augusto. "The Legal Sociology of Eugen Ehrlich and Constitutional Law: The Fact of Pluralism and the Role of Constitution." *Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy* 105, no. 3 (2019): 340–358.

http://www.jstor.org/stable/45175372.

Merry, Sally Engle. "Legal Pluralism." *Law & Society Review* 22, no. 5 (1988): 869–96. https://doi.org/10.2307/3053638.

Miqat, Nurul, Rafika Nur, Virgayani Fattah, Susi Sulilawat, and Intan Purnamasari5. "Local Wisdom of Customary Law Community to Realize Food Sovereignty in Central Sulawesi." *Jambura Law Review* 3, no. 02 (2021): 277–94. https://doi.org/10.33756/jlr.v3i2.10167.

Mukarromah, Khomsiyatul. "Ritual Nyadhar, Ecology and Gender." *MUHARRIK: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial* 5, no. 1 (2022): 165–180. https://doi.org/10.37680/muharrik.v5i1.1627.

Mukhlis, Muwafffiq Jufri, A. Yahya Surya Winata, and Ach Zahid. "Regional Regulation Problems in The Field of Salt Industry Development Perspective of Farmers in Sampang Regency." *Trunojoyo Law Review (TLR)* 6, no. 1 (2023): 78–95. https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23321.

Nalle, Victor Imanuel W. "The Relevance of Socio-Legal Studies in Legal Science." *Mimbar Hukum* 27, no. 1 (February 2015): 179–192. https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.15905.

Nelken, David. "Eugen Ehrlich, Living Law, and Plural Legalities." *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 9, no. 2 (2008): Article 6. http://www.bepress.com/til/default/vol9/iss2/art6.

Ngubane, Zesizwe, Nura Shehu Aliyu Yaro, Scelokuhle Mpilenhle Ziqubu, and Jacob Adedayo Adedeji. "A Systematic Overview of Institutional Pathways and Constraints in the Integration of Local and Indigenous Knowledge into Water Resource Policy : An African Perspective." *Water* 18, no. 7 (2026): 1–34. https://doi.org/10.3390/w18070827.

Prihatini, Campina Illa, Nuhfil Hanani AR, Syafrial, and Rosihan Asmara. "Exploring the Relation Between Farmer Organization and Welfare Using Propensity Score Matching Approach: Evidence from Madurese Traditional Salt Farmers in Indonesia." *Asian Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development* 14, no. 3 (2024): 108–18. https://doi.org/10.55493/5005.v14i3.5178.

Purnomo, Agus Heri, Ekowati Chasanah, Tikkyrino Kurniawan, Moh. Awaluddin Adam, Muhammad Yusuf, and Margie Brite. "Socioeconomic Feasibility of Biocatalyst Technology in Salt Farming : Insights from West Nusa Tenggara , Indonesia." *World Development Perspectives* 42 (2026): 100773. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wdp.2026.100773.

Putri, Nur Latifa Isnaini. "Studi Essensial Marketing Pada Ritual Adat 'Nyadhar' Madura." *Journal of Management and Social Sciences (JIMAS)* 2, no. 1 (2023): 172–86. https://doi.org/10.55606/jimas.v2i1.221.

Rahman, H.M. Tuihedur, Arlette S. Saint Ville, Andrew M. Song, June Y.T. Po, and

Elsa Berthet. “A Framework for Analyzing Institutional Gaps in Natural Resource Governance.” *International Journal of the Commons* 11, no. 2 (2017): 823–53. https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.758.

Raihandhany, Reza, and Purnomo. “From Culinary Practices to Rituals, Cultural Uses of Local Food Plants in Banceuy Traditional Village, West Java, Indonesia.” *Asian Journal of Ethnobiology* 9, no. 1 (2026): 1–9. https://doi.org/10.13057/asianjethnobiol/y090106.

Rochwulaningsih, Yety, Singgih Tri Sulistiyono, Noor Naelil Masruroh, and Nazala Noor Maulany. “Marine Policy Basis of Indonesia as a Maritime State : The Importance of Integrated Economy.” *Marine Policy* 108 (2019): 103602. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2019.103602.

Rozah, Umi, and Aldi Yudistira. “Penal Policy Analysis of The Formulation of Customary Law in The 2023 KUHP.” *Indonesian Journal of Criminal Law Studies*, no. 1 (2023): 83–114. https://doi.org/10.15294/ijcls.v10i1.19939.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. “Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law.” *Journal of Law and Society* 14, no. 3 (1987): 279–302. https://doi.org/10.2307/1410186.

Setiyoningsih, Titi, Sumarwati, and Andayani. “Pilgrimage, Folklore, and Ecological Ethics: Symbolic Conservation Practices in Dieng’s Sacred Landscape, Indonesia.” *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites* 64, no. 1 (2026): 217–26. https://doi.org/10.30892/gtg.64119-1670.

Setya, Kartika Winkar, Aziz Nasihuddin, Izawati Wook, Universitas Jenderal, Jenderal Soedirman, and Universiti Sains. “Fulfilling Communal Rights through the Implementation of the Second Principle of Pancasila towards the Regulation on Agrarian Reform.” *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* VI, no. 1 (2023): 89–102. https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i1.7868.

Silviana, Ana, Yos J. Utama, Nurhasan Ismail, and Mira N. Ardani. “Land Management Policy in the Coastal Area Based on the Local Wisdom.” *AACL Bioflux* 14, no. 6 (2021): 3403–15. http://www.bioflux.com.ro/docs/2021.3403-3415.pdf.

Sudaryana, Bambang, and Puji Pramesti. “The Strategy of Welfare Improvement for Salt Farmers in Indonesia.” In *MATEC Web of Conferences*, 05062:1–7. EDP Sciences, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1051/matecconf/201815005062.

Sulaiman. “Interaksi Hukum Negara Dan Hukum Adat Dalam Penanggulangan Trawl Di Indonesia.” *Litigasi* 17, no. 2 (2016): 3377–3426. https://doi.org/10.23969/litigasi.v17i2.139.

Susantin, Jamiliya, Yusron Pahlevi, Roibin, Atnawi, and Abdur Rahman Adi Saputera. “Rokat Pandhaba Tradition as a Local Legal System from Clifford Geertz’s Perspective in Madura.” *Trunojoyo Law Review (TLR)* 8, no. 1 (2026):

145–77. https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v8i1.32099.

Tamanaha, Brian Z. *Legal Pluralism Explained: History, Theory, Consequences*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190861551.001.0001.

Tampubolon, Muhammad Hatta Roma. "Legal and Problematic Protection of Social Movements to The Tau Taa Wana Indigenous People." *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law* 3, no. 2 (2020): 147–66. https://doi.org/10.33096/substantivejustice.v3i2.77.

Tanaem, Esti Renatalia, and Puguh Toko Arisanto. "Rezim Global Dan Liberalisasi Perdagangan Sektor Garam Di Indonesia." *Madani Jurnal Politik Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 12, no. 2 (2020): 120–39. https://doi.org/10.52166/madani.v12i2.2003.

Thornhill, Chris, Claudio Calabria, Rocío Cespedes, Daniel Dagbanja, and Eoin O'Loughlin. "Legal Pluralism? Indigenous Rights as Legal Constructs." *University of Toronto Law Journal* 68 (2018): 440–93. https://doi.org/10.3138/utlj.2017-0062.

Utama, Tody Sasmitha Jiwa. "Between Adat Law and Living Law: An Illusion of Customary Law Incorporation into Indonesia Penal System." *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 53, no. 2 (2021): 269–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2021.1945222.

Wafirah, Athifatul, Nur Lailatul Musyafa'ah, and Hammis Syafaq. "Ceremony of 'Nyadar' on the Pinggir Papas Sumenep Regency from the 'Urf Perspective." In *The 2nd ICONITIES (International Conference on Islamic Civilization and Humanities)*, 1001–15. Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2024. https://proceedings.uinsa.ac.id/index.php/iconfahum/article/view/1867/1329.

Warren, Carol. "Leadership, Social Capital and Coastal Community Resource Governance: The Case of the Destructive Seaweed Harvest in West Bali." *Human Ecology* 44, no. 3 (2016): 329–39. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-016-9832-y.

Wiratraman, Herlambang P. "Cultural Expertise and the Social Justice Defense of Indigenous Peoples Rights in the Indonesian Constitutional Court." *Constitutional Review* 11, no. 2 (2025). https://doi.org/10.31078/consrev1122.

Wulandari, Cahya, Esmi Warassih Pujirahayu, Edward Omar Sharif, Hiariej, Muhamad Sayuti Hassan, and Juan Anthonio Kambuno. "Penal Mediation : Criminal Case Settlement Process Based on the Local Customary Wisdom of Dayak Ngaju." *Lex Scientia Law Review* 6, no. 1 (2022): 69–92. https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v6i1.54896.

Yarsina, Nova, Ari Budianto, and Dian Arfianto. “Ulayat Land Registration in Providing Legal Certainty through Certification Based on the Principle of Justice.” *Nusantara: Journal of Law Studies* 5, no. 1 (2026): 187–204. https://doi.org/10.66325/nusantaralaw.v5i1.121.

Yulia, Rena, Chairul Huda, Muhamad Romdoni, Achmad Cholidin, and Bhanu Prakash Nunna. “Conflict Resolution Patterns in Indigenous Communities of Indonesia: A Comprehensive Study of the Customary Laws of Baduy, Kajang, and Anak Dalam in Jambi.” *Indonesian Private Law Review* 6, no. 2 (2025): 159–76. https://doi.org/10.25041/iplr.v6i2.4671.