

ETHNOGRAPHY OF REMOTE CUSTOM COMMUNITIES OF MURKIM TRIBES IN KEEROM REGENCY - PAPUA

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ABSTRACT

This study takes a cultural theory approach to portraying and analysing the various socio-cultural institutions of the Murkim Tribe's Remote Custom Communities residents in Miliki Village, Keerom Regency. According to this theory, the Murkim Tribe is a social community with the ability to empower itself by utilising its various socio-cultural institutions. The researcher used ethnographic methods to gain an understanding of the Murkim Tribe's perspective on their lives and world. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with traditional leaders as key informants using the snowball sampling technique, as well as through focus group discussions (FGDs) with representatives of the village government, customs, religion, youth and women, exploring their hopes, aspirations and observations. The results demonstrate that the Murkim Tribe maintains the following socio-cultural institutions: (1) the Kiminismi traditional house, which is used for celebrations and ceremonies; (2) the Petak exchange marriage system, which frequently leads to internal conflicts; (3) customary boundaries, which affect village government dualism; and (4) the Anokrum war chief, who plays a significant role in many areas of life. The results suggest developing, empowering and guiding Murkim Tribe residents in Milki Village using an in-situ model that considers limiting factors such as regional policies, a high-cost economy, disputes over customary land and issues with food security. The SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) concludes that Milki Village is well-positioned to develop the Murkim communities. Therefore, collaborative planning and development efforts are essential to ensure that Murkim Tribe can break free from poverty and underdevelopment.

Keywords: ethnography; remote custom communities; Murkim Tribe; Papua

ETNOGRAFI KOMUNITAS ADAT TERPENCIL (KAT) SUKU MURKIM DI KABUPATEN KEEROM - PAPUA

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan teori kebudayaan untuk memotret dan menganalisis berbagai pranata sosial budaya Komunitas Adat Terpencil Suku Murkim di Kampung Miliki, Kabupaten Keerom. Menurut teori ini, Suku Murkim merupakan komunitas sosial yang memiliki kemampuan untuk memberdayakan dirinya sendiri dengan memanfaatkan berbagai pranata sosial budayanya. Peneliti menggunakan metode etnografi untuk mendapatkan pemahaman tentang cara pandang Suku Murkim terhadap kehidupan dan dunia mereka. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam bersama para tokoh adat sebagai informan kunci dengan menggunakan teknik snowball sampling, serta melalui diskusi kelompok terarah (FGD) dengan perwakilan dari pemerintah desa, adat, agama, pemuda dan perempuan untuk mengeksplorasi harapan, aspirasi, dan pengamatan mereka. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Suku Murkim mempertahankan pranata sosial-budaya berikut ini: (1) rumah adat Kiminismi, yang digunakan untuk perayaan dan upacara adat; (2) sistem perkawinan tukar petak, yang sering menimbulkan konflik internal; (3) batas-batas wilayah adat, yang memengaruhi dualisme pemerintahan kampung; dan (4) kepala suku Anokrum, yang berperan penting dalam berbagai bidang kehidupan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pengembangan, pemberdayaan, dan pendampingan masyarakat Suku Murkim di Kampung Milki perlu dilakukan dengan menggunakan model in-situ dengan mempertimbangkan faktor-faktor penghambat seperti kebijakan daerah, ekonomi berbiaya tinggi, sengketa tanah adat, dan masalah ketahanan pangan. Analisis SWOT (kekuatan, kelemahan, peluang, dan ancaman) menyimpulkan bahwa Kampung Milki memiliki posisi yang baik untuk mengembangkan masyarakat Murkim. Oleh karena itu, upaya perencanaan dan pembangunan kolaboratif sangat penting untuk memastikan bahwa Suku Murkim dapat terbebas dari kemiskinan dan keterbelakangan.

Kata kunci: etnografi; komunitas adat terpencil; Suku Murkim; Papua

INTRODUCTION

Until now, the existence of Remote Custom Communities (RCC) in Indonesia has not been widely inventoried or identified, making it difficult to understand their desires, aspirations, and basic needs. This lack of understanding has contributed to the limited success of development, empowerment, and guidance programs aimed at alleviating the poverty and underdevelopment these communities face.

The number of groups classified as Remote Custom Communities across various regions in Indonesia has been increasing significantly each year. Data from the Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) recorded 2,161 Remote Custom Communities as of August 2022. Among these, the largest concentration is in Kalimantan, with 750 communities, followed by Sulawesi, Sumatra with 349, and Papua with 54.

In Keerom Regency, data from 2020 indicates that there are still 1,301 households classified as KAT, spread across nine districts. Of these, approximately 85% have not been empowered, while the remaining 15% have received assistance through various development programs (Dinas KSMT Keerom, 2020).

The information about remote custom communities highlights the urgent need for comprehensive data collection and organization regarding their physical environment, socio-cultural dynamics, and economic conditions. This is essential to enhance development, empowerment, and guidance initiatives. By effectively leveraging human resources, environmental insights, scientific knowledge, and technological advancements, we can work towards improving the welfare of remote custom communities residents and ensuring that their needs and aspirations are adequately addressed.

Remote Custom Communities represent unique socio-cultural groups characterized by their small size, relative isolation, and adherence to traditional customs. These communities often face challenges such as underdevelopment, limited access to basic social services, and a reliance on local natural resources with simple technology for subsistence living (Hasan, 2013).

Research by Unayah and Sabarisman (2016) highlights the valuable local wisdom present in these communities, which can serve as a foundation for development and economic empowerment initiatives. Furthermore, Sagrim et al. (2015) emphasized that local wisdom can play an important role in promoting clean and healthy living behavior (CHLB) in households of the remote indigenous Taburta tribe in Central Mamberamo Regency, Papua. Therefore, all household-based CHLB intervention policies and programs must

align with the community's cultural practices and local wisdom.

The Remote Custom Communities empowerment programme is one of the government's efforts to solve poverty and open access for isolated communities. Procedurally, the remote custom communities empowerment programme has been running and refers to existing regulations. However, factually, the remote custom communities empowerment programme has not met the expected results to increase creativity and create economic independence. As a result, remote custom communities are increasingly far from welfare, due to the absence of sustainable programmes implemented synergistically between the government and the community (Lede Bil, 2020).

The research highlights prevalent challenges faced by Remote Custom Communities in Indonesia, noting a gap in effective empowerment models that align with their unique local characteristics. To address this, a socio-cultural approach is proposed to better understand the socio-cultural traits of the remote custom communities. This perspective views these communities as social entities with enduring cultural practices that can serve as a basis for empowerment initiatives. The ultimate goal is to enhance the dignity of these communities, helping them break free from the cycles of poverty and underdevelopment (Kartasmita, 1996).

The socio-cultural issues and empowerment of remote indigenous communities in Papua have long been at the heart of development discussions. This community is characterised by the following criteria: (1) limited access to basic services; (2) isolation; (3) marginalisation in rural and urban areas; and (4) living in border areas, coastal areas and outermost and remote islands. (Peraturan Presiden No. 186 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemberdayaan Sosial Terhadap Komunitas Adat Terpencil). The existence of these communities is also closely related to poverty, which is characterised by poor health, an unhealthy environment and low levels of education. (Mulyana et al., 2019).

Understanding the unique characteristics of the Murkim Tribe in Milki Village, Towe District, Keerom Regency is essential for effective development planning. This research aims to provide a detailed description of the socio-cultural aspects of this community, focusing on their tribal identity, cultural institutions, social conflicts, and customary land tenure status. By exploring these elements, we can identify the boundaries and the various tribal groups, clans, and families that assert ownership over the land. Such an understanding will help tailor empowerment strategies that resonate with the community's needs and foster meaningful collaboration between their interests

and regional development goals.

After gathering all the necessary data and information about the remote Murkim Tribe's socio-cultural conditions, the data was analyzed to identify their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and challenges. The goal was to recommend development, empowerment, and mentoring programs.

This kind of ethnographic research aims to strengthen the position of the remote indigenous Murkim Tribe community in the development process by utilizing their sociocultural aspects. It is also an effort to protect their basic rights, with direct benefits for the tribe's progress and welfare.

METHOD

This research was conducted in Milki Village, Towe District, Keerom Regency, Papua Province (Figure 1). This village is inhabited by the Murkim tribe, which is part of the Yetva tribe. The Yetva tribe is large and spread across several villages in the Towe District of the Keerom Regency, including Towe Hitam, Towe Atas, Tefalma, Lules, Bias, Milki, and Terfonas. Each village is divided into sub-tribes with their own local languages. For example, the residents of Tefalma Village call themselves the Kembongle Tribe and speak the Kembongle language. The residents of Milki Village are called the Murkim Tribe and speak the Murkim language.

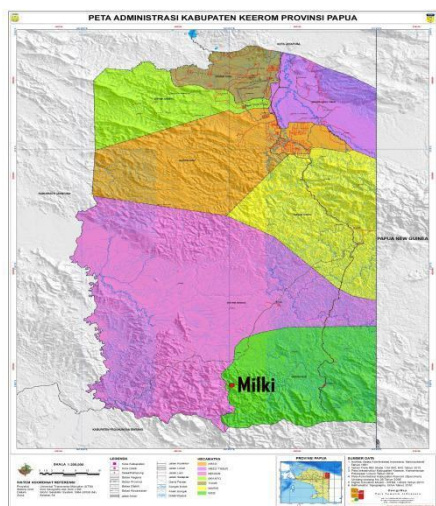


Figure 1. Milki Village, Towe District, Keerom Regency, Papua Province

Source: Authors, 2024

The Murkim tribe is identified as one of the Remote Custom Communities, which is only reached by Pilatus Porter type aircraft with a flight time of about 60-70 minutes from Sentani Jayapura Airport.

This study employs ethnographic methods to describe the cultural characteristics of individuals or groups belonging to a cultural community. (Hanurawan, 2016; Johnson and Christensen, 2014). Therefore, according to Spradley (1997), ethnography is a learning process that is used to interpret the surrounding world and develop behavioral strategies for dealing with it.

This ethnographic study of the Murkim Tribe aims to provide an in-depth description of how they utilize various sociocultural institutions in all areas of life. This understanding can serve as a reference for designing empowerment and development programs for the Murkim Tribe, one of the most remote indigenous communities.

Data collection encompasses both primary and secondary sources. The primary data comprises details about the village's general conditions and socio-cultural aspects. According to Ritzer (2005), cultural aspects include the values, norms, symbols, and language of a culture. Rudito (2013), on the other hand, defines social aspects as everything used as a reference when interacting with others. These references are abstract and contain symbols that help us understand our environment. They also regulate the actions of individuals as members of a society.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews with traditional leaders who served as key informants with extensive knowledge of the Murkim Tribe's sociocultural aspects, using the snowball sampling technique. Then, a focus group discussion (FGD) was held with representatives of the village government, customs, religion, youth, and women. In addition to completing the interview data, the FGD technique was used to explore the hopes, aspirations, and desires of the village members regarding history, conflict resolution, and the development plan for the Murkim Tribe, one of the most remote traditional communities. Researchers also observed several objects, such as traditional houses, gardens, hamlets, and social interactions. Secondary data included spatial data, such as maps, and village monograph documents for analysis.

After all the data was collected, a SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) was conducted to identify the potential, obstacles, opportunities, and challenges facing the Murkim Tribe. This analysis assists in designing a strategic approach for their development, empowerment, and guidance, ensuring it aligns with their actual socio-cultural conditions across all aspects of their lives.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Existing Condition of Milki Village

Before Milki Village was definitively formed in 2001, the Murkim Tribe lived nomadically in the territorial area of each clan's hamlet, such as Mulkem, Pumi, Yao, and Uma. The current location of Milki Village is one of the sago hamlets (Weii), which usually serves as a gathering place. According to an interview with Lukas Yao, the head of Milki Village, some residents began independently opening the location and building houses as new settlement sites in the early 1990s.

Milki Village is situated on the south side of Towe Hitam, the capital of Towe District, approximately 56 kilometers away and at an altitude of 2000 meters above sea level, directly adjacent to Pegunungan Bintang Regency. Generally, the inhabitants of Milki Village are members of the Murkim Tribe, who migrated from Pegunungan Bintang Regency.

Based on monographic data from Milki Village, the total population in 2023 will be 438 people, comprised of 231 men and 207 women, distributed across 92 households. The age composition reveals that 310 individuals (82%) are between 0-30 years old, with 185 men and 145 women in this group. In contrast, only 128 people (18%) are aged 30 and over. This data highlights a youthful population with a significant number of infants, children, and teenagers, while those aged 30 and older represent a smaller segment of the community.



Figure 2. Milki Village

Source: Authors, 2023

The population of Milki Village has a very low level of education. According to the 2023 village monograph, only around 16% of the population have received formal education. Among them, 3 individuals completed primary school, while 26 did not complete it, and 5 dropped out before finishing junior high. Notably, there are no residents who have completed junior or senior high school. Additionally, 4 people (1 female and 3 males) have

participated in the package A, B, and C programmes, and there is one individual currently studying at a private university in Jayapura. The illiteracy rate stands at about 15%, affecting 33 people, predominantly those aged 35 and older or those who have never received formal education.

Milki Village faces several significant educational challenges: (1) Limited Access to Education: Despite the establishment of a small elementary school by the Keerom District Education and Teaching Office in 2010, it only accommodates grades I, II, and III. To continue education beyond grade III, students must travel approximately 56 km to the capital of Towe District, Towe Hitam, which takes about 18 hours on foot. This long-distance travel often forces students to stop their education, as parents cannot afford the necessary relocation costs and living expenses; (2) Lack of Teachers: Since the primary school began operating, there has been no official teacher placement. The same issue exists at the local Kindergarten, managed by the GIDI Foundation. Currently, the only instruction is provided by an Evangelist, Philipus Taplo, who teaches independently for approximately six hours a day without pay.

Additionally, while a few children have managed to pursue junior high school education, some drop out due to financial constraints and only one individual is currently attending college through personal efforts.

In terms of public facilities and infrastructure, Milki Village has:

- a. A Church: The Gereja Injili Di Indonesia (GIDI), built in 2001 through community efforts, serves the Christian population of the village. The church structure is simple and has been operated by an evangelist since its inception.
- b. An Airstrip: Constructed by the community between 2006 and 2009, the airstrip provides a vital link for transportation, allowing single-engine aircraft to land, amidst the absence of roads.
- c. A Village Office: A modest government office built in 2011 facilitates local administration.
- d. A Grocery Kiosk: Managed by the village government, this kiosk has been operational since 2011 and provides essential goods to the community, contributing to local economic activity.

Distance and Mode of Transport to Milki Village

Milki Village is very remote and isolated because it is difficult and expensive to reach. The distance between Milki Village and the capital of Towe District, Towe Hitam, is about 56 km or 18 hours by foot. Meanwhile, the distance from Milki Village to Arso, the capital of Keerom Regency, is around 164 kilometers. Until now, there has been no

road infrastructure, so people usually take the traditional road route, namely; Milki - Terfonas takes about 12 hours on foot, then continued from Terfonas-Tefalma II with a journey of about 6 hours, then from Tefalma II -Tefalma I for about 5 hours and Tefalma I-Usku (Senggi District) walk about 12 hours to wait for vehicles to Arso and Jayapura.

To reach Milki Village, the only mode of transport is a single-engine Pilatus PC-6 Porter aircraft, which accommodates 9 passengers and has a flight time of about 60-70 minutes. Although traveling by plane is relatively expensive, it remains the only option for the community. Currently, there are no regular scheduled flights operated by various airline companies. Consequently, residents who wish to travel to Jayapura must either charter a flight or wait weeks until there are enough passengers for a scheduled flight.



Figure 3. Pilatus aircraft landing at Milki Village

Source: Authors, 2023

The airlines that typically serve this route offer varying ticket prices. For instance, Tariku charges Rp. 15 million for a chartered flight, while the price per passenger is Rp. 2.5 million. Adven Doyo has a charter rate of Rp. 16 million, with the same passenger fare of Rp. 2.5 million. Jayasi also offers a charter for Rp. 15 million, maintaining the passenger price of Rp. 2.5 million.

Portrait of Socio-Cultural Conditions

a. Distribution, Identity, and Social Structure of Murkim Tribe

The Yetva great tribe is not only widely spread in 7 villages of Towe District, namely; Towe Hitam, Towe Atas, Tefalma, Lules, Bias, Terfonas and Milki. But it also spread in the Murkim District of Pegunungan Bintang Regency. In Towe District, this tribe is further divided into several sub-tribal groups. For example, in Milki Village it is called the Murkim Tribe with the Murkim language, then in Tefalma Village it is called the Kembongle Tribe with the Kembongle language.

These differences can be identified from the patterns of interaction and the language used daily. The Murkim tribe in Milki village usually uses two languages, namely; Yetva language and Murkim language. Yetva is used when interacting with residents from other villages, such as Towe Hitam, Towe Atas, Tefalma, Lules, Bias, and Terfonas. Meanwhile, Murkim is only used between residents in Milki Village. The same condition also happens to the Kembongle tribe in Tefalma village. Their daily interactions also use two languages, namely; Kembongle and Yetva. The Kembongle language is only used among the residents of Tefalma. Yetva is used to communicate with people from other villages, such as Towe Hitam, Towe Atas, Bias, Lules, Terfonas, and Milki. Thus, the Yetva language is generally used more widely among the population in both Towe District (Keerom Regency) and Murkim District (Pegunungan Bintang Regency).



Figure 4. The type of Koteka worn by a Murkim man in Milki Village

Source: Authors, 2023

The social structure of the Yetva Tribe is organized into sub-tribes, kerets, and clans, which include both and migrant clans. This classification helps in understanding the segmentation patterns and social status within each village. For instance, while both Milki Village and Tefalma Village identify as part of the Yetva Tribe, there are notable differences in their social structures. By examining the social organization of these communities, we can identify which aspects are functioning effectively. Additionally, this understanding allows us to discern whether conflicts arise from specific historical contexts or if they reflect broader societal changes. (Poerwanto, 2000).

In this regard, the results of identifying the structure and social groupings of the Yetva Tribe reveal a fragmented organization, consisting of several small tribes, clans, and sub-tribes. Formally,

these can be classified based on government administrative boundaries, according to the coverage of districts, sub-districts, and villages. Below is a proposed classification table. This table helps illustrate the intricate layering of social organization within the Yetva Tribe, highlighting the importance of both and migrant influences in shaping their community dynamics.

Table 1. Social Groupings and Distribution Locations of the Yetva Great Tribe

| Great Tribe | Sub-Tribe | Keret | Clan | Distribution Locations | | |
|-------------|------------|----------|--------|------------------------|----------|---------|
| | | | | Regency | District | Village |
| Yetva | Murkim | Nokbet | Murkim | Keerom | Towe | Milki |
| | | | Uma | Peg. Bintang | Murkim | Milki |
| | | | | Keerom | Towe | Milki |
| | | | | Peg. Bintang | Murkim | Milki |
| | | Nofkel | Yao | Keerom | Towe | Milki |
| | | | | Peg. Bintang | Murkim | Milki |
| | | | Pumi | Keerom | Towe | Milki |
| | | | | Peg. Bintang | Murkim | Milki |
| | | Pelbo | | Keerom | Towe | Milki |
| | | | | Peg. Bintang | Murkim | Milki |
| | Kem-bongle | Aifel | Klaisi | Keerom | Towe | Tefalma |
| | | | | | | |
| | | Presialo | Manti | Keerom | Towe | Tefalma |
| | | | Tao | Keerom | Towe | Tefalma |
| | Teni | Bene | | Keerom | Towe | Tefalma |
| | | | Yao | Keerom | Towe | Tefalma |
| | | Kombi | Klui | Keerom | Towe | Tefalma |
| | | | Rilef | Keerom | Towe | Tefalma |
| | Kenai* | Kenai | | Peg. Bintang | Murkim | Tefalma |
| | | | | | | |

Source: Research Result, 2023

The distribution of the Yetva great tribe is prominently identified through its two main sub-tribes: Murkim and Kembongle. The Murkim sub-tribe is situated in Milki Village, while Kembongle is located in Tefalma Village within Towe District - Keerom. Each of these sub-tribes is further divided into smaller clans, which are specific territorial areas referred to as Dusun.

The Murkim tribe comprises two clans: Nokbet and Uma. Additionally, the Nofkel train is organized into three clans: Yao, Pumi, and Pelbo. Similarly, the Kembongle Tribe consists of four keret—Aifel, Prisialo, Kombi, and Teni—each with its own clan groups.

It is important to note that the Kenai keret, along with its Kenai clan, does not belong to the Kembongle Tribe. Instead, it holds the status of a migrant group in Tefalma Village, having integrated through marriage with the Murkim Tribe from Pegunungan Bintang Regency.

The social structure of the Yetva great tribe is deeply influenced by the geographical distribution of its members, particularly in relation to their subsistence activities like gathering, hunting, and farming. Communal rights to land and forest resources are segmented into various kerets and clans, which reflects the localized nature of their livelihoods.

On a broader scale, the Yetva tribe collectively claims these communal rights to safeguard and manage their resources, particularly in the event that outsiders seek to utilize them. This collective approach helps maintain the integrity of their customary practices and ensures sustainable management of their lands.

b. Hayum and Kiminismi Traditional House

The Murkim tribe in Milki Village maintains a traditional house, known as Kiminismi, set apart from their settlement, approximately 150 meters away. In contrast, the large Yetva tribe refers to their traditional house as Hayum. This structure features a round, conical shape without distinct boundaries or rooms, supported by wooden posts that serve as seating.

Inside the Kiminismi, there are four fire stoves designated for women, called Wenak Tebokealo, located in each corner. Between these, there are two stoves for both males and females, known as Rawin Tebokealo, and a central fire stove, referred to as Kimi. The Kiminismi spans about 110 m² and stands around 6 meters tall to the roof, constructed from wood, rattan, and sago leaves for the roof. The traditional house has been preserved and maintained throughout the years, reflecting the tribe's cultural heritage.

The traditional house, known as Kiminismi, serves multiple important functions within the Murkim tribe's cultural framework: (1). Accommodation: It acts as a welcoming space for relatives, especially married men who are connected to the Murkim women. They gather here for both traditional ceremonies and casual visits to reconnect with family; (2). Ceremonial Functions: The Kiminismi is central to the Rakiuslo traditional ceremony, which involves proposals, dowry payments, and customary inaugurations. Additionally, it is a site for mourning ceremonies for deceased family members and for discussions aimed at resolving conflicts.

The entrance to the Kiminismi is governed by specific rules; women are required to enter through the back door, while the front door is reserved for men. This reflects the tribe's traditions and social structure.

The preservation of the Kiminismi underscores its significance as a vital aspect of the Murkim community's identity and cultural heritage.



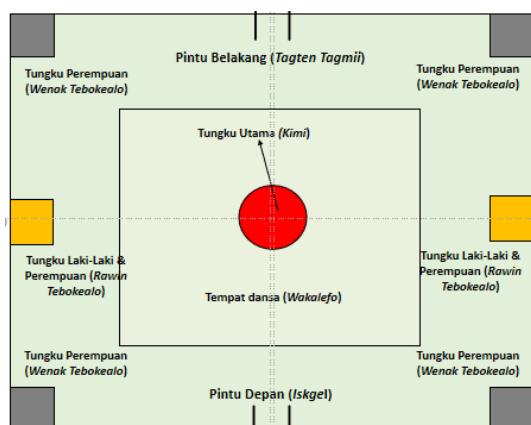


Figure 5. Kiminismi Traditional House in Milki Village

Source: Authors, 2023

c. Kinship and Marriage System

The Murkim tribe in Milki Village follows a unique marriage system that incorporates both exogamous and endogamous practices. This means that an adult male can choose a life partner from either within his kin or from outside his kin. While there aren't strict customary rules regulating this, the tribe adheres to a patrilineal lineage system.

Once a marriage occurs, the husband typically resides near his wife's relatives, known as a virilocal arrangement. After marriage, the new family usually settles in its own house. The smallest kin group is referred to as the batih family, which consists of a father, mother, and their children living in a modest 3 x 4 metre house. These homes are situated close together, forming a cohesive territorial unit within the community.

The Murkim Tribe's marriage customs place significant emphasis on the practice of exchanging a woman, referred to as Petak, with the prospective wife's family. This exchange is so integral that it has given rise to the saying, "if there is no woman, then there can be no marriage."

If a male relative fails to prepare a woman for this exchange, he incurs a debt known as Srail Rako. Historically, this debt could be settled using beads, pigs, and white stones. However, since the 1990s, the currency for settling this debt has shifted to the rupiah, reflecting changes in economic practices within the tribe.

Because the debt is indefinite and dependent on the female relative, the husband must always be ready to pay if there is a demand from the female relative. From the results of the identification of this kind of marriage pattern, around 80% of the couples who married experienced the burden of debt that must be paid, while the remaining 20% had a partner to exchange. The following are the results of the identification of married couples, without debt (*Srail Rako*), as follows;

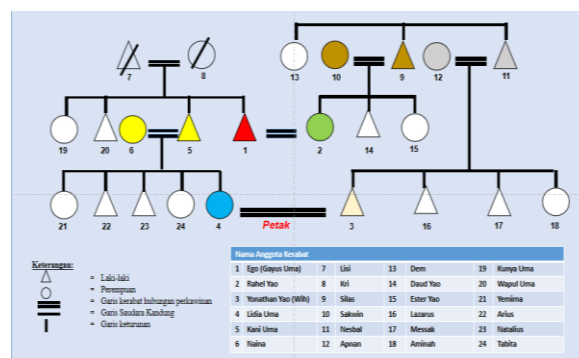


Figure 6. Results of the Identification of Married Couples

Source: Authors, 2023

In the marriage exchange between Gayus Uma (1) and Rahel Yao (2), their partners in this arrangement are Yonathan Yao (3) and Lidia Uma (4). The Petak marriage pattern highlights the significant role of either Rahel's father or Yonathan's father, Nesbal Yao (11), in making the final decision regarding the marriage between Gayus and Rahel.

On the male relative side, Kani Uma (5), Gayus's brother, is the father of Lidia Uma (4), who is set to exchange marriages with Yonathan Yao (3). If there is a disagreement between the parents of Lidia Uma (4) and Yonathan Yao (3) regarding the marriage exchange, it could lead to the cancellation of the marriage process between Gayus and Rahel. This situation underscores the interconnectedness of familial agreements in their cultural practices.

However, if during the marriage process, the male relative has already prepared the woman to be exchanged to the female relative, then it is considered valid and completed. However, if at that time, the male relative has not prepared a woman/girl to be exchanged to the female relative, then even if the marriage is forced to be legalized or approved by both parties, this will become a debt for the male relative to the female relative called Leraslail. Although there is no agreed time limit for this debt, it is the duty of the male relative to find a woman from his own family to exchange with the female relative, so that the debt can be paid off. When the woman/girl to be exchanged has been prepared, it is then conveyed to the in-laws (Waa-Yeketta) as well as to the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (Yemas-Cairak) of the female relative (wife).

The situation described presents a significant burden for male relatives in the Murkim Tribe's exchange marriage system. The ongoing worry over unresolved debts creates tension, as there is an underlying fear that female relatives will demand repayment at any moment. Prolonged debts, known as Leraslail, often lead to conflicts, especially if the male relative has not secured a woman to fulfill the exchange.

Furthermore, even when a monetary amount is settled, demands can escalate, leaving the male relatives feeling frustrated and pressured. For example, in a discussion, Lukas Yao expressed his concerns about suddenly finding himself with a wife and facing a demand of Rp. 20 million from her family, despite already having paid Rp. 10 million. This kind of situation raises questions about fairness and may lead some to consider seeking other options rather than engaging in a system that feels increasingly unreasonable.

These grievances reflect the complexities and challenges inherent in the exchange marriage system, particularly in Milki Village.

d. Conflict and Resolution Patterns

The conflict between the Murkim in Kampong Milki was caused by several things, including;

- 1) Taking (tokok) sago in the customary territory of another clan without the permission of the head of the keret and clan;
- 2) Stealing other people's sago that has been squeezed;
- 3) As a result of pet pigs roaming around the kampong that are not penned up, damaging crops belonging to other residents;
- 4) Due to the administrative boundary between Keerom Regency and Pegunungan Bintang Regency, several villages in Towe District are contested, including Bias, Milki, and Tefalma II. Notably, these villages experience a duality in their village governance. In Milki Village, for instance, although it is officially part of Keerom Regency, there exists a village government structure recognized by both regencies.
- 5) The exchange marriage system (Petak) in Milki Village requires a man to prepare a woman to be an exchange partner for his wife's relatives. Conflicts often arise when the male kin group fails to provide the necessary women for this arrangement. If this obligation is not met, it creates a debt that they must pay off eventually. If this debt remains unsettled for a long time, it can lead to disputes between the two parties. Data from Milki Village between 2022 and 2023 indicates that six fights occurred as a direct result of these tensions.
- 6) The conflict over customary land within the Murkim Tribe in Milki Village remains latent (closed) and internal/horizontal, primarily stemming from claims made by various clan groups. Each social unit asserts control over land and forest territories based on their keret and clan lineage. The Murkim Clan, for instance, holds rights to the central area of Milki Village and regulates activities like wood collection, sago harvesting, gardening, and building, while other clans maintain their own hamlets and farmland on the outskirts. This hierarchical structure gives the Murkim Clan significant influence over social, economic, and governance aspects of life in the village. If individuals from other clans do not adhere to these established norms, they face reprimands from the Murkim leadership, reinforcing their authority in managing territorial disputes and community activities. This ongoing tension underscores the complexities of land ownership and clan dynamics in Milki Village.

The leadership roles in Milki are filled by individuals such as Village Head Lazarus Murkim, Village Secretary Hosea Pumi, Head of Development Agus Murkim, Head of General Affairs Yafet Pumi, the unfilled Head of Government position, and Head of Welfare Izak Uma. Additionally, the BAMUSKAM team includes Chairman Kanakau Uma, Secretary Arius Uma, Member 1 Titus Uma, Member 2 Yusuf Pumi, and LMD Gerius Pumi.

Based on the discussion about the conflict, Yusuf Murkim, the Anokrum (war chief) of the Murkim tribe in Milki village, commented, "We do not want to be trapped in this condition. The key is for one of the two districts to pay close attention to us by offering various development programs so that we can live prosperously. If that happens, then we will definitely join that district. The important thing is not to just talk without evidence." Given the dualism of the village government, when district officials from Keerom and Pegunungan Bintang visited Milki Village, it was clear that the pro-district group always attended meetings and activities, not the anti-district group.

The conflict resolution process among the Murkim tribe is typically led by the Murkim chief, who convenes all heads of keret, clan leaders, village heads, and village officials in a traditional house known as Hayum or Kiminismi. During these gatherings, the chief facilitates deliberations by hearing the chronology of the dispute from all parties involved.

Once the issues have been discussed, a collective decision is reached. For instance, in cases where a clan member has taken sago from another clan without permission, the individual at fault is required to compensate for the amount taken. This structured approach not only aims to resolve disputes but also reinforces the authority and governance of the Murkim Clan within the community.

e. Traditional Leadership and Institutions

In general, the traditional leadership system in Papua is divided into four types, namely; the type of tribal chief (Ondoafi) found in the North coast of Papua such as Sentani, Skow, Enggros-Tobati and Tanah Merah Depapare. The war chief type is found

in the interior or central mountains where this community group always wages war in maintaining territory and various conflicts that occur. The Raja or Pertuanan type is found in the Faf-Fak and Kaimana regions. While the Mixed Type is found in the Bird's Head area of Papua and Cenderawasih Bay (Manosben, 1985).

The Murkim tribe in the mountainous region of Papua operates under a leadership system characterized by the role of a war chief, often referred to as the Big Man. This system reflects the tribe's historical background as a war tribe. In the Yetva language, the term for war chief is "Sovein." Within the Murkim Tribe, specifically in Milki village, this role is identified as "Anokrum," while in the Kembongle Tribe from Tefalma Village, the term used is "Keblenta." This leadership structure emphasizes the significance of authority and governance in maintaining order and unity within the community, particularly in times of conflict or competition.

The traditional leadership system of the Murkim Tribe is an achievement status with the following arrangement; The position of war chief of the Murkim Tribe (Milki village) is Yusuf Murkim, he oversees three clan heads, namely; The head of the Yao clan is Yusua Yao, the head of the Pumi clan is Musa Pumi and the head of the Uma clan is Gayus Uma.

The traditional leadership structure of the Murkim Tribe in Milki Village is based on an achievement status. Currently, the war chief, or Anokrum, is Yusuf Murkim, who supervises three clan heads: Yusua Yao of the Yao clan, Musa Pumi of the Pumi clan, and Gayus Uma of the Uma clan.

The process for appointing a war chief has evolved; it no longer strictly follows the customary rules that were relevant during inter-tribal conflicts. Now, the appointment is based on mutual community agreement and certain general criteria. Ideal candidates must possess strong communication skills, demonstrate a commitment to public welfare, ensure airstrip safety, and have the ability to resolve conflicts effectively.

Strategy and Analysis for the Development of Murkim Tribe Residents

This research recommends that the development, empowerment and guidance of Murkim residents be carried out with an in-situ model. With this model, it is expected that residents, who have been living in Milki Village since 2001 (23 years ago), will get comfort, social security, welfare and generational sustainability, compared to the ex-situ model or through resettlement, so that they must be moved out of their current village location. However, a number of limiting factors need to be considered, including;

- a. There is no model or style of planning approach specifically tailored for fostering residents in Keerom Regency. This is largely due to the absence of a "Participatory Planning Advisor" who possesses the necessary qualifications and expertise in planning for the sector.
- b. The high cost of the economy, coupled with the emergence of barriers to the distribution of goods and services, poses significant challenges, particularly as air transportation remains very expensive.
- c. The land tenure system negatively affects long-term settlement development. Although the residents identify as one tribe, they are divided into several clan groups, each with distinct land and forest rights. For instance, Milki Village falls under the customary rights of the Murkim clan, meaning other clans have no authority to manage or regulate it.
- d. This pattern of land and forest tenure could lead to internal conflicts in the future, particularly between the original clans and migrants, who only possess the right to use or borrow land.
- e. For the migrant keret and clan groups who have settled in Milki Village today, they are increasingly distanced from their forests and hamlets, which are vital for gardening, hunting, gathering, fishing, and shrimping. This situation negatively impacts their level of participation in village development, as they often have to leave the village for days to travel to the hamlet with their families.

Referring to the above limiting factors, a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Treaths) analysis was then used to show the level of feasibility assessment, both of the Internal Environment (Potential/Strengths and Weaknesses) and the External Environment (Opportunities and Challenges/Threats), as follows;

a. Internal Environment Analysis

1) Reinforcing Element

Elements of strength in the development, empowerment, and guidance of Murkim Tribe residents are crucial for achieving the desired goals from the internal environment. These elements include:

- a) Approximately 90% of residents want settlement construction and development only in Milki Village, which is currently occupied.
- b) There has been intermarriage between the kerets and clans of Murkim Tribe residents, thus strengthening their social relations and kinship ties.
- c) A number of public facilities and infrastructure are available, such as

elementary schools, churches, village offices, and airstrips, serving as economic arteries for the distribution of goods, services, and people, especially since there is no road infrastructure.

- d) Although knowledge and education are limited, Murkim Tribe residents have managed to operate small business units in the form of Bapok Cooperatives, initiated by *Bantuan Keuangan Kepada Kampung* (BK3) from the Keerom Regency Government in 2011 and continued with Dana Desa (DD) support.
- e) The location of Milki Village is recognized as the customary land rights of the Murkim Clan, indicating that there should be no issues with the future development of Murkim Tribe settlements, as a joint statement letter has already been established.

2) Weakness Element

Weaknesses are factors arising from the internal environment that are expected to reduce the achievability of the development, empowerment and guidance of Murkim Tribal residents. These elements include;

- a) There is still a dualism of kampong government formed and appointed by the Government of Keerom Regency and Pegunungan Bintang Regency.
- b) There is no sketch map of the boundaries of customary land rights made by the community itself, leading to a lack of clarity regarding control, especially if the area is to be developed into a settlement location.
- c) There is no economic infrastructure, physical infrastructure, and land transportation modes, resulting in significant time and cost to clear forests, build housing, and provide necessary facilities.
- d) The population heavily relies on sago as a food source, and the distance to the hamlet is considerable, approximately a day's walk.

b. External Environment Analysis

1) Elements of Opportunity

The element of opportunity is a factor arising from the external environment that must be optimally utilized by Murkim Tribe residents, so that development efforts, empowerment, and guidance can be successful. This includes:

- a) The Keerom District Government's policy for the improvement and handling of settlements of Murkim Tribe in Milki

Village. This policy implies a form of "attention" to further strengthen the trust of remote custom communities residents, with the aim of eliminating the polemic over the disputed district administrative boundaries.

- b) The presence of an airstrip, though there is a necessity to improve regular and scheduled flight services to facilitate the flow of goods and services.
- c) The existing GIDI Church service, which plays a crucial role in the development of education and the Christian faith within the community.

2) Threat Element

This element arises from the external environment that is expected to interfere with the achievability of the development plan, empowerment and guidance of Murkim Tribe residents, including;

- a) The proposed settlement location near a primary forest area raises concerns about sustainability; if this land is developed, it could have serious negative impacts on the ecosystem.
- b) There is a noticeable lack of oversight from relevant technical services regarding the management and extraction of natural resources, which is crucial for ensuring sustainability for future generations.
- c) The region experiences very high rainfall, with multiple rivers such as the Milki, Nen, and Tolket contributing to watershed erosion, which can further exacerbate environmental challenges.
- d) The urgent need for teachers and educators must be addressed, as their absence is linked to high dropout rates and increasing illiteracy, posing a severe threat to the human resources of the Murkim Tribe community.

CONCLUSION

This ethnographic study of the Murkim Tribe's remote custom communities aims to identify socio-cultural institutions that can serve as references for development. Milki Village, where the Murkim Tribe resides, is extremely remote, accessible only by a single-engine Pilatus PC-6 Porter aircraft. This isolation results in limited access to essential services such as education, healthcare, economic opportunities, and infrastructure.

The Murkim Tribe is part of the larger Yetva tribe, widely spread across the Keerom and Pegunungan Bintang Regencies. They are divided into two kerets: Nokbet, which consists of the

Murkim and Uma clans, and Nofkel, which includes the Yao, Pumi, and Pelbo clans.

The research revealed that certain socio-cultural institutions are still preserved. For instance, the Kiminismi traditional house serves as a venue for various traditional ceremonies. The exchange marriage pattern known as Petak can often lead to conflicts, particularly those related to debt, as well as dualism in village governance. Additionally, the war chief Anokrum holds a significant position in multiple aspects of their community life.

The development of in-situ settlements is based on traditional and sacred spaces. For example, Widyastomo's (2022) study examined the "Obe Imae" traditional house of the Sentani tribe. This house is considered a center in relation to beliefs in ancestors and creators. This correlates with the researcher's recommendation to use the in-situ model to develop, empower, and guide the Murkim Tribe in Milki Village by utilizing various socio-cultural aspects. However, several limiting factors must be considered, including support for regional policies, the high cost of living, customary land disputes, and challenges in meeting food needs. Therefore, the SWOT analysis concludes that Milki Village is suitable for developing sustainable settlements for the Murkim Tribe.

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