

Life that takes care of us local wisdom of Negeri Besar (Nebes) village community in south Sorong regency

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Abstract

The experiences of human life become an important foundation in managing their lives. The experiences that have been chosen become a reference for humans in their actions and eventually become the culture of a society. This culture has been passed down from generation to generation orally. Therefore, along with the changing times and the inclusion of development programs, an appropriate method is needed to describe life and society. The writers choose a cultural ecological approach to describe the NEBES village community in Kokoda District, South Sorong Regency. The residents of Nebes village are known to have adapted to the environment where they live. It is a good picture of a society that lives depending on nature and maintains relationships with the people who live side by side with them. Rewriting the way people think and act is a good way to remind us that life and the values contained therein are what keep us alive.

Keywords: Experience; Culture; Cultural ecology; Nebes community; Adaptation

1. Introduction

Experience is a good teacher for life. Experiences in life (ours and yours) if put in a more systematic order, become information and continue to become knowledge. That is the position that distinguishes humans from animals, that humans know something that has passed, know what is now, and want to know about, or try to know what will come [1]. However, as an original product created by humans with a determining factor, namely: the environment, how can we now explain culture again. Like the analogy we often hear, which comes first the chicken or the egg. That's how we speak of culture and human actions. Do human actions shape culture or does culture affect human action. What really jolts our minds when writing this article is "why is culture present in human life?"

Processes in human life due to instinctive drives such as foraging are important activities for the formation of culture. Through activities to fulfill their basic needs, humans react (read: respond) to the natural environment where they live with a number of information. There is a selective process when humans respond to their natural environment, because humans do not only think synthetically, but also analytically see their lives [2]. The actions undertaken are then sorted, those that have a good effect are selected to fulfill basic human impulses. [3] writes that every input that enters the brain is something that is based on experience. If it is not so important and valuable, then a memory will disappear by itself.

When faced with the same thing in the future, the processes that have been passed (read: experience) become references for thinking, so that it becomes knowledge. Knowledge is an event when the consciousness of the subject enters a state, when the subject realizes its relationship with the object [1]. So that human life in the niches of their lives indirectly raises knowledge that can be used to survive. This knowledge gives rise to human attitudes towards their environment.

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[4] states that attitudes are the factors that shape mentality. Attitude in [5] is written as a disposition or mental state in the soul and self of an individual to react to the environment (be it the human environment or society, the natural environment or the physical environment). For this reason, until now, one of the important quotes in the modern century is "knowledge as power" because it is clear evidence of the relationship between humans and the environment in which they live.

Therefore, humans are able to use their intuition to imagine the future. Knowledge and attitudes in traditional community life are treated in a generative concept, where knowledge and attitudes that are considered good for people's lives are inherited and last from generation to generation. From the journey of life that lasts for tens or even hundreds of years, knowledge and attitudes become references in acting and are then determined as orders. This condition can also be referred to as an institutional process. For us personally, being called an institution is not literally, but contextually, where this knowledge and attitudes have been ingrained for so long and are rooted down from generation to generation. Traditional society believes that if residents do things that are outside these rules, then they and those around them will be affected by disaster.

These unwritten but binding rules in a scientific context are referred to as cultural values. [5] writes that a cultural value system consists of conceptions, which live in the minds of most citizens, regarding things that they should consider very valuable in life. Therefore, a system of cultural values usually serves as the ultimate guide for human behavior. Other human behavior systems at a more concrete level, such as special rules, laws and norms, are also guided by cultural value systems.

If we return to the sentence at the beginning that experience is a good teacher, it has certainly gone through a long process in human life. We can find some things there. First, humans are able to position themselves as an object. Second, the brief description above provides an answer as to what power is meant in this context. In short, human existence in the context of survival requires other people. It is the same as what is stated by [3] about reciprocal altruism. There is a process of evolutionary change in human life, when human consciousness shifts from seeking personal gain to survive towards altruism in order to survive. The attitude of helping each other to grow a collective lifestyle turned out to be a tremendous force for survival.

Discussion of custom (read: order) in people's lives is possible using the Functionalism approach, as [6] wrote about Malinowski's work which focuses on the function of culture to meet the needs of human life. But "does the description of people's lives just end there?" Malinowski in [7] mentions the past as "dead and buried" and irrelevant for the study of society. Is seeing the activities of society today enough to answer how the cultural system works?

In addition, many years have passed with various changes that have occurred, it is possible that the activity of "tracking back" is a futile intention if there is no awareness from ourselves. In other parts of the world, human rights are the main door to appreciate "what belongs to" other people. Of course, "what is owned" is also owned by the people in the Land of Papua. The deterministic condition in which human attitudes are influenced by the natural environment in which they live makes human life very diverse. So the case of "what one owns", borrowing [8] sentence namely an experience, is part of everyday life. In everyday life, we all gain the values of humane life. Likewise, those human values have become our life, which we live by, and which we hold fast to, and which we defend tooth and nail. That is, matters of subjectivity of truth are matters of real experience. It goes on to say that the world of human experience is the world of human history.

In such conditions, dissolving ourselves and parsing back the way of thinking of the people who are the subject of research is our challenge as the main instrument in this opportunity. What the community owns is considered as their daily life, while we as researchers are often present in the community with scientific views that sometimes obscure facts from the local community, as Popper once said [3] "We tend to apply a number of laws and rules to reality". Everything is a cognitive effort to make reality understandable and explained.

Although Malinowski only sees functions, in fact by looking at functions we can see the "social goals" [6] of all community activities. It is what we need to look at carefully. All human experience which is also called history holds the goals of people's lives.

In our opinion, finding the initial sources of community life that shape customs is the same as finding social goals in society. Although many consider it to be irrelevant, the deterministic factors of human life, especially those in the Land of Papua, still occur and need to be described. It is an early trace of the presence of cultures in the Land of Papua which are not only complementary to science but have their own temporal and spatial aspects.

In carrying out this scheme requires the right approach based on the original purpose of this paper. Dilthey [7] draws a well-known line of distinction, namely between sciences which aims to explain from the outside and sciences about humans or culture which aims to understand from within. Scholars of the natural sciences use the vocabulary of causality, while humanists must speak in the language of "experience". [9] writes of two approaches, namely interpretive and critical. The interpretive approach seeks to understand social phenomena by positioning individuals as active beings. The research process is actually a process of exploring one's subjective understanding of the social phenomena around him. The Critical Approach seeks to criticize social reality and seeks to reveal the meaning behind the invisible reality.

The brief overview of the approach above directs us to the activities of describing people, as well as trying to make sense of their lives through actions, language, and also the objects used. Society (read: humans) is the focus of this study, borrowing the view of human phenomenology as a source of knowledge. Man is the creator of his history. Man is he who builds his "view of life and the world" [8]. Daily activities and what is said in communication, the writers believe to be a marker of entry into their subjective views, as [10] conveys, that is "ordinary", but what allows the ordinary to be ordinary is that the event is part of the culture.

On one occasion the writers interviewed a resident from the Kokoda tribe, he told about his village in the southern part of South Sorong district. His village is called Negeri Besar, or Nebes for short. In the Kokoda language, Nebes is called *Maretinane* which means "big swamp". Nebes village adjoins several other villages in this area. These villages are part of the Kokoda district, the last district bordering the Bintuni Bay regency. The district capital of Kokoda, Tarof, is on the coast.

At the end of 2021, in November to be exact, the writers visited the village of Nebes. The trip to the district capital Kokoda takes quite a long time because there is no regular transportation there. After taking the plane from Manokwari, we used a car for four hours to get to the capital city of South Sorong, Teminabuan. We stayed for two nights looking for motor boat transportation to the Kokoda district. After getting a rental boat, we departed at 06.00 WIT to the district capital of Kokoda, Tarof. The trip by longboat takes four hours to arrive at Tarof. In Tarof, especially the Kenaburi River which connects Tarof with the villages in the northern part of the Kokoda district is full of boats going to and return to the north. Local residents say that it is currently flooding, so people can use boats to the north. If it is dry season, they have to walk.

At that time, our trip faced the same obstacle, namely there is no regular transportation to the village of Nebes. We headed to Nebes using a boat that we rented from local residents the next morning. We departed from Tarof at six in the morning with rainy condition. The water in the Kenaburi river has been brown since yesterday. Whether it was because of the flood in question, the researchers could not conclude.

When leaving Tarof, the boat driver said that the banks of the river had been widened by heavy equipment, so that large boats could reach Nebes and other villages in the north. About thirty minutes of our trip, we entered the ranks of sago hamlets located right on the edge of the river where we passed. The boat driver explained the ownership of the hamlets to us. There are also many traditional fishing nets placed by residents on the banks of the river.

Approximately sixty minutes of our trip, we entered the open plains surrounded by meadows. Apart from the grass, it turned out that the water in the river had passed its highest level and had soaked the grass along the river. From the information we got, the river in this meadow is the Kiawage river, which is different from the river in Tarof, namely Kenaburi. On the way, we also met a middle-aged man who went to his hamlet in Tororoi to check the traps (read: "snares") he had set since yesterday. This man uses a traditional boat with one oar. Standing up, the man steered his boat along the river to the south.

A few moments later, we passed a signal tower. From afar, we can see the arrangement of houses standing elongated following the flow of the river. A few tens of meters from the row of houses, we can see sago trees lined up neatly, filling our every view. Almost all of the houses that we passed to enter Nebes village were above the water (read: houses on stilts). One house to another is connected by a wooden bridge. There is flat land behind the village, but the ground does not look so hard. Therefore, residents use wooden bridges as a crossing medium.

When we set foot on the crossing bridge, a sense of worry arose in our hearts. Bridges built by residents that connect residents' houses in the village are made of woods around their environment. Some bridges also use sago fronds as the base of the bridge. The bridge we crossed swayed left and right, causing us to almost fall. Arriving at the house of one of the residents we took a short break for tea. As people who come from a place that has been equipped with various facilities, we have many questions. In that contemplation, one important question representing all questions is "what

made them able to survive in this place?" Seeing the environmental condition where the entire area is a swamp, how can they survive?

If we return to the initial discourse that we conveyed, are they able to survive by relying on themselves? Or is the life of this community a proof of the presence of a social order (customs) as a force that keeps them afloat in the midst of this "big swamp"? The knitting of life that has lasted tens or even hundreds of years is like a tangled thread that needs to be deciphered one by one so that it can be understood. So that not only the right methodology, but also patience and sincere alignment can help us and also other people out there to understand how this extraordinary life is formed.

2. Material and methods

The method applied in this study is descriptive with observation and interview techniques. The operational method is meant by phenomenology in order to put forward the aspects of subjectivity of informants, namely local people in their daily activities. It is important because as an experience, it belongs to everyday life. The goal is to acquire the values of humane life. Those human values that become part of life are lived, upheld, and maintained. That is, the subjectivity issue of truth is a matter of real experience [8].

In phenomenology, humans are the source of knowledge. Man is the creator of his history. Man is he who builds his "view of life and the world" or *Weltanschauung* [11]. For this reason, by writing down the life experiences and local wisdom of the people in Nebes village, the writers believe they are building the world and knowledge of the people as actors who play a role in it.

3. Results and discussion

An old father comes from Biak. His name is Stevanus Wambrau, is a teacher and has served for a long time in the village of Nebes. He married a native of the village of Nebes. His children currently live and settle in Nebes. In that house, there was also a relative (his wife's brother) who sat with us. After we were introduced, we continued our conversation by conveying the purpose of our visit to Nebes village. As researchers, we felt that our explanation was clear enough, and we would like to proceed with the casual interview process to get an initial picture of our research theme, namely sago in Nebes village.

When we were about to start asking questions about sago, one of the host's relatives spoke in Kokoda. Immediately the host, namely Mr. Gerson Wambrau, immediately said "so that all people can hear, it's better not here". He invited us to talk about it at a traditional house (in Kokoda language, it is called *Titara*) of Nebes village. Actually we were quite doubtful about this reception. We had just arrived in Nebes village and had to meet lots of people. In our research approach on data collection, we chose the snowball technique by identifying figures who understand sago, as well as residents who still depend on sago to this day. As soon as we arrived, we were invited to meet with residents. In closer research, this activity can be referred to as directed group discussion. It is not something that was planned, it could change the order of research that we had planned from the beginning. However, we could not refuse the invitation because it was part of our opportunity to meet the residents in person.

When leaving Mr. Gerson's house to the traditional house, we again had to cross a wooden bridge. The initial difficulties we experienced, we had to go through again. Some villagers who saw us step hesitantly made us even more nervous. They said that if someone came to Nebes village for the first time and fell into the water, a "big meal" had to be held. The big meal in question is gathering all the residents and eating together. Since the event was called a big meal, we were curious what they were eating. And we also ask, what do you eat? Residents around us then answered "Sago".

Is this "big meal" part of a certain ritual, or is it that falling into the water when someone comes for the first time is another sign, so a "big meal" must be held. This got our attention. First, when "having a big meal" with natural environmental conditions like this, the food available comes from the basic ingredients of Sago. In our initial interview with the village secretary, Mr. Yohanis Ugaje, many of the stories he told were also related to Sago, such as the benefits of Sago as a source of food, getting prey, and meeting their needs for a place to live. Second, in our observations, since entering this large swamp, only Sago trees can be seen. So it's not just the Sago plant, but the relationship between Sago and the people of Nebes is currently disturbing our curiosity. Are there any other options? Or is it really only Sago that fulfills the instinctive urge of the Nebes people to feel hungry. If so, of course this is an entry point for us to recognize the locality of culture in the Nebes village community.

Our footsteps must continue across the bridge to the traditional house. After some consideration, we were finally taken by boat to the traditional house. When we got there, we entered and sat down with several residents. This traditional house is in the middle of the village. The position of this traditional house is on the edge of the Kiawage river which divides Nebes village into two parts. From the traditional house, there is a bridge that connects the traditional house with residents' housing. Actually, the residents' houses are far from the river. The houses of residents in Nebes village are in the form of stilt houses, with a bridge in the middle of the residents' housing that connects one house to another, including the traditional house.

A few moments later the people of Nebes village started arriving via the bridge. Little by little residents began to fill the corners of the traditional house. A loudspeaker was brought from one of the houses. Before starting to speak, we asked the village head who was sitting right next to us, do residents often gather like this? The village head answered, "You are newcomers, they also want to know your purpose for coming here. They love to hear what you want to say. If it is confidential, we can just talk about it at home. But now that we are in the traditional house, so we must speak openly. "Now they are wondering what did you come here for?" The village head began to speak in Kokoda. We ourselves do not understand what it means. Maybe the village head conveyed the purpose of our arrival. Every resident who sits in the traditional house pays serious attention to every word of the village head.

Residents in the traditional house sit in small groups of between two and six people. Every time the village head delivered a few sentences (in Kokoda), they responded with small talk within their group. We felt relieved because many residents came and welcomed us. But is it because we came that they gather? Or does this apply to everyone who comes? Because our arrival was actually quite sudden but many residents were present at the traditional house. From my observations, the average attendance was men and children. It also raises a question for me, where are the women or mothers? I can't answer this question just by looking.

In a previous interview with Yohanis Ugaje who is the village secretary for Nebes, he described some of the activities carried out at the traditional house. The recent activity was carried out by Puskesmas officers who carry out health services in the village. This activity usually takes place every 2-3 months. The government program that is currently being implemented is the Village Fund, with a deliberation mechanism in determining community development and empowerment programs which are also carried out by village officials in the traditional house. If there is a working visit from both the District government and the Regency government, it is also carried out at the traditional house.

In addition to activities and services from the government, almost all activities related to the community are mostly carried out in the traditional house. For example, if someone getting married, then the procession starting from the discussion and payment of the dowry is also carried out in the traditional house. There was one joint activity that was conveyed by the village secretary, namely eating together, which in Kokoda language is called *NIBAMUNABUCARA*. This activity is also carried out when a family injures each other (read: cutting off a hand or other body part until it bleeds), in Kokoda language it is called *OBORATEKEYA*. According to Mr. Yohanis, "the blood had come out so we had to sit down to eat together for fear that the blood that came out would separate the brotherhood". "It is a sign for us to love each other again". And also, in this big meal procession, the people of Nebes village serve sago as the main food.

From our trip to Nebes and on our return from there, we felt that there were two things that caught our attention, namely sago and the community's habit of "gathering" in the traditional house. We briefly mentioned these two things at the beginning of this section. After contemplating again we feel the need to see sago in the life of the people of Nebes village. The life that we mean here is clear about sago as a staple food. And furthermore, about the feelings, experiences, and what the people of Nebes learned while working on sago, that's what we want to understand and narrate. We will try to start with sago in the life of the Nebes people.

As previously stated, sago is the staple food for the people of Nebes village. Since entering this large swamp, where almost the entire plain is inundated with water, only sago plant can be used as food. This condition often occurs during the rainy season (read: *Taikinani*). People often refer to it as the flood season. During the summer (read: *Managaya*), the residents don't have many choices, because when they plant other varieties of plants such as cassava or sweet potatoes as a source of food, but a few moments later the water (rainy season) will come and cover all of the plains. Mr. Yohanis Ugaje said "We want to plant other crops but if the water rises then all the plants run out. The others all died, only the sago survived."

Because sago is the only source of food that can survive in the middle of a swamp with the Nebes villagers, we think they have quite complete and in-depth knowledge about sago plant. [12] writes that the custom of processing sago is a tradition that has been passed down orally from generation to generation until now. This condition makes the people

(tribes) producing sago have a very high level of knowledge and utilization. In the following, we will try to describe in tabular form the parts of the sago tree and its use by the residents of Nebes village.

Table 1 Parts of Sago Tree and Utilization

Indonesian Language	Kokoda Language
Sago seeds / fruit	Tagera
Sago saplings/shoots	Emagomo
Sago trees 2-4 meters (already big but immature, don't have a heart yet)	Ketabi
Sago tree (considered to have content)	Como
Sago tree that is not thorny	Wawo
Stems and bark	Karebo
Midrib	Fauw
Leaves	1 sheet : kanani 1 midrib : kawoye
Young shoots (still wrapped)	Kani
Young shoots (already out/up but it is still closed)	Kukuri
Young shoots (already out/up and the leaves have opened)	Opweti
The sago tree has raised its horn	Metokun
The sago tree has produced fruit	Tagera
Sago beating tool/Nani	Kao
Container to collect sago water	Bau
Container to squeeze sago	Edemetoni
The contents are still inside the sago stick	Kabuni
The contents (which has been tapped into dregs)	Apota
Sago flour	Kopia
Papeda paste	Irai
Papeda ball	Irau
Dry sago	Ti
Grilled sago ball	Kopueti
Roasted sago leaves	Kari-kari
Sago bag	Tabara
Short sago tomang	Peyate
Long sago tomang	Tuburi

Source: Interview with Mr Yohanis Ugaje and Mr Lukman Ugaje

The use of sago plants by the Nebes village community can be seen in the list of words above. For example, the people of Nebes village classify sago plants in several phases before they are considered very good for cutting and harvesting in order to get quality sago flour. They usually see signs of the condition of the sago palms. If it has issued a horn (*Metokun*) then it is considered ready to be cut down. The villagers usually will say "*Metuado*" when they see a sago tree that is considered ready to be cut down. In addition to the physical characteristics of the shoot (*Opweti*), villagers usually see the joints on the sago bark/stem. If the internodes are spaced, according to villagers, the contents are not good. If

the internodes are close, the content is good and can be cut down. In addition to eye observation, villagers also peeled a small part of the sago stems to take the contents (*Kabuni*). Having obtained, the contents are eaten and then rubbed on the arm. If it is white then the tree can be cut down.

Natural conditions such as during the rainy season are very helpful for residents when the process of harvesting sago. It is because the environmental conditions that were inundated with floods meant that Nebes residents could use boats to go to their sago villages. Likewise with the availability of abundant water. When a sago tree is cut down, the skin is split open, then the contents are taken, residents can immediately look for a source of water around the sago tree so that it can be used to squeeze the sago dregs and get sago flour. During the rainy season when they leave the house in the morning, in the afternoon they come home with the harvest of sago flour. This process takes approximately ten to twelve hours.

The situation is different during the summer when the entire area experiences drought. It makes the distance between the village of Nebes and the intended hamlet to be reached on foot. Not only that, they also had to make a temporary house and stay there for a few days. This condition requires more energy than during the rainy season. However, according to Mr. Yohanis Ugaje, it must still be done, because they cannot eat without sago for a month. For this reason, in the family, they usually help each other to find food sources. They went together to the hamlet to work on sago trees due to different natural conditions, such as during the rainy season or floods. This activity is usually carried out by two to three nuclear families who have close kinship and have the same rights to work on the hamlet.

During the summer, when the whole area becomes dry, every adult man, both father and son who are teenagers from the nuclear family, helps each other to carry sago tree trunks to the nearest water source. In summer, the water sources are usually along the Kiawage river. The distance between the hamlets and water sources is between one and three kilometers. There, the sago stalks were split open and then the contents (*Kabuni*) were beaten using Nani (*Kao*). After being beaten, a container for squeezing sago (*Edemetoni*) is made, then the sago waste (*Apota*) is kneaded using water and becomes sago flour (*Kopia*). This activity was carried out by several nuclear families for several days until their food supplies were sufficient for the next few weeks, then they returned to Nebes village.

In addition to functioning as a source of carbohydrates, sago trees that are cut down are also useful for obtaining other sources of protein. When peeling the sago tree trunk (separating the contents from the skin), residents will leave the parts of the sago tree that is considered hard and not fit to be chopped. It turns out that the remaining sago trunks are still useful. The remaining sago tree trunks that were cut down and left for one month will become breeding grounds for sago caterpillars (*Apatar/Autumo*). Apart from sago caterpillars, the remains of sago tree trunks are also a source of food for animals such as wild boars. The remaining sago tree will attract wild boars that are looking for food so that it become an opportunity for residents to hunt these animals.

There is also a part of the sago tree, namely the leaves that are still wrapped (*Kani*) which are taken by residents and cooked it into vegetables to eat. The way to take *Kani* is by cutting down a sago tree. However, because the activity of taking *Kani* from young sago trees is considered destructive and being around the village, parents often forbid it (in Kokoda it is called *Ugomo*). According to them (read: parents), if someone wants to take *Kani*, that person must take it from a sago tree that is far from the village. Sago trees near the village are allowed to grow until they are deemed fit for cutting. This is so that during the dry season, villagers do not have to go far to their sago hamlets on foot. Especially when the men or husbands are not around, it can make it easier for women and mothers to harvest sago.

Currently, apart from being a staple food, the surplus from processed sago trees (namely sago flour/*Kopia*) is also sold by Nebes villagers to Teminabuan, Kokas, and even to the district capital, namely Tarof. When they were going to sell, each nuclear family asked each other to sell their sago flour. In fact, on several occasions, the residents of the five villages that inhabit this large swamp (Maretinane) went together to sell their processed sago flour. According to residents, twenty-one trees can produce ten long tumang (*Tuburi*). Previously, short tumang (*Peyate*) was sold for Rp. 20,000. But now it sells for Rp. 50,000. There is also sago flour filled in 20 kilogram sacks of rice and sold for Rp. 200,000.

The use of sago trees in various aspects of the life of Nebes villagers is not only to meet food needs. The thick bark of the sago tree (*Karebo*) can be used for the base of bridges that connect residents' houses, or as walls of houses. Previously, before using boats or modern equipment, sago tree bark is also used as a container (*Bau*) of water extracted from sago dregs. Leaves (*Kanani*) can be made by residents into the roof of the house. The part of the leaf that is still in the form of young shoots (*Opweti*) is used to make grass cloth, the traditional clothing of the Kokoda people. It can also be used to make traditional bags (*Tabara*) or what we often call Noken. The fronds of the sago tree are made into *Garuru* which functions to soak pedapa, or to draw water.

The activities of cutting, splitting tree trunks, punching and squeezing sago are the routine activities of the residents. The sago flour that each nuclear family brings home can last between two to three weeks. And as we explained earlier, the use of sago trees is not only a matter of flour, but it also produces a source of protein, so that the activities in sago villages are carried out quite frequent. For us, who were coming to this big swamp for the first time, it was quite difficult to tell which hamlets belonged to the residents, especially considering customary rights. Because in our eyes, all places seem the same, consisting of water and weeds.

It turned out that it was not difficult for the Nebes villagers. Each families, from the Ugaje clan, like Mr. Yohanis Ugaje, when he is going to harvest sago, so he and his family already know where to go. Within the Ugaje clan, the hamlets they are currently using are inherited from their ancestors for generations. The surname (Ugaje) currently used by residents in Nebes village is the name of their ancestor. So that the name of the ancestor, which is currently used as a clan, becomes a marker of ownership of a certain hamlet. They call it a "*Petuanan*". For the Ugaje clan, the chairman/head of the *Petuanan* is Mr. Paulus Ugaje. In their lives with other clans, especially with regard to the use of nature (read: hamlet), to fulfill their subsistence needs, there is a boundary (*Ogaaba*) between the hamlets belonging to the Ugaje clan and those belong to other clans.

For the Ugaje clan, they have two hamlets namely Kimoi hamlet and Fana hamlet which according to them, God has given them to work on. If we are in Nebes village, the residents will point towards the sunset (west) where the hamlets are. There is also a hamlet belonging to the Ugaje clan which is quite far away, namely Tororoi. According to Mr. Yohanis, they could not enter hamlets belonging to other clans. Unless there is blood relation or permitted by the owner of the hamlet. Even among those who are siblings, when each of them and their families go to the hamlet, they cannot be in the same location. Unless the location they went to that day didn't yield good results, they then could go to their brother's location and harvest sago together.

The hamlet is a source of livelihood for the residents, especially the members in each *Petuanan*. Because it involves the livelihoods of many people, hamlet management usually involves the chairman/head of the *Petuanan*. But in the discussion, it must involve all citizens. For example, several hamlets that are far away, have currently been proposed by *Petuanan* to make hamlets. This is so that every *Petuanan* can look after their hamlets.

Looking for an explanation for everything that happened, both what the writers saw and what the writers heard requires extraordinary enthusiasm, because what we are talking about is not only what we see now, but also things that cannot be seen, namely the past, as well as how the past and the present can ensure a good future for posterity. Maybe it's too early, but the writers try to find an explanation that opens the horizons of thinking in order to better understand the people of Nebes village. The writers quote [6] who explains about Durkheim, where in his writing *Règles de la Methode* at a glance more or less formulates it as follows: the function of a social reality must be sought in relation to its social goals. It is from here that the writers try to explain what the writers have seen and heard about the people of Nebes village.

In the mind of the writers as a society living in the city, what can be done with living conditions like those in Nebes Village? In short, the life that the writers saw is far from the imagination of the life that the writers have experienced. In our mind, there is a calculation process from so many life experiences that have been passed. In fact, some of those life experiences that made us struggle to this point. One thing that bothers all passing thoughts is comfort. Is it possible? This discourse keeps coming back to our mind as if it is hitting a barrier that has been built in our mind for a long time. The further into the village of Nebes, what the writers were worried about, and what was questioned many times in our mind, became a massive spectacle throughout the village. A traditional house filled with young people with songs playing so loud. Children using boats, playing here and there. Mothers who bathe their babies in the river right in front of their house. The life here goes on as it is, not as the writers thought.

Several incidents that the writers experienced directly, such as being invited to gather at the traditional house and meeting the residents in person, made the writers wonder. It turns out that it is not only experienced by the writers, but everyone who comes to Nebes village is also treated the same. Be it the government, customary council formed by the government, to health services. According to the village head of Nebes, it has become their habit. At first glance, these attitudes are just a "habit", but if we look at what [6] that "order" is not always immediately visible, but it exists. On closer inspection, a certain order is immediately apparent, which is clearly the result of the application of the principles of organization that operate in that society.

The attitude of the Nebes villagers who always invite people/guests to the traditional house and convey their intention of coming is a phenomenon that shows the order of their lives. What happened to the meeting at the traditional house? Introduction, and conveying the intent and purpose of the guests (including the writers) upon their arrival to the village

of Nebes. A kind of process of exchanging information between guests and Nebes villagers. That's in the view of the writers as guests. Seeing the enthusiasm of the residents who came and listened to the writers when they introduced themselves, it seems that this incident was more of a "trial" that decided whether the writers could come to Nebes village or not.

Also, what are the benefits of meeting at a traditional house? For us (the writers and the guests who have come) the meeting helps us to convey our intention of coming to Nebes village. What about the people of Nebes village? What are the benefits of the meeting for them? So what are the objectives and benefits of the meeting for the people of Nebes Village? The writers offer another question, where did they learn to live life in such an order? Was it passed down from generation to generation by their parents? A more concrete question that can be conveyed is how are the orders in society created? Where did they learn and create these amazing things? Is it a deterministic factor or maybe it comes from the social system they form?

There are two opinions regarding the relationship between humans and the environment in which they live. The writers use the explanation from [13] that adaptation refers to the process of interaction between changes caused by organisms in their environment and changes caused by the environment in organisms. Two-way adaptation like this is necessary for all forms of life to survive including humans. In the next explanation, it is written that humans adapt to the cultural medium when they develop ways to do things according to the resources they find and also within the limits of the environment in which they live.

So that the notion of adaptation is how humans manage their lives to deal with various possibilities in everyday life. Facing various possibilities is the main task of all cultures [11]. It can happen because a gatherer experiences himself as a person who is with the others. That is, seeing himself living with other beings in the local world. He does not place himself against the world [2]. In the context of Tanah Papua, [14] stated that the life of the Papuan people is very dependent on the availability of potential natural resources where they interact and adapt intensively with forests, land and sea. Especially the influence of the environment on organisms (especially humans) is more dominant in gatherer communities such as the people in Nebes village.

Back to the adaptation where the influence of the environment on humans is more dominant. We also often hear the term that humans adapt to their environment. Adapt means that life follows the conditions of the natural environment where humans lives. More or less this explanation helps us to better understand the position of humans in the environment in which they live. But if so, why do humans need to adapt? Then, what kind of adaptation do humans do? And what's the point?

In human life, there is a life cycle up to the term food chain which is often referred to as natural selection. In the process, natural selection always demands a winner, in the sense that whoever is the strongest survives. This process in Mayr's book writes that egoism really determines whose outcome is the strongest. As individuals, humans survive in the places where they live. The pressure of human needs to satisfy hunger makes humans have to look for food resources.

[11] also explains that the cultural change of the human species from primitive hunter-gatherers to agriculture and urban civilization occurred without an increase in brain size. It seems that in a large and complex society, the bigger brain no longer has any reproductive advantage. Based on this explanation, if the human brain does not develop then what drives human development through natural selection, as what we know as civilization until now? If not egoism, then what?

[15] writes that humans are able to distance themselves from something, thus acting as a subject. So that they not only live in the present, but also remember the past and imagine the future. In [2] explanation), it is referred to as an analytical observation. With individual abilities that are no longer developing, it encourages humans to change in order to survive. The changes that happens is a change in human attitude, from previously prioritizing self-safety (selfishness) and those around it to sacrificing for others (those who are outside the group). This attitude is called altruism. [11] mentions that there are three kinds of altruism, namely altruism for individual offspring, helping close relatives, altruism among members of a social group. Tracing back how self-sufficient individuals survive is clearly too far. But at least Mayr's explanation shows the process of altruism from the nuclear family to certain social groups. So that it can be seen that it is natural when we look at ourselves, where family, especially wife and children are the main goal to be fed.

The development of this altruistic attitude has reached the point of reciprocal altruism [11] where mutual assistance is considered to strengthen the integrity of a group. In another explanation, Mayr wrote that the development of friendly and cooperative attitudes among members of a social group would be beneficial in natural selection. [3] mentioned that

it is what then brings us to evolutionary stability. The people who will survive natural selection are those who are able to cooperate.

Helping each other, being able to work together, understanding each other, and agreeing with other people or groups to live together is the beginning of human life towards another level of life. Community development in terms of quantity improves the quality of people's lives. The division of labor, the people's hunting areas that are increasingly far and varied. In this position, the civilization that we often mention has existed and developed. If we return to [11] brief comment, namely the cultural change of the human species from primitive hunter-gatherers to agriculture and urban civilization. There is also a process of bringing together individuals from different backgrounds as previously explained.

If there is a cultural change, the question is what is meant by culture in this context? Everything that happened was a consequence of certain changes? It is true that there have been changes in tools, work patterns, livelihoods, as well as settlement patterns. But what is the substance of the change? The writer feels that human attitudes (read: individuals) see other individuals as an important point of all these changes.

According to the writers, changes in individual attitudes are an important part and their position needs to be explained. If we follow [5] explanation, customary culture consists of four levels, namely (i) the level of cultural values, (ii) the level of norms, (iii) the level of law, (iv) the level of special rules which are at the most abstract level which affect their whole life, from the rules to their actions and works. Changes in attitude which consider other people to be different from other people are part of the group at the level of cultural values. There is a change in values for individuals who are outside their group who were previously opponents to become friends and even family. So who they are (read: identity) as individuals and groups change. Concerning identity, [16] also explains that we mistakenly interpret identity as a type of thought and a fixed condition of life, the basis for action. But as a process, identity is always cracked. Groups that previously had different backgrounds will eventually become a confederation or a certain ethnic group as a result of life processes.

Not forced to change, but over time must change according to their needs in order to survive. This change in attitude is at the level of cultural values and cultural values are an important aspect of human life. According to [4], the function is to create a way of thinking that influences their actions and behavior, both in everyday life and in terms of making important decisions in life, so this change in attitude influences their actions. Meanwhile, [17] writes that social institutions and cultural values are the basic foundation of a worldview, and this worldview is a kind of framework for human action towards nature. Changes in attitudes or actions towards other individuals or groups require operationalization in the form of agreements stored in the rules, or also known as social order. It is this social order that regulates relations including how daily life must be carried out.

As the writers said at the beginning, the writers' experience when they arrived in Nebes village and were invited to meet the residents at the traditional house was an extraordinary experience for the writers. This habit shows order in their lives. The experience that the writers experienced directly related to Durkheim's comment [6] that the function of a social reality must be sought in relation to its social goals. The habits practiced by the people of Nebes Village are a social reality (as well as a social order) that is carried out to maintain the purpose of the original agreement, namely to maintain social integration as a bulwark against natural selection. Unity and togetherness are the cultural values held by the people of Nebes village.

When gathering at the traditional house, all residents come and sit, then listen to our explanation. The initial agreement involving all residents must also be carried out at that time by presenting all residents. We can test it with a number of predictions, for example, why wasn't the meeting held between the guests and the village head? Why does it have to be with all the people? Does the order in its implementation need to present all citizens? When not all people are present, can the order works?

The order of life (read: habits) of the Nebes village community of bringing guests or government representatives to hold meetings at the traditional house shows what [13] said is the main task of the order (read: culture) itself, namely anticipating "various possibilities" that arises from the arrival of these outsiders (guests). So many residents who were present at the traditional house showed their equal position and had to get the same information. So that any information that reaches them can be managed and become a joint decision. Clifford Geertz in [18] argues that culture is a system of meaning that is shared, because it is the result of a social process and not an individual process. This process becomes the prime mover in their life. If there is information that is not the same, or is hidden from them, it will affect the cultural values they hold. Here the initial conclusion can be taken, that "it is not human consciousness that determines its condition, but on the contrary, it is the social condition that determines its awareness" [19].

The meeting at the traditional house shows that knowledge is a common asset for the Nebes village community. The writers use the term capital, which according to [13] every resource that is not spent in the production process. Because knowledge (read: capital) passed down from ancestors and parents is still being carried out by residents to this day. This knowledge must remain social because their life together requires the same input of knowledge, as the basis for their actions. Having the same knowledge shows the position that every citizen was and is still part of the group. Still being a part means that the cultural values that were agreed from the beginning by their ancestors and their parents are also still valid in their lives today.

Does it stop there? Does the meeting at the traditional house mean that much? [20] writes that when it becomes form, meaning leaves various possibilities surrounding it, it automatically becomes empty, becomes impoverished, history evaporates, all that remains are letters. So that the writers do not stop here.

For example, in their daily life to make ends meet, Nebes villagers cultivate sago trees in their hamlets. In Nebes village, along with other villages, each clan living in this vast swamp has a hamlet. Each clan (and its members) already know the boundaries of their respective clan's hamlets. The boundaries of hamlets between clans in the Kokoda language are called *Ogoaba*.

The surnames used, for example Ugaje are the name of their ancestors. The clan (name of the ancestor) and the hamlet are united and become a marker in their lives. When mentioning Ugaje, people will automatically mention Kampung Nebes with its hamlets, namely *Kimoi* and *Fana*. Their knowledge of clan-owned hamlets where they are allowed to go to harvest sago is obtained from their parents from generation to generation. So that someone, for example a member of the Ugaje clan, or someone from outside the Ugaje clan, knows where a member of the Ugaje clan should go to harvest sago. Mr. Lukman Ugaje said "If we enter someone else's hamlet, then the people who own the hamlet will be angry". It's like a red thread (abstract) connected in each of their stories. How early life was reminded through the clan (identity), so what was agreed upon, and how they had to live together in the middle of this vast swamp, with the changing seasons, but the sago yield that never runs out for them.

Likewise with the management of hamlets within the clan. Every member of the clan with their core family when they go to the hamlet and harvest sago can't do it in the same place as other families. Unless the place where they are going to go has no sago trees to cut down (because they are still young or too old to cut down) then, they may join other families.

But sago forest management is not just about humans with humans. In its management, within the clan, each member of the clan has the same right to cultivate the hamlet, in this case the sago tree as a source of food. Mr. Yohanis Ugaje said "everyone has the same rights, just don't overdo it, by cutting down carelessly". This shows that the management of sago is still regulated so that it continues to meet the needs of the residents. These prohibitions (*Ugomo*) show the awareness of the residents to manage their hamlets well. Moreover, with the different conditions between the dry season and the rainy season, they have to be able to organize their hamlets so that it can be cultivated throughout the year.

Not related to the different results of sago starch during the dry season or rainy season. According to [21], that plant height (sago) in periodic flooding is almost five times the plant height in permanent flooding or without flooding. Likewise in the formation of tillers, periodic flooding is able to produce twice as many tillers as compared to permanent flooding or without flooding. The low growth and tiller formation in permanent flooding is caused by a lack of oxygen in the root area because all soil pores are filled with water. Conversely, in areas without flooding, there is a shortage of water, especially during the dry season. To improve the growth of sago in permanently inundated areas it is necessary to improve drainage, while in areas without inundation it is necessary to regulate the provision of water.

Moreover, the production process during the rainy season and dry season is different in terms of the distance and energy required. So it's not surprising that Mr. Yohanis said "take care of life, take care of it, meaning that there is no other product that can be processed, only sago". In such natural conditions, what happens is beyond their understanding. For this reason, it is called protecting sago means protecting their lives. Environmental factors influence attitudes towards their food sources. Therefore, the environment as the main factor affecting the lives of the residents of Nebes village can be said to provide the best for them.

The life of the Nebes village community as explained by [22] regarding a value-oriented society, that nature is a means or medium for humans to carry on their lives and also as a field that allows change to struggle for life through their works so that there is an inseparable structural relationship between humans and their environment. It causes humans

to be sympathetic and in solidarity with nature. The result of this attitude is that nature should not be treated arbitrarily, for example in the form of exploitation.

This brief explanation of the relations between clans in the management of their hamlets provides a brief description of the relations between humans. In addition, there is also a relationship between humans and the natural environment in which they live. And the attitude of sympathy and solidarity for nature, according to the writers, is also the values held by each individual, so that unity, togetherness and collectivity are the basic values in their lives. This also influences their attitude, and can be seen in the order of their life both internally and when dealing with life outside their group.

The stories of life passed down from generation to generation become the assets of life that are shared, and never disappear long as they can still remember. All these orders already exist and are continued by the next generation, as stated by [17] through culture, humans can communicate between generations so that each generation does not need to learn everything from scratch. Currently, the attitude of the people of Nebes village towards natural environment management, such as that of the Sago hamlet, refers to stories and advice from their parents. According to Kaplan and R. Kaplan in [23] the tendency to always understand the environment is one of the main characteristics of humans as intelligent beings. Humans even tend to react to their understanding of the environment rather than to the environment itself. In the end, what is meant by culture is the order of life, their way of life [15], which they hold, which will always emerge when they face various changes from outside their life niche.

4. Conclusion

Sago is present as food and with the natural conditions that support it, it makes sago a main food that cannot be separated because of its ever-present presence. With the generosity of nature that forms the attitude of humans who live side by side with nature. The existence and meaning of sago for life then developed to form a collective lifestyle.

It shows what the writers experienced when they came to Nebes village, namely holding a meeting at the traditional house is the output of an orderly community life that has lasted a long time, from the ancestors to the current generation. This learning process in living life is what we need to be aware of. In other words, human consciousness cannot be separated from its interaction with nature. Through nature, a person understands his life situations and events. He feels space and time. Not only that, under the influence of nature, humans build themselves and their world. Nature is a representation of all life.

The events that the writers saw are their lives, their daily lives which have been carried out since their parents and ancestors. As has been said that the habit (reality) that is carried out shows the purpose of the reality itself. By living their lives according to the teachings of their parents and ancestors, they have taken care of their lives.

Compliance with ethical standards

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The authors declare no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

Statement of informed consent

Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

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