



Local Leadership Legal Of Ethnography In Traditional Area In Papua (Legal Anthropology Perspective)

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Abstract: *The purpose of this paper describing the ethnography of the law of adat leadership in the seven indigenous territories in Tanah Papua is the perspective of legal anthropology, which is one of the ethnographic frameworks of the Papuan ethnography in particular from the cultural elements of social organizations. Ethnography of the law of traditional leadership lives in the culture and customary law of the community or ethnic group as the living law, classified into four types of ethnographic typology of customary leadership law: 1) leadership system of the man of authority/Big Man (Menagawan/Tonowi), 2) Klen Leadership System (Keondoafian/Ondofolo/Ontofro/Chaisoi, 3) Raja's leadership system (Fun / Weight), 4) Mixed leadership system (Sera/Mananwir). The nature of the four typologies is the customary government structure of the people or ethnic groups spread across seven indigenous territories: 1) La Pago, 2) Me Pago, 3) Ha Anim, 4) Tabi/Mamta, and 5) Saireri (in Papua Province), Doberay and Bomberay (in West Papua Province), as regional development capital in Papua in the future, and as a development challenge for regional governments, the world of higher education, in organizing communities or ethnic groups in Papua facing the era of globalization.*

Keywords: *Local of Ethnography; Local Leadership.*

INTRODUCTION

The effort to explain the living law as a de facto form of legal aspects in the ethnography of the legal perspective of legal anthropology¹.

¹ Legal Ethnography or “New” Ethnography no longer concentrates on the community group and its static law, isolated

This means that from the legal anthropology approach, it is

from outside influences, does not even live in a place where the geographical boundaries are determined precisely, but in this new ethnography focus is more on areas that do not have border or sociologically is a condition where boundaries in society increasingly fade there is no limit that regulates a person's behavior in the context of globalization.

unavoidable for ethnographic substances in the framework of cultural anthropology today. Normatively there are aspects that are interpreted between ethnography in legal anthropology and ethnography in cultural anthropology². Ethnography in anthropology is an effort to express and describe all elements of culture in the lives of people and/or ethnic groups which are being examined as targets of ethnographic portraits carried out by an ethnographer. More specifically the law in cultural anthropology is explained as an aspect of community life or ethnicity which is observed by ethnographers in terms of elements of other cultures holistically with emic and ethical approaches. While ethnography in legal anthropology is a description of the nature of how the researched community groups or tribes carry out the law in various fields of social life³. Ethnography in legal anthropology focuses on the laws that live in society and how they are intended to achieve social justice.

² Sulistyowati Irianto, (ed). (2009). *Hukum Yang Bergerak: Tinjauan Antropologi Hukum*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, p. 60-61.

³ T.O. Ihromi, (ed). (1993) *Pengantar dalam Bunga Rampai Antropologi Hukum*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

So, ethnography in legal anthropology is indicated in cultural values and disputed cases carried out by traditional functionary actors according to their duties, functions, and authority in the customary social structures or government of each community or ethnic group in seven customary territories in Land of Papua.

Diversity of society/ethnicity universally has various elements of culture called "Ethnographic framework" such as :

1. Location of the natural environment and demography;
2. Origins and history of tribes, nations;
3. Language;
4. Technology systems;
5. Livelihood system;
6. Social organizations;
7. Knowledge system;
8. Art; and
9. Religious Systems.

All elements of the culture, the sixth element of culture (6) namely "social organization" is part of the sub-elements of culture, namely customary government, which is the focus of this writing in seven indigenous territories in the Land of Papua.

To carry out an ethnographic study, a long work is needed by the

Ethnographer with ethnographic methods in compiling a description of "ethnographic framework" concerning a particular ethnic culture in the Land of Papua in the form of ethnographic documents. Ethnography in the perspective of legal anthropology, when the people or tribes are described by law owners experience cultural and/or legal acculturation, as a result of shifting elements of culture and norms in the social life organization, namely customary government in the people or ethnic groups in Papua.

METHOD

The type of research is normative-legal research, which is used to study the rules of law or legal provisions with emphasis on the principles of law that relating to the international and national laws, especially related to the interaction between them.

The technique of data collection used is literature study, by studying various legal materials includes primary, secondary, and tertiary in accordance with the object of study. Data analysis is done by analyzing qualitative data by reducing data,

presenting data and drawing conclusion.

DISCUSSION

Ethnography of Customary Law in Seven Indigenous Territories

In the ethnography of law in the study of legal anthropology, the focus was on a homegene and bound group of people and law in its geographic area, now experiencing changes and more orientation towards a society and its laws which are not geographically related to the ethnography of law and / or ethnography of legal anthropology as well as previous ethnographic studies of law, among others: the work of Wiber (2005), Nuijten (2005) and Schiller (2005). This means that the legal community nowadays is no longer a static society, isolated from outside influences, and no longer lives within the boundaries of its geographical area, can be determined exactly (Benda Beckmann, 2005) and (Sulistyowati Irianto 2009)⁴. The ethnography of the law is firm according to Schiller Ethnography (2005) that first, there is no longer a study of the concept of society bound

⁴ Lidwina Inge Nurtjahyo in Sulistyowati Irianto, (ed). (2009). *Hukum Yang Bergerak..., Ibid.*

by geographical factors; second, dynamic interaction of law and rules. This means that both aspects of interaction occur due to the mobility of cultural and legal owners occurring across national borders, even seeing the interaction and dynamics between legal systems that occur due to the activities of cultural and legal owners in the context of dynamic new law formation processes in accordance with the demands of globalization.

Therefore, the legal ethnography or new in the legal perspective of global anthropology is formulated by several distinctive characteristics that can be interpreted: First, legal ethnography/new focus is on the shifting of concepts concerning the people or ethnic groups studied. Secondly, legal ethnography/new highlights the symptoms that occur locally related to the broader context and symptoms that occur locally related to the local context in other parts of the world without geographical/regional boundaries. Third, ethnography of law/new, describing the law is no longer fragmented in the shutter of customary law, religious law, and national law of global perspective

focus on legal dynamics. Fourth, legal ethnography/new in the legal perspective of global anthropology, does not always depart from the study of disputes in order to reveal the laws that live in society⁵. Although long-term non-dispute studies are of concern to anthropologists law, but ethnography of law/new illustrates the process of making law that occurs through the mobility of people or organizations acting as actors (actors) both formal and informal institutions (Benda-Beckman, 2005 in Lidwina Inge Nurtjahyo).⁶

Departing from the description above, there are various ethnographic (cultural) references and customary law in Papua today⁷, describing approximately 75% of indigenous peoples or tribes living scattered and isolated based on geography (natural environment) and cultural ecology, demography/origin proposed through ethnology, both in the highlands, the lowlands, rivers, lakes and rawahs,

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 67.

⁷ The intention in Tanah Papua includes the entire culture of indigenous peoples in seven indigenous territories, namely: Tabi/Mamta, Ha Anim, Lapago, Mepago, Saireri, (the five indigenous territories are in the Papua Province) while the two traditional Bomberay and Domberay regions are West Papua Province.

the coast and islands or islands. With such conditions, the new ethnographic study of law becomes the focus of scope for the community or ethnic group which becomes the actor/actor who triggers the policy of carrying out the duties of regional government both in the Province, Regency/City, District and Village) even the people or ethnic groups reflected in the material substance of ethnographic content in legal ethnography/new in expressing society or ethnicity in the diverse and dynamic land of Papua and adaptation, it is no longer limited by geography/natural environment and origin, only customary law of the people or ethnic groups. Because there is an acculturation process of culture and law internally and externally, custom, religion, state and law with the formation of cultural and legal pluralism. For example the existence of social units in the form of mixed marriages across cultures, customs, religions, countries and laws affects traditional leadership system actors in customary government as holders and implementers of culture and law in the Land of Papua.

The customary government within it is a diverse community or ethnic group in legal ethnography spread in seven indigenous territories in the Land of Papua. Indeed, it can be overcome by the attempt of a new ethnographic/legal method approach in examining the development of traditional leadership systems through customary governance that has been structured in the culture of each indigenous people or tribes identified in the typology of seven (7) indigenous territories, namely: 1) Doberay, 2) Saireri, 3) La Pago, 4) Tabi, 5) Ha Anim, 6) Bomberay, and 7) Me Pago, in arranging socio-cultural, economic, political and both physical and non-physical law based on the level of distribution of the customary government of the people or ethnic groups dynamically in the Land of Papua.

Legal ethnography is no longer a concern for cultural and legal constraints on geographical/natural environment, cultural ecology described based on the diversity of typologies of customary governance in Tanah Papua, namely: 1) Manly/Big Man (Menagawan/Tonowi) leadership

system in traditional governance , 2) Klen leadership system (Keondoafian/Ondofolo) with customary governance structures, 3) Raja's leadership system (Fun/Weight) with customary government structures, 4) Mixed leadership system (Sera/Mananwir) and customary government structures. On the other hand, there is a map of the location of regional languages in Papua, compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and Cenderawasih University, there are approximately 240 local languages, and even that number increases (Silzer, Heikkinen, Duane, 1986; 15), for example approximately 250 languages, then in its development increased to 272 languages in 2012 (SIL 2012) synonymous with ethnic groups in the Land of Papua⁸.

In the ethnographic method of law⁹, it is necessary to identify

⁸ Frans Reumi, (2018). *Materi Kuliah Etnografi Papua*. Fakultas Hukum Universitas Cenderawasih, Jayapura Papua Indonesia.

⁹ The legal ethnography method, its orientation towards the law that moves in view of the ethnography observed is that humans become members of society due to globalization and how to determine the boundaries of society, and offer observations on the activities of actors/actors and the implementation of culture and law, because these actors make one legal system interacts

indigenous peoples and tribes in Papua, focused on one element of culture as one indicator of the homogeneity of the social organization system of a particular community or ethnic group in the Land of Papua. The grouping of people or ethnic groups can be adjusted to the structure of social organizations in the customary government system (traditional constitutional system) which is free to stand alone or ally according to the level of distribution of the indigenous peoples concerned in Papua. As mentioned above, traditional governance in Tanah Papua in social science and political science is known as "traditional political system or traditional leadership system", according to J.R. Mansoben, (1994) in his dissertation called "Diversity of Traditional Leadership Systems in Irian Jaya" by making identification of (4) four types of traditional leadership systems are as follows: 1) Big men leadership system (Authorized Men = Menagawan/Tonowi), 2) system Klen's leadership or Keondoafian

with each other, so that the law moves to change dynamically in the era of globalization.

leadership system = Ondofolo-Ondoafi/Demou Tru = Iram/Ontofro/Chaisori/Ontofro (other names ...), 3) King's leadership system (Fun/Kalana/Weight), and 4) Mixed leadership system (Mananwir = Mambri/Sera = Sera Bawa). Whereas the mention of local government, the rational political system or the traditional leadership system in the law of customary law and customary constitutional law is called "Customary Law or Customary Law" which is often called "Customary Government" in various ethnographic references to customary law and law into academic references.

Ethnographically the law in the legal anthropology of the development of people and ethnic groups in Papua is dynamic in the social structure of customary government known as the traditional (adat) leadership system which is classified by JR Mansoben into (4) four types of traditional leadership types in Irian Jaya (Papua)¹⁰ with the basis of traditional autonomy of the

people or ethnic groups, namely as follows¹¹:

1. The Big Man Leadership System or the Authorized Man, with his customary government covering the indigenous area of La Pago (Jayawijaya District) and the traditional territory of Me Pago (Paniai District, Puncak, Puncak Jaya ...) as well as the traditional territory of Ha Anim (Merauke district/Boven Digoel ...).
2. The King's Leadership System, in its customary government, covers the indigenous Bomberai region (Fak Fak District/Kaimana ...) and the indigenous territories of Doberay (Sorong/Manokwari District ...), and (Raja Ampat Island Districts).
3. The Leadership System of the Chief or Head of the Klen, in his customary government, covers the traditional territories of Tabi/Mamta (Jayapura City, Jayapura district, Sarmi, Keerom).
4. The Mixed Leadership System, in its customary government, covers the indigenous Saireri (Teluk Cenderawasih) region: Waropen, Yapen,

¹⁰ J.R. Mansoben, (1994). *Sistem Politik Tradisional Di Irian Jaya*, (Disertasi) Negeri Belanda, Universitas Leiden, p. 85.

¹¹ The intention in Tanah Papua includes the entire culture of indigenous peoples in seven indigenous territories, namely: Tabi/Mamta, Ha Anim, Lapago, Mepago, Saireri, (the five indigenous territories are in the Papua Province) while the two traditional Bomberay and Domberay regions are West Papua Province.

Wondama, Biak Numfor, and Supiori Districts ...).

To be clear, can the ethnographic identification of the laws of customary government below.

1) *Ethnography of customary government law with the typology of the type of leadership system of the Authorized Man/Big Man*,¹² which in Indonesian is translated as "Man of authority" which is known among the tribes who live in the interior (central mountains) starting from Irian Bird Head (Papua) to the west to the border area of Papua Province with neighboring Papua New Guinea (PNG) in the east. The mention of authoritative men by each ethnic group with a different name, but contains the same meaning. For example, the Maybrat people say that an authoritative man is Weight, meaning very strong or East cloth grabber in Sorong Regency; Mee people refer to as Tonowi, meaning that the rich, generous, honest, clever

diplomatic and speech Pospisil¹³ in Paniai Regency, Muyu or Mandobo people call Kayepak, meaning having skills such as knowledge about nature, clever diplomacy, being able to carry out pig parties and be generous, the Asmat people say Tesmaypits a mean must be brave (Merauke Regency, Boven Digoel Regency, and Asmat district); Dani people call Kain, meaning courage in leading a Heider¹⁴ war in Jayawijaya Regency (Wamena).

The characteristics of big man (authoritative man) are characterized by authority on the basis of personal ability. To be an authoritative man when he reaches the position as a microcosm of the community so that it is a concern of everyone in the community concerned. Therefore the position of someone as a leader can only be through individual achievements. So that the position is achievement (achievement effort) in addition there are other fundamental characteristics, namely there are no representatives or helpers, only one

¹² The type of Big Man Leadership or Autonomous Men is found in many ethnic groups elsewhere in the area of Malanesia culture, especially on the island of New Guinea, causing this type of leadership to always be seen as the Malanesia leadership type.

¹³ L. Pospisil, (1963) *The Kapauku Papuan's of West New Guinea*, in Frans Reumi and Kadir Katjong, *Diktat Etnografi Irian Jaya*, 1999, p. 44

¹⁴ Heider (1979) *The Dugum Dani*, in Frans Reumi and Kadir Katjong, (1999). *Ibid.*

leader does not have a representative or assistant. The conditions expected by an Authoritative Man are wealth (exchange or barter) courage and good speech and generosity (food aid, property) these characteristics are divided into two (2) types namely basing their power on entrepreneurial abilities as the ethnic groups mentioned above.

2) *Ethnography of customary government law with the type of leadership of the King* is found in areas that are transitional, cultural and legal areas starting from the west coast area of the Bird's Head island of Irian to the coast of West Mimika on the south coast of Irian Jaya. For example the Raja Ampat Islands (Mayan) in Fak-Fak Regency. Its characteristics are inherited from tradition to the eldest son and ruling leader. The scope of power is broader than the Ondoafi leadership model whose scope of power is limited to only one village with a small population and originating from a common ancestor meaning Lenege and the same language. This second leadership model is the result of the process of acculturation between Irian cultures on the one hand, Maluku

culture on the other, for example, the influence of Sultan Tidore and Temate on Indigenous governance structures by giving customary titles such as Rat Hadat (adat council), Fun or Kalana (King), Jojau (deputy king), Dumlaha (leader of upaeara), Ukum law enforcer), Mirino (tribute collector) and Bala (people) around the Raja Ampat Islands. The Raja Ampat leadership in the Raja Ampat islands is called Fun or Kalana in Sorong Regency. Whereas on the Onim Peninsula is called Rat (in Fak-Fak Regency). Having an organizational structure with the king as a leader and assistants as the gear-title mentioned above.

3) *Ethnography of customary government law with the typology of leadership type of Head of Klen*, found in the Northeast region of Irian Jaya, all of which are in Jayapura Regency, for example Sentani people (inside and around Lake Sentani), Tobati people (in Yos Sudarso Bay formerly Humboldt), people Genyem or Nimbokran (on the plain of the Grime river, which lies west of Lake Sentani). Characteristics show that leadership is inherited based on offspring and religion. This was

manifested in the control of land, water and also the sources of life of the community, concurrently as the leader of the religious community. For example, the Ondoafi leadership of the Sentani people according to adat is validated by the lineage of the village founder and the eldest son before. So, the principle of primogenitur patrilineal, because leadership here is the acquisition of every boy from Ondoafi has the right to take over the position or position, if the trimmer does not carry out the task, because of old age, illness or death. The task of the Ondoafi covers all aspects of life in the village such as the fields of religion, economy, social welfare, security and justice. Ondoafi leadership has an organizational structure.

4) *Ethnography of customary government law with a mixed type typology of leadership*, known by ethnic groups in Cenderawasih Bay. For example, the Biak people in the Biak-Numfor islands and Doreri Manokwari bay; Waropen people on the east coast of Cenderawasih and wandamen on the coast of Cenderawasih Bay. Its characteristics are based on the descendants and

founders of the village. So the nature of the leadership position inheritance first. After the process of acculturation the inheritance criteria are not carried out, but rather leads to ability. Because of the situation and conditions at that time (formerly) the existence of an economic crisis, epidemics and the war of capturing slaves that hit the area, so the needs of people who were capable of being leaders. For example, the Biak people as leaders are called Mananwir or Kepala Keret and those who are representatives are warlords called Mambri, not based on age but ability for boys. Waropen people who are leaders of the keret (da) or klen at the village level (nu) are called Sera. Sera¹⁵ means, leader, head or rival. If someone from Sera comes from Senior Klen, then he is called Serabawa, meaning a true leader (great leader), because he comes from senior men among the brothers who come from the oldest (Keret) class.

By identifying four types of traditional leadership system

¹⁵ G.J. Held, *Papoea Van Waropen*. Leiden : E.J. Brill. Terjemahan dalam bahasa Inggris : *The Papua's of Waropen's Gravenhagge*, Nijhoff. KLTLV Translation Series 2. (1947) in Frans Reumi and Kadir Katjong, (1999). Ibid.

typologies or known in the social sciences and law as customary government systems or customary government laws, ethnographically in legal anthropology there is still a diversity of social structures of people or ethnic groups in Papua that call "indigenous government systems" spread in the cultural ecological classification of the highlands, lowlands, rivers, lakes and rawahs, coastlines and islands or islands in seven indigenous territories in the Land of Papua.

The Examples of the Ethnographic of Indigenous Governance in Tabi/Mamta Jayapura Customary Areas

Characteristics of the Form of Indigenous Government Jayapura (Nimboran)

- a. Single and Autonomous
- b. The structure is more important and prioritized by the person/individual,
- c. Have charisma in leadership,
- d. Its network structure functions in various activities,
- e. Obedient and obedient because the sanctions for adat are firm and clear,
- f. Clear division of tasks and work areas,
- g. Work honestly and sincerely,

- h. Cooperation in a balanced way,
- i. The ego of the village/ego group is the motivator in completing social burdens,
- j. The equalis aspect is more prominent than the individual (Progress of relatives/clen not individual progress),
- k. Has inheritance (stone bracelets, land, waters, special stories, sago hamlets, coconut hamlets, etc.),
- l. Feel bound to a customary territorial unit.

A number of Sentani community institutions, including:

- a. Kinship Institution (lymea/Yoho),
- b. Economic Institutions (Anei paei nibi),
- c. Yomelau-Yokhansi (Population Institution),
- d. Defense institutions (Ro-fela),
- e. Magi Institute (Pulo itukhai),
- f. Educational Institutions (Khombobulu),
- g. Village Government Institutions,
- h. Deliberation Society (Obe-Onggo),
- i. Marriage Institution (Miyea waimang).

Nimboran Jayapura Customary Government Structure

Based on the leadership structure of Demou Tru/Iram above, the division of tasks and their functions are as follows:

a. Demou Tru

The Demou Tru seen in the structure, its position occupies the top position, for the Nimboran community that position is the highest position and the position is not occupied by the descendants of Iram (iram tang) or Takay descendants (takay tang), this is because for them the position is the highest position which is only occupied by Wai Iram/God so that it is an eternal office.

b. Iram

Iram is the crowned head of the adat government. Iram's position is always appointed from the descendants of Iram himself (inheritance), but if Iram commits violations which should be replaced with another person, the one who has the right to replace him is one of his father's younger siblings (previous IRAM). The

task in the community is as the main leader in a customary government, so that Iram is also responsible for his community, as a protector and also as a public servant.

c. Takay

Takay is a position with the same position as Iram. Takay's position was also appointed from the firstborn son of Takay's own descendants as in the Iram appointment process as described above. The task of Takay is as the executor of the law and all customary rules that apply in customary law.

d. Iram Dunesking Wou

Iram Dunesking Wou is an important position which serves as the head of the general government as a subordinate of the Iram function. Besides that Iram Dunesking Wou is also one of the important members in the adat structure who has the right to reduce and determine the new Iram and Takay, if the old one commits a violation that should be replaced. Dunesking wou who was

previously a descendant of Iram and Iram before.

e. Iramtebe Dunesking Wou

The previous *Iramtebe Dunesking Wou* was the same position as the importance of the position of Iram Dunesking Wou which is one of the same functions with Dunesking wou namely as a member who has the right to reduce and replace the existing Iram and Takay positions. Besides this important task, this position also served as the Head of Government specifically for the family of Keturuna Iram (Iram Tang). This Iramtebe Dunesking Wou was chosen and appointed from the firstborn Iram child.

f. Irambe Sanesking Wou

Irambe Sanesking Wou is an important position that also has the same rights as positions 4 and 5 above as one position that has the right to reduce and replace the positions of Iram and Takay as intended. While the duties and functions as junior government leaders in a traditional

organization Iram. The right to sit in the position as Irambe Sanesking Wou is the eldest child of the two descendants of Dunesking Wou.

g. Takayge Dunesking Wou

Takayge Dunesking Wou is a position that is also as important as positions 4,5, and 6 because one of the functions is as a member who has the right to reduce and replace existing Iram and Takay positions. Besides this important task, this position also served as the most senior leader of customary order in Takay Tang who was also prepared to later replace Takay Takage. Dunesking Wou was chosen and appointed from Takay's eldest child who was in existence.

h. Takayge Sanesking Wou

Takayge Sanesking Wou is an important position that also has the same rights as positions 4,5,6, and 7 above, namely as one of the positions that has the right to reduce and replace the positions of Iram and Takay as intended.

Whereas his duties and functions were as leaders of junior customary order specifically for Takay Tang in a traditional Iram organization. Those who have the right to sit in positions as Takayge Sanesking Wou is the first child of the second child of Takay's first descendants.

Based on numbers 2,3,4,5,6,7 and 8 are core positions in the customary government structure adopted by the Nimboran community. The seven important positions were added with two other positions, Undohamung Buleluw (9) and Undohamung You Helu (10) because they were always involved in every important event carried out by the customary government concerned, the second task that occupied that position was as a customary property entrepreneur. and holders of customary assets. Whereas the other positions seen in the structure above are supporting positions in a customary government that exists in the community.

Coating of the Nimboran Indigenous Peoples

In the Nimboran area of the Genyem customary community, to be able to determine which person comes from which layer, it is always based on the social status of a person or clan in their legal alliance. The layers in question are as follows:

a. Top Layer

This layer consists of Iram, Tekai and Dunesking wou. These traditional elites have very high social status in indigenous communities. In relation to marriage, each level of position must mate at its own level in a kinship bond. So the upper class marries the upper class, it cannot be with the lower class.

b. Intermediate Layer

The middle layer consists of indigenous people who because of their expertise can function to help Iram, Tekai and Dunesking wou to realize peace and well-being special tasks that require expertise, courage and thoroughness. Some positions in this layer are Huwaji, Bluhnanghlu,

Flomeiwuhlu and
Hamungbulelukhu.

c. Bottom Layer

This layer consists of ordinary people, namely people in a legal alliance, who are not from the upper and middle layer descendants. The lower layer includes individuals or residents from other villages who are members of certain fellowships (Tang Yap). Regarding marriage, they are only allowed to marry only a layer and are not allowed to mate with those from the upper layers, but may with intermediate layers.

Duties, Functions and Responsibilities

The following is an explanation of the duties, functions and responsibilities of the customary structures found in Nimboran and its surroundings:

a. Trang/Nensking Wou

Has the task:

- 1) As the holder of the mandate to manage Customary Law.
- 2) Managing the Inauguration of

Dugueno/Dugena/Nensking Wou became Iram, supervised and decreased and transferred Dugueno/Dugena/Nensking Wou positions to siblings or eldest children who fulfilled the requirements of the leadership of the Indigenous Government through the mechanism of the Demutru deliberation.

3) Supervise

Dugueno/Dugena/Nensking Wou in carrying out the duties of administering Customary Government.

- 4) Supervise and regulate the management of all natural resources including fruit trees, namely: matoa, mango, coconut, areca palm and others.

Its function:

As advisors and decision makers of Customary Law in various aspects of people's lives.

Responsibilities:

Can cooperate with Dugueno/Dugena/Dikening in maintaining the unity and unity

of indigenous peoples' lives and their welfare.

b. Dugueno/Duguenena/Dikening

Has a task:

- 1) Protecting its citizens against various forms of threats, both from within and as well as encouraging improvement, adding souls to its citizens through the reproductive process of productive age families and the marriage of the younger generation.
- 2) As the authority to administer the village customary government.

Its function:

Directing and encouraging the participation of its citizens in various development activities, both government and within the community itself based on the decision of the Deliberation Council which is in accordance with the potential and capability of natural resources available to improve the welfare of indigenous peoples fairly and responsibly.

Responsibilities:

Maintain the preservation of the environment, culture, customs and enforcement of customary law and other matters related to various aspects of the lives of the community members. Uphold the dignity and dignity of humanity and maintain a sense of social life solidarity among citizens of different regions of origin, religion, race and others as the foundation for the creation of a safe, peaceful and peaceful life.

c. Tgay/Takay

Has a task:

- 1) Helping Dugueno/Duguenena/Dikening in managing various decisions in Musyawarah Demutru both concerning protection and related to community welfare.
- 2) As a spokesperson for Dugueno/Duguenena/dikening both inside the community members of the clan/fam or their clan or in front of other community members/clans/fams

directly or through Bamei and Srom/Hlum.

Its function:

As a Dugueno/Duguenena/Dikeneing assistant in supporting the process of managing and administering customary governance.

Responsibilities:

Always working with Bemey in implementing all decisions of the Deliberation Meeting as well as possible for the realization of people's welfare in various aspects of life.

d. Bemey/Undo Hamong

Has a task:

- 1) Can work with Tgay/Takay in organizing the implementation of customary arrangements.
- 2) Manage and manage various customary resources which include; natural, human, cultural assets and money.
- 3) As a spokesperson in regulating the management of shared resources both inside and outside the community/fam/klen based

on the mandate of the Demutru decision.

Its function:

As a Dugueno/Duguenena/Dikening assistant in supporting the running of the customary government wheels.

Responsibilities:

Regulate the technical implementation of all activities in the community both concerning development activities through government programs and activities in the fields of social, cultural, cultural arts, traditional dance, Iram inauguration events and others.

e. Chrome/Clear

Has a task:

- 1) Helping Tgay/Takay and Bemey/Undo Hamong in implementing all customary decisions relating to the protection and welfare of the entire community/clan.
- 2) Lead meals through prayer or custom.
- 3) Regulate the technical implementation of duties to citizens of the clan / fam or

klen according to their field of expertise and ability.

- 4) Regulate the technical activities of documentation, publication, transportation and preparation of accommodation in traditional events.

Its function:

As a general aide in carrying out various activities in the sarga/fam community or the clen.

Responsibilities:

Maintain the success of the implementation of all activities in the village community, especially the sarga/fam community or the clen.

CONCLUSION

Thus the ethnographic study of law on traditional leadership in the perspective of legal anthropology is to describe one substance of the ethnographic framework, from one of the elements of social organization culture to indigenous leadership for the community or ethnic groups in seven indigenous territories in Tanah Papua, a legal anthropology perspective. Ethnography of the law of traditional leadership living in

culture and the customary law of the people or ethnic groups as the living law is classified into four types of ethnographic typology of traditional leadership law with the principles of cultural and legal values by observing: 1) the Big Man system (Menagawan/Tonowi), Klen System (keondoafian/Ondofolo/Iram), Raja system (Fun/Weight), Mixed system (Sera/Mananwir) which is essentially a customary government or tribal government structure in seven indigenous territories: 1) La Pago , 2) Me Pago, 3) Ha Anim, 4) Tabi/Mamta, and 5) Saireri (in Papua Province), Doberay and Bomberay (in West Papua Province).

So that for an ethnographer who pursues legal anthropology, he is invited to understand who is the subject of his research no longer spatially, but by using an emic and ethical approach holistically and competitively on the ethnographic framework of cultural elements of traditional leadership social organizations as customary government structures attached to traditional leadership style of the people or ethnic groups in the Land of Papua.

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