

The Papuan Culture: An Anthropological Review

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Abstract

This article which focuses on discussions about Papuan people and their culture in general. For that reason, general Papuan culture is discussed based on cultural elements, i.e. social structure, political system, belief system and religion, livelihood system and ecological environment, cultural value and the work ethic of Papuans. The characteristics of Papuan culture are so diverse that the style of each culture is influenced by ecological conditions. Research shows that Papuan culture is highly compound with complex life patterns, every ethnic group who inhabits a certain ecological condition generates a different order, e.g. those who live in mountainous regions, swamp area, littoral, foothills and valleys. In the end, they show a specific cultural style in terms of work ethic, livelihood system, political system and local leadership and highly varied social structures. The occurrence of contact to outsider bring about, outside their local beliefs, the Abrahamic Religion e.g., Christianity, Catholicism and Islam, into Papuan people's life.

Keywords: Identity, Knowledge, Culture, Papua

A. Introduction

Culture is a whole system of thought, ideas, sense, and behaviour and works produced by human beings in social life, which is acquired by learning (Koentjaraningrat, 1996: 72; Haviland, 1988: 332-355). In every universal culture there is a form of culture that is illustrated through a system of thought, ideas, which are very abstract, stored in the minds of every citizens of culture, which is always carried to wherever they go. After being studied deeply throughout his life and through intensive interview, then these thought and ideas are patterned based on certain systems, so that human activities become cultural systems (Koentjaraningrat, 1996: 75). Human behavior, can be seen and observed through several activities, such as dancing, talking, working. Behavior in carrying out thoughts and ideas contained in the human mind is concrete, can be seen and photographed, if it is done at any time, it will be patterned and always followed, and in their activities will become a social system. (Koentjaraningrat, 1996: 75). All thoughts and ideas in human mind, which are carried out through various activities and manifested in the form of works, which can be enjoyed and have a very high aesthetic value, if it is done continuously, it will be patterned in the form of monumental works, so that it becomes a work of physical culture that can be remembered for all time.

Knowing and understanding the origins of the people of Papua, the inhabitants of the easternmost provinces of the State of Indonesia who physically display unique characteristics, are very closely related to prehistoric and archeological knowledge. Through archeological excavations and using cultural heritage objects, reconstruction was carried out to obtain a complete picture of the development and events of human life in Papua from the past to present. (Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 23). Information and knowledge about the existence and development of Papuan people are generally obtained from research and archeological excavations in the field of archeology in various places in Papua.

As a result of the excavations of archaeologists, many cultural objects had been used by Papuans for their survival. Cultural objects found are classified based on typology / style, and can provide an overview of the development of Papuan people from the past to the present. (Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 24, Boelaars, 1992: 13-14).

Papuans also experienced universal evolution, the beginning of human development in the world (evolution) began with the discovery of fossils of Hominida known as Australopithecus (creatures that walk upright on both feet, and have intellectual abilities, and use equipment to survive, skilled humans). Australopithecus fossils were found in several regions (Europe, Africa, Asia). Archaeologists continue to carry out excavations and reconstructions in Africa, Asia, Europe, and in the development of human evolution, Homo Erectus / Homo Habilis fossils (skilled humans) were also found, which in its development has been able to make the tools of his life in accordance with the activities to be carried out based on the environment in which the homo Erectus / Habilis lives and can carry out various activities from one place to another in a long distance (Haviland, 1988: 156-162).

The journey of evolution continues and archaeologists are constantly challenged to reveal knowledge about human development through the discovery of fossils in various regions of the world (Europe, Africa, Asia). Various fossils found show perfection in reconstructing human beings, with the discovery of a combination of homo erectus / habilis fossils with Neanderthal humans which is then reconstructed and produced Homo sapiens creatures (humans), which is developed in several types of humans in the world to date include: Caucasoid human type, Mongoloid human type, Australoid human type, Negroid human type, Particular Human Type. Humans who inhabit the land of Papua also experienced evolution, this picture can be seen from the results of the reconstruction of archaeologists and anthropologists who study the people of the Land of Papua.

The development of modern Papuan was shown by the increasingly advanced of living equipment used, in accordance with the current development, Papuan people can be found in local, regional, national and global cultures, so that they can not only be past communities but also global communities. Every cultural system contains cultural values that are very difficult to change, even if it changes, it will require a long time. This is because every human being has learned cultural values early on, so the cultural values learned become the center and the guide of all other cultural elements. These cultural values will, become the nature, style, identity, way of thinking, and manner of behaviour. Human culture also has universal cultural elements, where in every element there are cultural systems, social systems, material systems and cultural values. Every culture has different elements of progress.

B. Socio-Cultural Diversity of Papuan

1. Social Structure

The social structure here is defined as forms of social relations that organize the social life of a particular social group which is based on kinship. The structure of such relationships is embodied in the system of terms of kinship and the principle of inheritance. The system of kinship terms of an ethnic group needs to be understood, because those terms imply rights and obligations that must be played by each family member to the other family members. These rights and obligations are a binding element that unites citizens into a social unity. These binding elements appear different in different ethnic groups.

Anthropological studies of kinship systems that have been carried out in Papua, for example by Pouver (1966), show that Papuan can be divided into at least four groups. First is the group that adheres to the system of kinship terms according to Iroquois type. Included in this group are the people of Biak, the Iha, the Waropen, the Senggi, the Marind-Anim, the Humboldt Bay (Yos Sudarso), and the Me. The people of the Iroquois system classify relatives of cousins in parallel with the same terms as siblings. This is different from the term used for cross cousins. Another feature to indicate this system is the use of the same term to refer to father as well as to all father's brothers and all mother's brothers.

The second is the kinship term system according to the Hawaiian type, which is a grouping system that uses the same term to refer to siblings and all of the cross and parallel cousins. Ethnic groups belonging to this system are the people of Mairasi, Mimika, Hattam-Manikion, Asmat, Kimam and East Coast of Sarmi.

The third is the Omaha kinship term system. This type of system classifies matrilineal and patrilineal cousins with different terms and the terms for those cousins are influenced by generational levels and are not symmetrical, so the terms for mother's brother's son (MBS) is the same as mother's brother (MB) and the term for father's sister's son (FZS) is the same for sister's son (ZS).

Included in this group are the people of Awyu, Dani, Meybrat, Mek in the Bintang mountains and Muyu. The fourth is a society that adheres to the Iroquois-Hawaiian type kinship term system. This group consists of people from Bintuni, Tor and West Coast Sarmi (Pouwer 1966).

In addition to being classified according to the term system of kinship, Papuan can also be distinguished based on the principle of inheritance, namely the principle of inheritance through the father or patrilineal line. This principle is adopted by people of Meybrat, Me, Dani, Biak, Waropens, Wandamen, Sentani, Marind-Anim and Nimboran. Furthermore, in Papua there are also ethnic groups that do not adhere to the principle of inheritance either through the father's lineage, patrilineal, or through the mother's lineage, matrilineal. Adherents to this bilateral principle exist in the interior communities of Sarmi. Apart from that, there are also societies that embody ambilateral or ambilineal structure, for the people of Mimika, Mapi, and Manikion, in which grouping is sometimes regulated through the maternal lineage (Mappi and Mimika) and sometimes through the father's lineage (Manikion) as his choice (Bruijn 1959; Pouwer 1966).

In addition to the characteristics mentioned above, other characteristics that can be used as a distinguishing element are the principle of division of society into *phratry* or *moiety*. Among Papuans there are community groups that divide their communities into moiety groups, for e.g., Asmat people (Azipmu and aipem), Dani people (waita and waya) and Waropens (buriworai and buriferai). However there are also those who do not, recognize such principles, e.g., Muyu people and Biak people (Heider 1979, 1980; Mansoben 1974; Held 1947; Kamma 1972; Schoorl 1957).

2. Political System

Another very important feature of pluralism is the types of political systems or political leadership systems. To find out the traditional political system known by Papuan, Mansoben (1985) applied the continuum model proposed by Sahlins (1963) and noted that there are four systems or political types in Papua. The four systems are the *big man* or authoritative, royal, *ondoafi* and mixed systems.

Big man's leadership system, the main characteristic is the position of leader is obtained through achievement. The source of power of this type of politics lies in the individual capability which is manifested in tangible forms such as the success of allocating and distributing wealth (material wealth), mastery of diplomacy and speech, courage to lead the war, having a large and robust physical body compared to other members of the community and have a generous nature (Sahlins 1963; Koentjaraningrat 1970. Examples of these supporting communities are the people of Dani, Asrat, Me, Meybrat and Muyu.

The royal leadership system, the main characteristic is the position of leader is obtained through inheritance (ascribed status) which is selected based on seniority both in terms of birth order and clan. Another feature of this system is the exercise of power in traditional societies as referred to by Weber (1972: 126) as a patrimonial or traditional bureaucracy. The role of the leader as a political machine, which is a tool to carry out orders from the authorities. In the bureaucracy there is a clear division of duty and authority between the leader and the assistants who act as employees. As is the case with the leadership position which is inherited, the position of the servants is also passed on to the eldest child or if not then the position can be held by one of the relatives in his own clan who meets the requirements. Community supporters of this system are found in the southwestern part of Papua, including the Raja Ampat Islands, Onin Peninsula, MaeCluer Bay (Berau Bay), and the Kaimana area.

Ondoafi leadership system. The main characteristic of the ondoafi political system is the inheritance of traditional positions and bureaucracy as the royal political system as discussed above. However, the ondoafi system is different from the royal system due to territorial factors and political orientation. The territory or territorial power of a leader in the ondoafi political system includes or is limited to only one *yo* or village and the social unity consists of only one ethnic group or sub-group. On the other hand the territory controlled by a leader in the royal system is not limited to one village but rather covers a wider geographical area and within it there are social unities in the form of ethnic groups that differ from one another. Another difference is in the central royal political system the orientation of power is trade, while in the central ondoafi political system the center of orientation is religions.

The ondoafi political system exists in the northeastern part of Papua with its supporting communities of each Sentani, Genyem (Nimboran), residents of Humboldt Bay (Yos Sudarso), Tabla people, Yaona people, Yakari-Skou people and Arso-Waris.

The fourth system is a mixed leadership system. The hallmark of this system is the position of leader obtained through inheritance and achievement. Or in other words, in this system a person can become a community leader based on ability and achievement by not leaving offspring aspects.

The leaders belonging to the first group (based on achievement) usually appear at certain times, for example, when there is war between villages or regions, or when natural disasters happens such as famine, epidemics, or when cultural decadence occurs. Those belonging to this group are referred to as situational leaders, because they act as leaders in certain situations that require the appearance of a leader with special abilities needed to answer the challenges of the moment.

The position of leader based on inheritance in a mixed system usually occurs when the community does not experience any kind of disturbance, both natural and non-natural disasters, such as war. In a safe situation leaders emerge from the descendants of the village founders. As stated above, this position is inherited in the clan of the village founder. However, its form is different from the system mentioned earlier, because in the mixed system there is nothing known as 'bureaucracy'. Communities with mixed leadership systems are mainly found in the Cenderawasih Bay, which is found in the people of Biak, Wandamen, Waropen, Yavens and Mayans.

3. Belief System and Religion

Before major religions such as Islam and Christianity entered Papua, each ethnic group has a certain belief system that can be called as a traditional belief system to distinguish it from major religions. Each of these ethnic groups has their own traditional belief systems, but in general they believe that there is one god who is more powerful than other gods. God or the highest god is called by different names, for example in the cultural area of Biak-Numfor the highest god is called Manseren Nanggi, Fun Well in the Moi, Fun Naha in the Seget, Naninggi in the Waropen, Syen Allah in the Wandamen, Dema in the Marind-Anim, in the Asmat it is called Mbiwiripitsy and in the Me it is called Ugatame.

Various ethnographic information about the Papuan belief system shows that the supreme god is recognized and respected because he is considered as a creator god who has absolute power over the fate of human life, but there is also a strong impression that the power of that god has been empowered to creatures that are invisible but exist in certain elements of nature such as wind, rain and lightning or dwell in certain objects around the natural place of human habitation, for example in large trees, in rivers, whirlpools, bottom of the sea or a certain cape. Because these spirits have powers that control human life, they must be feared and respected. Thus, Papuan always do various ways to express their fear and respect for the spirits through the giving of offerings or the implementation of certain rites. These kind of actions express human recognition of the presence and the power of spirits. Papuans expect this kind of behavior to cause natural forces to be kind to their lives. Or in other words, the forces of nature are persuaded to protect humans through rites or offerings. Also according to the traditional belief, people believe that the spirit of the dead gets the power of the creator god to rule over living humans. That is why those who are still alive must establish good relations with the dead to be protected from the various kinds of disasters that can be caused by the spirits of the dead. Herein lies the belief or worship of the spirits of the ancestors. The worship of ancestral spirits is expressed in various forms such as the worship of the Korwar statue and the mon ceremony in the Biak-Numfor cultural area, the rite of paying skulls to the Meybrat people or the mbis ceremony on the Asmat people. These traditional belief systems have not been implemented intensively since the people embraced Islam or Christianity, but in dealing with the fundamental problems that afflict human life such as accidents, illness and death, there are still many Papuans trying to find answers through the traditional belief system.

Major religions such as Islam and Christianity entered Papua in different periods of time. The first major religion to enter Irian Jaya was Islam. The religion of Islam that entered Papua, namely in the Raja Ampat Islands and Fak-Fak areas, was originated from the Maluku Islands and was spread through trade relations that occurred between the two most affected regions. According to Leeden (1980: 22), Islam entered the Raja Ampat Islands when the area was influenced by the Sultanate of Tidore, shortly after the religion entered Maluku in the 13th century. Although Islam first entered in the aforementioned areas, it was not widely spread, and was only embraced by certain groups in society. Although the Christian effort in the first fifty years was less successful because those who were baptized were only 260 people (Kamma, 1953).

For example is the ruling class, especially among the family of kings and their aides. Since the entry of Islam until now, in Papua, there has been no attempt to spread the teachings of these religions to the inhabitants of Irian so that its adherents remain confined to certain environment.

In recent years, there have been attempts to spread Islam outside the area. For example, efforts made by the Islamic Education Foundation (YAPIS) to establish public schools and study groups for Dani people in the Walesi area, Lembah Balim since the 1990s. According to the 1990 Population Census, the population in Papua (native and migrants from regions in Indonesia) who converted to Islam are 405,725 people or 20.5% of the total population of Papua.

Another major religion that came from outside of the region was Christianity which entered Papua in the mid-19th century, approximately, around six centuries after Islam was recognized by some Papuans. Although Christianity has existed in Papua for nearly half of a century, its spread and acceptance differed from one ethnic group to another. There are ethnic groups that accept the teachings in the early stages of its spread, for example people in Doreri Bay, Manokwari, those who live along the Wandamen Bay and islands in Cenderawasih Bay (Kamma 1953). Even so there are also people who just got Christian teachings no more than a few dozen years ago. They are mainly people who live in the central mountains, for example the Mek in the Selah Valley who only came to know and accept Christianity in 1980 (Godschalk 1993: 23). The first evangelists to bring in Christianity to Papua were Ottow and Geissler. These two evangelists were sent by Rev. Gossner from Berlin, Germany at the initiative of Rev. Heldning for the gospel message at Nieuw (Kamma 1953: 96).

Evangelist Ottow & Geissler arrived at Mansinam Island, Doreri Bay in Papua on 5 February 1955. Evangelist Ottow worked for about seven years (1855-1862), died and buried in Kwawi, Manokwari. While Geisler worked for more than 14 years (1855 -1870), then returned and died in his native country, Germany. The Christian effort undertaken by Ottow and Geissler, which was initially underdeveloped, was continued by Dutch priests who were sent by the Missionary institution, Utrechtsche Zendings Vereniging (UZV), who arrived at Mansinam in 1862 (Kamma1953:101). but the next fifty years there were big changes. In 1956 Papuans established their own church called the *Gereja Kristen Injil* (GKI) and was led by a Papuan priest named Priest Romainum. At present the *Gereja Kristen Injil* in Papua is the church with the largest number of members compared to other Protestant churches. Its activities cover eight service areas and 24 klasis.

The evangelism in Papua, which was started by the Zending Utrechtsche Zendingsvereniging in the middle of the last century, was later followed by various schools of the Protestant church. Such as the Unevangelized Field Mission (UFM) which began its message in the back of Jayapura in 1951, Bethel Pentecostal Church in Sorong in the mid 1930s, Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) in Enarotali (Paniai Lakes) in 1939, Baptist Church in the Inanwatan and Ayamaru areas in the 1940s, Regions Beyond Missionary Union (RBMU)) in 1952 and the Maluku Protestant Church in Fak-Fak in 1930 (Kamma 1953: 112-130).

At this time, in addition to the aforementioned churches, various other Protestant Churches have emerged, such as The Seven Days Adventist Church, *Gereja Pantekosta Indonesia*, *Jahova*, *Gereja Alkitab Indonesia* and *Gereja Kemah Injili Masehi Indonesia* which also works in Papua. The results of Christianity which began about a half century ago in Papua by various Protestant church sects, according to the 1995 population census, are 1,130 thousand people or 57% of the total population of Papua who are members of these Protestant churches (Population Census 1980, Series I, BPS, Jakarta). Judging from its geographical location, it appears that the evangelism of Protestant Christianity was carried out in northern Papua. In contrast to Protestant Christianity, Roman Catholicism carried out its mission in the southern part of Papua. This activity was marked by the arrival of Father Le Cocq d 'Armandville SJ. in Kapaur near Fak-Fak in 1894. Le Coeq d 'Armandville was the first Jesuit priest sent by the Jesuit Order who had worked for a prior century in other areas of the Indonesian archipelago (hidische Archipel). He did not work for a long time in Papua because one year later he was drowned in Mimika area on an orientation trip. This causes the mission activities to stop for a while (Verschueren 1953: 183).

Although there were a number of visits made by Jesuit missionaries in Merauke between 1892 and 1902, however, the official activities of the Roman Catholic mission in this area began in 1902 when the order of the Sacred Heart Mission (Missionarissen van her Heilige Hart) from Netherlands, whose representatives were located in Langgur, Kei Islands, had the right to carry out mission activities. Even so, the activities were only carried out clearly after two priests together with two brothers arrived in Merauke on August 14, 1905 (Verschueren 1953 183). The mission activities that began in Merauke were relatively faster in developing than the zending activities in northern Papua. In a period of more than 50 years, it has become its own vicariate (1920), then developed into two vicariates, each of them was the Merauke vicariate in 1950 and Hollandia vicariate (Jayapura) in 1954.

Further development was the division of Papua into three administrative dioceses in 1966, each of the Archdiocese of Merauke (covering the Merauke area), Jayapura diocese (covering Jayapura, Wamena, Mimika, and Paniai) and Manokwari diocese (covering Manokwari, Sorong and Fak-Fak). In addition, the Agats Diocese was also formed in 1969. The division of dioceses as mentioned above is based on orders that carry out missionary activities in certain areas. Thus the Merauke Archdiocese is a working area of the Sacred Heart Order (MSC), Jayapura diocese is a working area of the Franciscan Order (OEM Order), the Manokwari diocese is a working area of the Augustine Order (OSA) and the Agats diocese is a working area of the Order of the Franciscans (OEM), the diocese of Manokwari is a working area of the Order of the Augustine (OSA) and the Archdiocese of the Agats is a work area of the Order of the Cross Holy. (Order Sacred Cross = OSC). The results of the Christianity effort carried out by the Roman Catholic mission in Papua for almost a century can be seen in the number of Roman Catholics there. According to the 1995 Population Census the number of Papuans who converted to Roman Catholic Christianity was 430 thousand people or 21.80% and the total population of Papua.

Since the 1960s Hinduism and Buddhism also entered Papua, but the adherents came from ethnic groups outside Papua who came to work as government or private employees. Their number in 1995 was 2,702 people or 0.13%, and Hindus were 3,644 people or 0.18% of all the religions in Papua.

The above description shows us that the religious aspect adds the diversity dimension of Irianese people which consists of various ethnic group. On the one hand of a certain aspects of religion (eg Islam or Protestant Christianity), religion brings together members from various ethnic groups into one religious community, but on the other hand this can actually divide members of one ethnic group into different group of religions.

4. Livelihood System and Ecological Environment

In general, the ecological environment that influences the economic-socio-cultural life of the population, on the island of New Guinea, especially Papua, can be distinguished from the four main group environments (Walker and Mansoben 1990). The four main ecological zones or environments are (1) 'Swampy Areas' ecological zones, Coastal Areas and Estuaries (Coastal & Riverine). (2) 'Coastal Lowland Areas' ecological zones, (3) 'Mountain Foothills' and Small Valleys' ecological zones and (4) High Mountains ecological zones' (Highlands).

Different ecological zones manifest different behavior patterns of living on Papuan. Main livelihood of communities who live in swamp ecological zones, such as the Asmat people, Mimika people and Waropen people, is gathering sago, and fishing is a supplementary livelihood. In contrast, Dani and Me people who live in the Highlands ecological zone has agriculture as their main livelihood besides pigs farming. Furthermore, the people of Muyu, Genyem, Arso who live in the ecological zone of the foothills of the Mountain and small valleys make farming and gathering sago as their main livelihood besides hunting and raising animal. It is different from people who live in coastal ecological zones, river estuary and islands (for example the people of Biak, Wandamen, Moi and Raja Ampat islands), who make fishing, sago and farming as main livelihood in addition to hunting which is their supplementary livelihood.

The ecological environment that influences adaptation patterns reflected in the livelihood system of life (including its technological system), also influences other cultural aspects such as social organizations and ideological systems or belief systems. Within the social organization system, for example, in the Central Mountains (Highlands) ecological zone we found people who live in large houses in broad family relations, with extensive networks and clan systems, compound clans and complex federations. These kind of examples are found in the Dani social system. In contrast, river estuary and Islands and Coastal ecological zone, we find people who live in small nuclear families (an average of 4 to 5 people) who are very individualistic. Examples of this kind of community is a resident of the North Coast (Koentjaraningrat 1970).

In addition to the two different types of society whose kinship systems are due to different natural ecologies, there are also various societies whose social organizations display different characteristics. People in this third type live on the river estuary ecological zone and rural land. They live in relatively large families (on average 10 to 15 individuals). For example, the Kimam people on the island of Kolepom and the Meren-Vlakte people (Lakes area) in northern Papua (Koentjaraningrat 1970). Some other examples show the diversity of Papuan people, as stated by researchers in Papua three decades ago.

For example, an expert anthropologist about Papua, I. van Baal (deceased), said that Papuans who live from gathering sago in swamp and river estuary ecological zone, generally they hold religious ceremonies that are more festive than Papuans who eat tubers, or who live in the Highlands ecological zone (Baal 1954: 445).

The implication is the complexity of the rite and religious system of different Irianese people, influenced by different natural environments.

In addition to the example of nature's influence on the religious system as given by van Baal above, another effect of natural ecology on society is population mobility. Another expert anthropologist about Papua named V. de Bruijn argues that the mobility of the population of the Biak-Numfor Islands who sailed, traded and was known as headhunting on expeditions along the North coast of Papua and far to Eastern Indonesia (Maluku islands and Sulawesi) and finally settling in various places on the North coast of Papua, Bird's Head, Raja Ampat Islands and Halmahera due to the natural environment of the islands which has no potential for the lives of its inhabitants (Bruijn-1959: 9). In this connection, W. H. K. Feuilletau de Bruijn has an opinion that the knowledge of constellation system and big, strong and long-lasting boats technology making only found in Biak people, the same thing does not happen to other Papuans. That is because the ecological environment of the Biak-Numfor archipelago does not allow its inhabitants to live on agricultural produce alone, but they have to carry out business ventures with residents elsewhere through shipping (Feuilletau de Bruijn 1937-39; 1940).

5. Cultural Values of Papuan

Now let us see in general the orientation of Papuan cultural values whether they can be used for development purposes. Certainly, the full and detailed description will not be explained here because it will be very long and indeed the space is very limited. On the other hand, it is also not possible considering the enormous diversity of culture in Papua. Therefore some of the examples presented here are very general, but can provide an overview of the cultural values that are relevant for current development.

Future-oriented cultural values are cultural values that encourage humans to see and plan for their future more carefully and thoroughly. Therefore culture with this value will force people to live cautiously and thrifty. We all know that the widespread nature of saving is necessary to enable a nation to set aside a portion of its income to accumulate capital. If we study ethnographic information about cultures in Papua, we will come to a conclusion that a similar orientation is not found there. Indeed there are some ethnic groups in Papua who are familiar with the principle of capital accumulation, such as the Meybrat, the Me and the Muyu, but the accumulated capital is spent on carrying out traditional ceremonies, such as initiation ceremonies (for Me people), funeral rites (for people of Muyu) and the skull payment ceremony (to the Meybrat). The tendency to always hold ceremonies in an excessive festive way, so that it consumes energy and huge costs to get status among relatives and acquaintances, shows no orientation toward the future. These kind of nature of mental and behavior are not suitable for development. The festive ceremonies which surely cost a lot should be avoided. Thus, it is possible to save for the future.

Furthermore, there is the orientation of cultural values that are eager to explore the environment and natural forces that can be used as an innovation, especially in the field of technology. Development that requires efforts to intensify production certainly cannot be done if it does not have to utilize technology that is increasingly refined. The use of foreign technology cannot just be used, it requires careful adaptation. The effort to adapt technology also requires a mentality that in addition to highly evaluating the desire to explore, and also highly evaluating quality and accuracy.

Various studies on cultures in Papua show that the orientation of cultural values that are eager to explore the natural environment for innovation, is less prominent. This is rooted in the traditional belief that still exists in many cultures in Papua, which says that in the natural world around where human life exists there are many magical powers that must be feared and respected for controlling life. Resulting in a cultural value that is not active toward the natural environment. On the one hand, the view to living in harmony with the natural environment is good because it is in line with the current view of globalization which have a conception on an environmental perspective. But on the other hand, this view kills people's creativity to innovate. Although there is knowledge about certain natural products, for example certain types of plants or plants that can be used for traditional medicine, such knowledge is usually limited or owned by a certain group or family. In addition there is also a desire to utilize natural resources for various economic activities, but these activities are limited to the interests of the nuclear family, or more broadly, only to the level of outside families, but there is no effort towards a higher increase which includes society as a whole. Although, in general, cultures in Papua show what is described above, but there are also some cultures, especially in Cenderawasih Bay which shows the orientation of cultural values which are eager to explore the natural environment.

This orientation can be seen, for example, on shipping activities made to various far places. Such orientation values lead to the development of good boat making technology so that it can be used to sail the seas and the development of high navigation knowledge systems.

High assessing of effort or work that can achieve results is a manifestation of the cultural values orientation that value work. This attitude encourages people to intensify their efforts to provide better results. This matter, on the one hand, brings up confidence to work and on the other hand brings up a sense of responsibility. According to our notes above, this kind of orientation is useful for development, if we use the cultural elements of the traditional Papuan leadership system as "entry points" to understand Papuan cultures, , we will find that the orientation of cultural values which put highly respect to the efforts of people, found in many cultures in Papua. For example, the Meybrat, the Me, the Muyu, the Dani and the Asmat who know traditional leadership, which in anthropological and sociological studies are known as the *big man* system or *authoritative men*. In these cultures we find that the position of leader is based on individual effort. In the culture of the Meybrat, a person who succeeds in his efforts to implement and intensify the eastern cloth exchange system will be highly valued by his people. The real manifestation and appreciation will be in the form of recognition for the people who succeed as community leaders, they will be called as *Bobot*. So, the position of leader in the community is determined based on one's effort and capability, which is called as the achievement effort (achieved status). Likewise, in the culture of the Me, in addition to being good at diplomacy, generous and honest, someone who is successful, especially in the economic field (has many gardens that are: aas, lots of "money" consisting of conch shells or courie sheets, raising many pigs and has many wives), highly valued and recognized as community leaders. In addition to being good at diplomacy, generous and honest, someone who is successful, especially in the economic field (has many large garden, lots of "money" consisting of conch shells or courie sheets, raising a lot of pigs and have many wives), very valued and recognized as a community leader. People with these characteristics are called as *Tonowi* and *Sonowi* which means leader and rich people. The high value orientation of people's efforts is also found in the Muyu people. This can be seen in the award given to someone for occupying the position of leader, kayepak, because of the success of his efforts to hold a pig feast ceremony which is the focus of Muyu culture.

Cultural value orientations that value people's efforts are also found in the cultures of Dani and Asmat people. In these two cultures a person's efforts to present and establish themselves as a war leader are highly valued and highly respected. Because war is a means to facilitate various activities of human life, both economic and ceremonial activities. Appreciation for those who succeeded in making themselves war leaders is community recognition of them not only as war leaders but also community leaders.

Similar cultural value orientations are also found in various ethnic groups in the Cenderawasih Bay region, such as Biak, Waropen, Yapen islanders, and Wandamen people who, according to the type of leadership system in Papua, recognize a leadership system called mixed type (Mansoben, 1974). In addition to the position of leader based on inheritance ascription, the benchmark to place someone as a community leader is the ability to work in real form. For example, their success in the economic field, the courage to lead the war, the greater experience and knowledge they have compared to other citizens.

In these cultures a competitive attitude develops to seize a position or to achieve a certain goal. That causes the orientation of cultural values that respect human effort or work which is very suitable for development. Furthermore, Anthropological studies of cultures in Papua show that there are two kinds of perceptions of the relations among human being, according to the Kluckhohn framework. First, there are cultures that are strongly oriented vertically, especially those that recognize the leadership system in the form of a kingdom. For example, the cultures in the Onin Peninsula and the Kowiai region and the Raja Ampat Islands and in cultures that recognize the clan head or ondoafi leadership system supported by tribes who reside in the northeastern part of Papua. For example the people of Tabla, Skow, Nimboran, Sentani and the residents of Yos Sudarso Bay.

According to tradition, a leader in these cultures is a descendant of myths who act as mediators to maintain the relationship between the real world and the unseen world. That causes the leader to be considered powerful and therefore his authority is magical. This position causes a value that is too vertically oriented towards the leader, superior, senior person, who is always asked for approval before doing anything.

Values that are oriented vertically towards superiors, according to Koentjaraningrat, will kill the soul of those who wants to stand alone and try alone, and will cause an attitude of distrust of oneself. Such values will also hamper the growth of a pure sense of personal discipline, because people will only be obedient when there is supervision from above, but feel no longer bound if the supervision had become loose or left. Finally, values that are too oriented towards the superior will not only turn off their own sense of responsibility, but will also cause a sense of inclination to always throw the responsibility up. If you can't, then you will always share that responsibility with others (Koentjaraningrat 1974: 41-41).

Even though this orientation of cultural values causes undisciplined mentality, not innovative, not confident and irresponsible, less suitable for development, however leaders and seniors in the community will facilitate people's participation in development as long as, in one hand, they are willing and on the other hand there are willingness of program implementers to involve them in playing an active role in development programs.

Secondly, there are cultures in Papua which are strongly horizontally oriented. In such a culture, for example in Biak people, the relationship between citizens in a kinship group is very strong and this causes the interests of kinship groups to take precedence over individual interests. Among members of such kinship groups there is a very high sense of solidarity, which is based on the view 'pars-prototo' which means some mean whole. Such a view rises a sense of security, in individuals, because they will always be helped by the time experiencing difficulties. Otherwise, this view raises the obligation to continually strive to maintain good relations with each other and Jed may share the benefits received. Instead this view raises the obligation to continually try to maintain good relations with each other and share the benefits received wherever possible. The principle of profits sharing with fellow members of this family certainly does not provide an opportunity for people to accumulate capital for the benefit of the future. Thus, a very strong horizontal orientation is not suitable for the development.

6. Work Ethic

The concept of work ethic contains the notion of values that underlie social norms about work. In a general sense the work ethic can be interpreted as a work spirit and beliefs that characterizes a person or group of people. Thus, this concept refers to the basic character of a society embodied in social norms in the form of a high assessment of work. In other words this understanding refers to productive activities that can produce something to enjoy. Such an assessment causes people who do not carry out a productive activity are considered to have low social status.

Since the concept has an understanding related to activities that produce result to be enjoyed (especially in the context of meeting basic human needs), then our understanding of the work ethic of a group can be achieved through an understanding of the productive activities carried out by each group in order to maintain and continue their lives.

In the section above where Papuan cultural diversity was described, it is explained that activities involving the Papuan economic system are largely determined by the environment or ecological practices of the area. For example, residents who live in swampy areas gather sago as their main economic activity. Unlike the people who live in high mountain areas and the plains in the foothills, that make farming as their main economic business.

These different types of economic business greatly affect the form of work ethic of each group. In gatherers community groups such as Asmat, Komoro, Waropens, Bauzi, Inawatan, who live in the swampy plains and depend their lives on gathering sago as their economic efforts, have a different work ethic than Papuans who depend their lives on farming. The work ethic of the gathering group is to work to meet basic needs for just a moment. This work ethic is based on the idea that life's purpose is to be enjoyed. Therefore, there is no need to bother to collect these needs. Such a view is quite reasonable, since each family that functions as a production group in a gathering community does the same thing, there is no work differentiation, so that each family is economically standing alone, and not depend of other families or production groups.

The work of the group of gatherers is emphasized on collecting the product of nature that are available, it has not been at the level of production and maintain the production that has been produced. This work ethic can be changed if work differentiation is created among the group member by exploiting the available potential in the local natural environment. In addition, assistance should be given to enable them to engage in a market economy. For example, empowering them to be able to produce and look for opportunities to facilitate the sale of their product in the market. Empowering residents to utilize the natural potential available for sale on the market means introducing. In addition, education and guidance to the community is needed, especially in using appropriate technology in processing available natural resources.

In contrast to the work ethic found in the community of gatherers, people who depend their life on farming have long-term thinking. For cultivators working not only to meet current needs, but also to meet the needs of life in the future. The activity of clearing a plot of land into fields requires a long process. Starting from cleaning / cutting down trees, planting, caring, mowing until harvesting crops. The whole process takes between six and ten months, sometimes more, depending on the type of cultivated plant. The work phase through a long process, requires perseverance and craft. This shows that the work ethic in cultivating communities in Papua can be categorized as a hard work ethic. However, it must be noted that the measure of hard work is within the limits of meeting the economic needs of the household itself, not for the needs of the market economy.

The prioritization on work for the future as found in this farming community is actually a good principal. The problem now, how to provide stimulation that can spur the level of work ethic to be able to accumulate even more results for market needs. This attitude will in turn produce capital that can be used for further development.

C. Conclusion

An understanding of the socio-cultural situation of Papuan people will become a science and represent an identity, as well as the existence of humans and Papuan culture holistically, which can be used as a reference and foundation in the development of science. This also shows that Papuan culture is very compound with complex life patterns. Each ethnic group that inhabits certain ecological conditions has produced a different order, such as the tribes of Papuans who inhabit mountain areas, marshes, coast, foothills and valleys. In the end it shows the cultural style in terms of the work ethic, the livelihood system, the political system and local leadership and the very varied social structure. Then the contact with outsiders caused the contact of the Papuans with the Abrahamic Religion outside of their local beliefs, such as Christianity, Catholicism and Islam.

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