



Social Resilience of Indigenous Peoples in Facing the Social Change (Case study on the Marori Men Ngge Tribe, Wasur Village, Merauke District, Merauke Regency, South Papua Province)

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Abstract

This research discusses the Social Resilience of Indigenous Peoples in Facing Social Change. This research was conducted on the Marori Men Ngge Tribe. The Marori Men Ngge Tribe, especially those living in Wasur Village, Merauke District, Merauke Regency, have experienced very significant changes, especially since the area where they live was designated as a conservation area in Wasur National Park, resulting in limited space to fulfill their living needs where most of them still apply a hunting and gathering lifestyle. This research uses a qualitative approach with informants consisting of community leaders, indigenous peoples, local governments, and academics who understand the dynamics of the development of indigenous people's lives. The changes that occurred in the Marori Men Ngge tribe were indeed very significant, especially in the limitations of the use of customary land due to changes in status as a conservation area and also changes in the social order of the community. Indigenous people's efforts to face the social changes by implementing coping capacities where they try to face and overcome changes by utilizing the resources they have to return their living conditions to their initial conditions. Then there are adaptive capacities where they learn from past experiences and try to anticipate future risks by adjusting their habits. And finally, transformative capacities where they seek to access assets and assistance from outside to help them face social change.

Keywords: *Indigenous Peoples; Social Resilience; Social Change*

Introduction

The United Nations Declaration on the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples is the moral foundation for every country to provide services and protection to indigenous peoples, this is reflected in the Draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which states that indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities as well as strategies for the development and use of their

lands, territories, and other resources, including rights that require states to obtain their free and informed consent for any project which can be affecting their lands, territories and other resources, in particular concerning the development, utilization or exploitation of minerals, water or other resources. Once the consent of indigenous peoples has been obtained, just compensation shall be provided for any activities undertaken to mitigate any negative impacts on the environmental, economic, social, cultural, or spiritual situation of local communities.

The Convention issued by the International Labor Organization (ILO) Number 169 of 1989 concerning Customary Law Communities in Article 2 paragraph 1 states that the government must be responsible for developing, with the participation of relevant communities, coordinated and systematic actions to protect the rights of these communities and to ensure respect for their integrity. This convention also regulates the Right of Indigenous Peoples to Participate in Their Land which is guaranteed in Article 15 which states that the rights of communities concerning natural resources on their land will receive special protection. These rights include participating in the utilization, management, and conservation of these resources.

The explanation above indicates that indigenous peoples must have the right to decide their priorities regarding the development process. Because it will affect their lives, beliefs, institutions, spiritual conditions, and the land they live on, including exercising control over their own economic, social, and cultural development. This includes respecting and recognizing intellectual property rights and the right to control biodiversity within their territories.

However, problems arise due to social changes that occur in indigenous peoples and disrupt indigenous peoples. Most indigenous people in Papua still rely on natural resources to fulfill their needs by hunting and gathering, then in a very short time, they have to jump to the stage of farming and settling culture. In facing this problem, indigenous peoples must be able to overcome or respond to external pressures and disturbances due to social, political, and environmental changes (Adger, 2000 in Kwok, Doyle, Becker, Johnston and Paton, 2016, p. 198) which is known as Social Resilience.

Social resilience as stated by Voss (2008), Lorenz (2010), Obrist et.al. (2010), Béné et.al. (2012), and Keck (2012) has three types of capacities, namely: coping capacities, adaptive capacities, and transformative capacities (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 10). Coping capacities are measurements of how communities face and overcome direct threats by utilizing the resources they have at that time. The purpose of this coping is an effort to restore their livelihood conditions to their initial conditions after a critical period occurs (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 10). Adaptive capacities refer to actions that people can learn from past experiences, anticipate future risks, and adapt their livelihoods. Adaptation is directed at gradual change and serves to secure the current welfare status of the community in the face of future risks (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 10-11). Apgar, Allen, Moore, and Ataria (2015) said that indigenous peoples will survive if they succeed in adapting and transforming. They found that important factors for adaptation and transformation to run well are cultural practices that support the development of leadership, individuals and building social networks, and even the ability to carry out critical self-reflection in indigenous peoples to deal with changes that occur around them. It is an important component and owned by indigenous peoples to carry out creative innovation for adapting and transforming. Finally, transformative capacities include the ability of communities to access assets and assistance from the wider socio-political arena (i.e. from government organizations and civil society), to participate in the decision-making process, and to establish institutions that improve individual welfare and foster community resilience to future crises (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 11).

The background for conducting this research in Wasur village is because Wasur village is located in the Wasur National Park which is a conservation area, resulting in many regulations which sometimes restrict the movement of indigenous peoples despite they have already lived in the National Park area. In

addition, Wasur village, which is home to the Marori Men Ngge tribe, which is one of the Marind Anim sub-tribes in Merauke, is slowly starting to lose its identity, especially in the use of regional languages, and has even been declared an almost extinct tribe ("Suku marori ", 2020; Syah, 2021). Based on the above phenomena, this research raises how the social resilience of indigenous peoples, especially the Marori Men Ngge tribe, related to the changes in the three capacities above.

Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach, which is conducted in a natural setting where the researcher is the main instrument in collecting data (Creswell, 2012). This qualitative approach was chosen because field activities are central where there is direct personal contact with the people being researched. Understanding of the facts being researched must be comprehensive and complete (holistic) and strive to understand in depth the life experiences of indigenous peoples and subjective meanings originating from research informants. A qualitative approach is used to obtain a comprehensive picture of the conditions of indigenous peoples and their characters so that it can help in understanding the social changes that occur to them and their ability to achieve social resilience.

The informants in this research were selected using purposive sampling techniques. This selection technique of informant is used for special situations, and unique cases and requires special information as well as special informants, especially those who have specific knowledge (Neuman, 2014). The informants in this research consist of community leaders who have an understanding of the dynamics of the development of community life, indigenous peoples who can talk about their daily lives and local governments who are responsible for ensuring the fulfillment of civil rights and basic needs as well as academics who have conducted extensive research on indigenous peoples' issues.

The data collection methods were carried out by conducting in-depth interviews with all informants. To increase the completeness of data, this research conducted observations related to the dynamics of life in indigenous peoples and studied literature related to indigenous peoples and empowerment.

Results

1. Change of Status of Marori Men Ngge Customary Land into Conservation Region

a. Implementation of Zoning System in Conservation Regions

The Wasur National Park Office in managing conservation regions, divides the area into zones, intending to ensure that the core zone which is the focus of nature conservation can be maintained. Some zones can be utilized by people living in the area such as village or residential zones, religious zones, or sacred zones of indigenous people, and utilization zones which can still be used by the people in the area for activities and utilize them for economic purposes even though their utilization is limited. So there are zones that may be used by indigenous peoples to fulfill their living needs.

“Not all areas are utilization zones... currently what is being promoted is starting from Biras here. Well, the Utilization zone is up to them what they want to make, whether they want to make ecotourism or whatever they want or they want to make a Hotel. All of activities can be done there. The religious zones are indeed zones that, according to the indigenous people, are historical routes of their ancestors that include sacred places. The core zone is a zone that should not be disturbed it should not be disturbed by any activity except for research and all sorts of things as well as the forest zone is a buffer for the core zone. Forest zones are still flexible for limited utilization. Then the village zone... that is what becomes a regular settlement, the utilization for

the village is usually from the zero point, it is usually 5 kilometers from the middle point to the area, that is the village zone” (ZA, Government Officer)

Under the regulations issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, in determining this zoning, the interests of indigenous peoples must be taken into consideration, so that the management of the National Park can adjust to the regulations by allowing them to carry out activities in the jungle zone and core zone to fulfill their livelihoods as long as they still use traditional methods, both in hunting animals and utilizing wood from the forest in the area.

b. Mobilization of the Marori Men Ngge Tribe Becomes Limited

The movement of indigenous people has become limited since several villages in the Wasur National Park area were designated as conservation regions, which have existed since the Dutch era until now, including the Marori Men Ngge tribe.

“... people feel pressures because of what... because the government's regulations directly include no logging in the forest... No hunting in the forest... protected animals are not allowed... trees are not allowed to be cut down... That was after WWF came in, the contract was completed and continued with KSDA... with Wasur National Park Office... the community was clearly under pressure... Because we couldn't live freely like before... we weren't free anymore like before... Yes, in the past... especially during the era of my parents” (EB, Clan Leader)

The strict regulations applied in these conservation regions make it difficult for indigenous peoples to fulfill their needs, such as when the management of conservation regions was still handled by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), they implemented very strict regulations but they still tried to give limited space to Marori Men Ngge tribes for their activities.

c. Illegal Hunting Causes Changes in the Natural Balance

In addition to the limited space for indigenous peoples to move due to the determination of areas based on the zoning system, another problem that impacts indigenous peoples in limited space for their daily activities is the destruction of nature. Unfortunately, the destruction of nature that occurred in Wasur National Park was not only due to the fault of the Marori Men Ngge tribe but also the outsiders, both poachers and illegal loggers. It's happened due to less strict supervision. This was expressed by Mr. EB about poachers who are still rampant in Wasur National Park.

” In Merauke, there are still hunters whose activities are every day, day and night. That's their only job... they know their way, I want to say this, thieves are smarter than guards.. Hahaha.. they can sneak in from anywhere.. Especially since Merauke is in the lowlands.. Now like this, maybe we only have one route of access, but during the dry season people can enter from all over” (EB, Clan Leader)

Situations like this cause the carrying capacity of nature as a source of livelihood for the community to decrease. This situation is increasingly felt when they compare the conditions of the past with the current conditions. One of the causes of illegal poaching is the lack of supervision by the National Park, which means that outsiders are increasingly free to enter to carry out animal hunting activities.

This difficult situation finally forced the Marori Men Ngge tribe to steal to provide for their family's living needs. This is done by indigenous peoples because the management of the conservation area has taken no action to help the community fulfill their living.

“Yes, that's the end of it, the most important thing now is how people can live, eat and produce from natural resources.. from their natural resources.. because there are pressures from regulations... because it's limited, we have to steal it.. because we have nothing... Not given the opportunities... it means we go hunting secretly and sell it to the city.. Sell it secretly to the city.. Because this is a matter of daily necessities.... even though we only take as much as we can take” (EB, Clan Leader)

d. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts in Environmental Conservation through the Establishment of Sacred Areas

The Marori Men Ngge tribe pays great attention to their natural environment, especially concerning the sustainability of nature's carrying capacity for their lives and also about the ownership of customary rights which is one of their identities. This makes the Marori Men Ngge tribe make a lot of efforts to preserve their natural environment, one way is to designate some of their customary areas as sacred areas to preserve their environment so that not everyone is allowed to enter these sacred areas.

“Yes, because there is a place that absolutely cannot be entered... No activities are allowed to be held or accessed by anyone inside... In that sacred area... not all places... Not all villages... So certain places are considered sacred... Even for the owner, they can't do activities inside... Cutting down trees or gardening is not permitted at all.. And it is guarded and protected... Because there is a myth.. It has a history.. there is a genealogy because our ancestors came from there... And each clan has that, they have that... Some are taboo, some we are allowed to open...” (EB, Clan Leader)

The determination of this sacred area is based on many factors, including because the sacred area is believed to be the place of origin of their ancestors and also the place where their clan totems first came into existence, as stated by Mr. EB who said, "Yes, the totems were born from there... From there... Breed there... After he had a lot... he had a lot of descendants... he had a lot of members of his clan then he divided them up..." (EB, Clan Leader). Several natural signs can be known by the leaders of each clan.

e. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts in Environmental Conservation through *Sasi* Cultur

Another effort to preserve their natural environment is by implementing the *Sasi* culture. Through this *Sasi* culture, they close down an area, especially an area that has the resources that the community needs to fulfill their living needs, such as water sources, sago hamlets, places where game animals breed, and so on.

“There is *Sasi* for places.. it means should be no activity at all in the selected place... It can be used to remember people who have died... can be used to guard our village... It means to guard... for example, a swamp... allow the fish to breed... No one should disturb it... *Sasi* can be made for this purpose... No activity allowed... Later, at the appointed time to open it... everyone goes there... do a ritual... Burn *Sep*... eee... In mountain peoples, they call it burning stones...” (MN, Clan Leader)

Apart from that, there is *Sasi* which is applied when a family member dies. As a form of mourning, the family performs *Sasi* by fasting and also closing the area that the deceased person usually visited for hunting or gardening when he was still alive.

f. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts to Protect the Environment through Collaboration with Wasur National Park

Wasur National Park has also realized the occurrence of violations of the rules in the National Park and also knows their shortcomings, therefore the National Park in carrying out activities to maintain the sustainability of flora and fauna in the National Park, has begun to involve indigenous peoples. Efforts

to involve indigenous peoples in maintaining environmental sustainability such as forming Forest Police Partners are positive, they routinely patrol the forest to supervise and take action against acts of poaching.

“That's our solution... if we don't take action, it could get worse, so there is a collaboration between the management of the National Park and local communities through the customary police.. Customs have a kind of special guard for traditional figures, they work together to guard this forest, which means that there might be people coming in carrying weapons, looking for birds, and we both carry out surveillance... Because there is cooperation... So people can't just come in here... by the end of the year, we have carried out patrols three times... But after entering the rainy season... Because the vehicles are limited... This means you can go inside with a good vehicle... Then it stopped again... maybe if it's stopped, it's more about guarding at the front...” (MN, Clan Leader)

The community hopes that the National Park management is more sensitive to the conditions of the people living in the conservation area and hopes that National Park Officers will visit and empower them. So far, there are still some National Park officers who lack an understanding of their duties and fail to carry out their duties. And the relationship between officers and the community becomes distant. The Marori Men Ngge tribe hopes that officers will also start to be stricter and more serious in fulfilling their duties as guardians and empowering the community in the Wasur National Park area.

2. Changes in Social Order in the Marori Men Ngge Tribe

a. The Openness of the Marori Men Ngge Tribe

Merauke Regency is part of the Anim Ha customary area, where a large number of indigenous people, namely Marind Anim live. The Marori Men Ngge tribe is one of the sub-tribes of Marind Anim. In ancient times, the Marind people were known as headhunting communities. However, almost all indigenous peoples in Papua are friendly towards everyone, especially immigrants. This is a potential that must be translated into policies and social programs to empower indigenous peoples, especially the Marori Men Ngge tribe.

The Marind Anim tribe, especially the Marori Men Ngge tribe, is famous for its friendliness and openness, so their friendliness ultimately makes the Marori Men Ngge tribe open to outside society and the relationships within the community appear harmonious. And it can even be said that there are almost no conflicts that threaten division. Among the residents of Wasur village familiarity has existed for a long time.

“Because There's no limitation... socialize freely... It has been passed down from generation to generation... There are indeed no boundaries for social interactions... Yes, it has been passed down from generation to generation, since the time of our grandfather ... There's a relationship already... So familiar” (EB, Clan Leader)

Another piece of evidence that shows that the Marori Men Ngge tribe is open to outsiders and accepts them as part of them is the custom that allows outsiders to enter one of the existing clans.

“There are no special requirements, they just have to follow Marori customs and traditions... Men and women... Especially in-laws... Already integrated with us here... He can take part in the existing clan... For example, he is close to the Mahuze clan... He can take part... This means he can wear the clothes of the Mahuze clan... it's means.... It's been a long time since it's been integrated, so if there are traditional celebrations, he can get involved... come along together..... For example, my brother-in-law, depending on which clan he is close to... It means they often hang out here... Then they get close... Then they share.. Then they say that he wants to join the clan.. That's it... You can wear their traditional clothes.. their Ornaments..”(MN, Clan Leader)

The intimacy in Wasur village ultimately creates a sense of tolerance and social concern that is quite good, as long as the person is a resident of Wasur village they are considered a relative. In fact, in the context of developing clan-based ecotourism, they involve brothers and sisters who are not from the Marori Men Ngge tribe.

This intimacy can also be seen in their habit of sharing with fellow communities. For example, Wasur village is a customary land belonging to three clans, namely Basik-Basik, Gebze, and Ndiken, but they want to share land with other clans so they can live together in Wasur village. It has been happening for a long time, even when they lived in Mbud village, which is the customary land of the Samkakai clan, they shared it with all the existing clans. So it is not surprising that some clans are willing to share their land for the common good so that their brothers and sisters can carry out economic activities so that they can meet the needs of their families.

Another example of sharing resources in the Prayer Garden managed by Mama MG, the land is owned by the Kaize clan and initially, it was the Kaize clan who managed it, but because the church asked to make the Prayer Garden a place of worship for Catholics in Wasur village and its surroundings, the Kaize clan handed over its management to the Prayer Garden group.

b. The Marori Men Ngge Tribe and the Influence of Social Change from Outside

In the past, the Marind Anim tribe was a tribe that was feared by the Dutch because they had a headhunting culture and were a conquering tribe.

“...in the quotation marks, I see that Marind people have been marginalized... marginalized in Merauke... although they have big bodies... big and tall... But in quotation marks, they are very weak.. the question is why did they become weak... What's wrong with them... If we look at them, they used to be a very powerful headhunters tribe... During the Dutch era, the Dutch had to build a post in Kuprik... The Dutch had to build a post to guard against headhunting attacks in Papua New Guinea... There is the Fly River, if I'm not mistaken... that shows that up there... they were headhunting the Dutch...” (HL, Academics)

There are many reasons why the Marind Anim tribe is currently experiencing a decline in their ability to control their territory and why their participation in development activities is still low, including the failure to transform traditional spirit values which have failed to be changed to form values or a work ethic that can be carried out in the modern era.

“Why can't they currently transform the values of the traditional spirit into modern ones.. What is happening... Is there something disconnected.. Or is there something missing to connect from something traditional to something modern... For mountain people, they transform.. currently the provincial government in Papua is controlled by them... Enembe, the Governor of Papua, is a mountain person... And I saw that... in Merauke have Gebze... he was once the Regent... oh Gluba Gebze... he could lose to the mountain people... because the mountain people have a Big Man strategy... both are Big Man...both are Big Man War...” (HL, Academics)

One solution that can be done to overcome the problem above is that the Marori Men Ngge tribe must take advantage of openness to outsiders so that they can be exposed to modern culture and work ethics. Based on observations made in the field, it can be seen that those who have a lot of interaction with people from outside the Indigenous peoples, generally have a more open mind and some of them are people who are the agents of change in Wasur village, such as Mr. DK, who initially took his initiative in collecting orchids that grow around the National Park, then cultivating them with the knowledge he has (self-taught) than interacting with an empowerment activist and finally coaching his business and connecting him with other orchid enthusiasts, so that now his orchid cultivation business has grown to

currently. After obtaining a distribution permit, he can sell his orchid plants outside Merauke district. He successfully transformed traditional knowledge into modern knowledge and helped to develop his business because of his interactions with orchid enthusiasts throughout Indonesia.

c. Marriage in the Marori Men Ngge Tribe

If we look at the kinship ties in the Marori Men Ngge tribe from the marriage ties that occur in their society, they still implement traditional marriages. Although they are no longer strictly implemented since state and religious marriages were introduced. Many of them only carry out religious marriages in churches and then register them in the civil registry so that their union is recognized by the state.

Another reason why they have started not practicing traditional marriage is that if they want to have a traditional marriage with someone from the Marori Men Ngge tribe, they must pay attention to their lineage. There is a prohibition against marrying relatives in their traditions, not only because they are from the same clan but also across clans because there is a possibility that even though they are from different clans, they are still the same ancestor. One of the ways is to trace their lineage and also from their respective clan totems. Even if they want to marry within the same lineage, they must wait several generations or they must be prepared to accept the customary consequences of the violations they have committed.

“...That's true Ndiken, Basik-Basik, and Balagaize It's one house, it's one clan, and there can't be any marriage between these 3 clans.. It has to be a certain generation before it is allowed, but 5th to 10th generations they can't get married...”(EB, Clan Figure)

“It goes back to the lineage... So we can't just do that... So you have to look at the lineage first, what is the lineage like... with close relatives it is not possible... Cousins cannot at all... the lineage is seen from the ancestors... For example, me and B, we meet, then she told me about her lineage... Later I will do the same, I will tell her... If there are similarities between the two of us... That means there is a lineage... That means we can't married...”(MN, Clan Figure)

In addition to the above, the reason why traditional marriages are no longer practiced is related to dowries and substitutes. Substitution means that if the dowry is felt to be insufficient, the groom must add or replace it with other additions, such as handing over his descendants to his wife's clan or they can raise pigs and then at a predetermined time the pigs are distributed to the wife's family. If you have done that, the dowry and substitute are valid and the marriage no longer leaves debts.

“There are habits... Marori people's habits... I don't know the extent of Marind... for example, I married A but I don't pay any more money to her parents.. It can be substituted with a child... for example, I married and I have children.. and I have to give my child to my wife's family... for example... in our family.. I'm sorry, I have in-laws, all of whom are foreigners... Well, my brother-in-law's child was given to my family and got my clan's name... the Ndiken clan...” (MN, Clan Figure)

“Or later the parents will say, if you don't give a child, you have to raise boars for your wife's siblings... raise boars to replace the money... Later, the woman's parents... will say you killed the boar... so if you have killed the boar, there will be no more demands...”(AB, Female Figure)

Currently, especially the younger generation in the generation of Mr. AM, MN, and others, they have started to marry people outside the Marori Men Ngge tribe, whether they are marrying fellow Papuans or from outside Papua. The traditional leaders finally allowed it because this was a form of change that they had to face. The Marori Men Ngge tribe has begun to consider inter-ethnic marriages as something normal and permissible according to custom, as stated by Mr DK who said, “...inter-ethnic

marriage is a normal thing, whether with women or men from Wasur. He has to show that they have to follow the rules here... but we, the Marori Men Ngge people, do not direct them....” (DK, Clan Leader)

“Maybe in our generation... Our parents still have traditional marriages...my wife is Marind from Kuper... Kuper is along the Maro River... maybe it's because of the impact of globalization... In the past, perhaps we lived in the same place, so maybe marriages were only within... Nowadays we are free to go anywhere...”(Yos, Youth Figure)

The Marori Men Ngge tribe currently also tends to have small families in the sense that they only have a few children. On average, young families only have 2 or 3 children. Another reason is that the resources are no longer as supportive as they used to be, so they tend to have a small number of children.

“It may also be related to the existing resources, if in the past the resources were still intact so that our ancestors had many children... for example, there were still many hunting results, the resources were still complete, and all economic needs came from natural resources. Compared to now, look at the resources that have decreased so that they affect the current situation” (PK, Youth Figure)

d. Changes in Views on the Importance of Education

In the past, the Marori Men Ngge tribe considered education unimportant. They thought that education was sufficient up to the high school level and hoped that they could quickly get a job. However, the reality is that currently, a high school diploma alone is not enough to get the job they want.

“We used to think that high school was enough... On average... That might be an obstacle too... You should be able to continue to a higher level... College... People still think that high school is enough... After high school, you can work...” (MN, Clan Leader)

However, recently their views on the importance of education have begun to change, some of them are starting to see that education must reach university. Indeed, this process takes a long time, it takes a long process to change their mindset. According to Mr. EB, this change occurred because parents no longer think too much about education costs. After all, currently, there are many education cost assistance programs provided by the government.

Observations made in the field show that those who have higher education and interact with a lot with people from outside the Marori Men Ngge tribe generally have more open minds and some of them are people who become agents of change in Wasur village, such as Mr. AM, since he was a teenager has migrated to Java to attend high school and pursue higher education, as well as Mr. EB who studied in the city of Makassar in the field of agriculture. They both have a forward-thinking mindset and always see everything as an opportunity for the progress of their village. Mr. EB carries out empowerment in the agricultural sector. While Mr. AM carries out community empowerment in terms of utilizing the natural potential of the clans in the Marori Men Ngge tribe in the form of economic activities.

e. Diversity of Livelihoods in the Marori Men Ngge Tribe

The livelihoods of the Marori Men Ngge tribe have now started to diversify, although some still rely on garden produce such as bananas and agriculture alone, they have also started to expand into other economic sectors as stated by Mr MN who said, “.. But for Marori people, becoming a government employee or ASN can be counted on one hand... not much.. only a few... there are teachers..1 or 2 persons in elementary school here.. But they still have Honorary status..”(MN, Clan Leader)

“They have permanent jobs, non-permanent jobs... We have work, but maybe as I said, they don't work on one job.. They do anything that can make money... in our village or outside the village...

some cultivate the rice fields or like me who cultivate the fields near my house... There is one hectare... Planting rice but for the time being, there is no harvest because we are still working on this (Clan-Based Ecotourism).... It depends on the season because rice is rain-fed..”(Yos, Youth Figure)

In addition, there are residents, although not many, who are starting to be active in business groups such as the ant nest tea business and eucalyptus which are empowerment efforts from the Wasur National Park Office, there are also those who help the Bualas orchid group in supplying orchids from the forests around their environment. For those involved in the Bualas orchid group, the income from this group per month is quite good to support their family.

The Marori Men Ngge tribe preserves their nature through Clan-based ecotourism activities because by utilizing their natural environmental assets and turning them into economic activities, it is hoped that they can preserve the environment.

“... so that the economy of the clan groups here can continue to improve, even though it is slow, but step by step we hope that our standard of living can improve... The people here, and members of the groups here, no longer have much to rely on the forest to fulfill their food needs.. We hope to be able to pay the tuition fee for our children with the existing results, from every potential that exists. 12 groups including us can pay the tuition fee for our children from the proceeds of this business..” (PK, Youth Figure)

This clan-based ecotourism activity also helps shift the dependence of the Marori Men Ngge tribe on their natural environment, because it provides a new alternative livelihood and ultimately minimizes natural damage.

... In the last 2 years, people have been thinking about managing tourist attractions, meaning that the tourism potential of each clan in the last 2 years has been..... it means that hunting has started to decrease.... When we hunt, we don't do it carelessly.. For example, when we go to the forest, we bring an air rifle or bow and if we see a bird, we can't just shoot it... Only certain birds can be eaten... we are currently, as I said earlier..in the last 2 years people have started to.. This means that awareness begins to arise within us ... like currently we have a bird-watching group..... So, they are starting to have awareness.. So in the last 2 years, people have rarely looked for birds to hunt (MN, Clan Leader)

f. The Social Changes That Occurred in the Marori Men Ngge Tribe Were Too Fast

The social changes that occur in the Marori Men Ngge tribe are classified as fast so there must be efforts to overcome these changes quickly, so the consequence is that many stages of development must be cut short and they must think far ahead so that they are not left behind.

“I see that we are cutting short a process that should have happened in the next 5 years because of the urgency of people to think visionarily about the challenges ahead. Moreover, with new autonomy and new provinces, there will be a surge in population in the future. The population surge will have implications for social, environmental, economic, and cultural problems.. So, when the pressure arises, people start to think why I didn't do this before... well, I see the positive aspect is that we are cutting down on processes that should have happened in the next 5 years with the urgency of the situation like that..mmm... There will be a social process, vulnerability, business resilience, and all that is part of the current situation. And the current analysis, that how you have to think hard to think of a solution..ee... If we start, for example in the next 3 or 4 years, we will be late.. So now what we need to do is study the dynamics that will occur and we have to find a solution as soon as possible..” (WT, Community Empowerment Activist)

g. Concern for the Traditions of the Marori Men Ngge Tribe which is Starting to Fade

Concern for customs is starting to fade because one of the reasons is that not everyone can talk about customs. There are regulations in the customs of the Marori Men Ngge tribe where you are not allowed to tell about their customs to outsiders, there is even a prohibition on telling about the customs of your clan to other clans even though they are still from the Marori Men Ngge tribe. According to them, there are many secrets to maintaining the sovereignty of their respective clans. This is why they are very careful in telling stories about the dynamics of the Marori Men Ngge tribe to outsiders. Apart from that, there is a hierarchy within each clan and this hierarchy determines who has the authority to tell their customs there must be a mandate to do this from the highest authority holder, be it the clan head or the traditional head.

h. The Culture of Storytelling Is Starting to Be Abandoned

The changing times that occurred around the Marori Men Ngge tribe also influenced several things related to their customs, such as the disappearance of people who spoke the Marori Men Ngge language, then the habit of listening to stories from their parents about the life of the Marori Men Ngge tribe in ancient times. , stories about the customs and values of the Marori Men Ngge tribe as well as traditional rules. This has become a concern, especially among traditional leaders.

“We were still small, so we just listened to stories and sat there with our ancestors, they told stories... Nowadays we never sit with our grandparents... In the past, we could sit with them and listen to their historical stories...”(AB, Female Figure)

“They have limited understanding of their traditional knowledge... that should be the most important capital and the earliest traditional knowledge comes from parents.. Our parents used to have it in the afternoon when we came home from work from the garden or *pangkur* sago.. In the evening after eating.. Our parents called us to sit together.. Our parents told stories... these are the rules.. there's the rule for doing this.. then we have to do it like this... We can't violate it because there will be sanctions.. that's the duty of parents...” (EB, Clan Leader)

This lack of knowledge is not only experienced by young people of Marori Men Ngge tribe but also occurs among older people and this is what drives a traditional leader, Mr. DK, to start teaching all the Marori Men Ngge tribe about all their customs.

“Yes, I have to, the LMA chief gave me a mandate... It's a pity that our children don't know what the culture of the Marori Men Ngge tribe is like.. Because his parents were dead.. like I already told you before... and also many of those older people don't know... the traditional figures... I wonder... Why they don't know...” (DK, Clan Leader)

i. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts in Cultural Preservation

The efforts made to preserve the culture of the Marori Men Ngge tribe, especially the traditional leaders, are by carrying out several methods, including starting to restore the habit of telling stories to their children because the role of parents is very important and determines the preservation of customs and community values.

“From parents to generations.. so like the father before he died already told the story.. Our ancestors.. until it reached father... So it was told... Well, later I will tell to my child.. Or my older sister can also... Tell it to their children.. So my older sister has children later.. although later in the third generation.. Can't marry again with my *Cece*.... So above this means there is one line like that..

For me.. now it's the fifth generation.. Ancestors Continue down to father.. Then to me... For us the 6th.. from ancestors.. Ancestors to tete...tete to father.. Father to me..." (MN, Clan Leader)

Another way to preserve this culture is by encouraging economic activities packaged in a clan-based ecotourism activity.

"... That's why MN and I planted these plants... the flowers that are planted are connected to the clans, they have begun to be slowly arranged and the young generation has begun to participate... It's coming in slowly because MN and I are worried, our language is already difficult, so this is just a tactical step, then other ideas can come in.... Now, if we look at the current situation, on social media, young people who have destinations have started posting... they begin to have a sense of ownership of what happens and that is good.. We document all the local wisdom.. from games.. these are traditional games... everyone is involved....mothers.. young men and women... children learn about traditional games called *klali-klali*... There is a cultural value and also a moral value.." (AM, Youth Figure)

The efforts made by the Marori Men Ngge tribe leaders in maintaining and teaching their customs through traditional games in which they teach the noble values of the Marori Men Ngge tribe's customs, especially the values of cooperation, mutual help, and skills in surviving.

The preservation of this culture is a concern for the existing traditional figures. They want to educate their children about the knowledge of Marori Men Ngge customs so that their culture does not become extinct due to changing times.

"... our children Can't speak the language (Marori Men Ngge language)... I said you wrote it in the book.. Just start sitting like you were at school.. just like that.. read like that... I once told the head of the village... try once... You don't need to give me anything, the important thing is that we started... How is our motif (Marori Men Ngge carving motif)... Don't take this motif.. because if you make a small mistake, you'll end up taking Marind's motif... This Marori Men Ngge has a motif like this..." (DK, Clan Leader)

Some traditional figures, in this case the clan leaders, have started to write down all the documents about the Marori Men Ngge customs into books. The aim is that it can be read by the next generation and they can preserve their culture by implementing it in their everyday lives.

The efforts to overcome the ignorance of the young generation of the Marori Men Ngge tribe by reintroducing their customs and traditional territories in various ways such as watching documentaries they made together, and visiting their traditional territories including introducing the sacred territories owned by each clan.

... We're just starting, so I'm currently organizing it.... however because the number of speakers has run out... I and MN are worried about the children under us... we try to take them to sacred places like MN's son... In my position, I am not the one who owns the customary land here, so it is a bit difficult.. (AM, Youth Figure)

Table 1. Summary of Result

Change of Status of Marori Men Ngge Customary Land into Conservation Region	
a. Implementation of Zoning System in Conservation Regions	The determination of the customary land of the Marori Men Ngge tribe into zones is a consequence of the determination of their territory as a conservation region. The consequence is a reduction in land control of the Marori Men Ngge tribe
b. Mobilization of the Marori Men Ngge Tribe Becomes Limited	The determination of the Marori Men Ngge customary land as a conservation region has limited their space to carry out activities to fulfill their daily needs.
c. Illegal Hunting Causes Changes in the Natural Balance	Illegal hunting activities carried out by outsiders have disrupted the balance of nature because they ignore the applicable rules, especially customary rules. It has resulted in the decreasing capacity of natural resources usually used by the Marori Men Ngge tribe to fulfill their daily needs..
d. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts in Environmental Conservation through the Establishment of Sacred Areas	The Marori Men Ngge tribe's efforts to preserve nature are by protecting and determining several areas as sacred areas so that not everyone can carry out activities in these areas.
e. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts in Environmental Conservation through <i>Sasi</i> Culture	Another nature conservation effort carried out by the Marori Men Ngge tribe is the <i>Sasi</i> culture. They close certain areas and allow animals to breed and plants to grow naturally. Those who enter the <i>Sasi</i> area will be punished.
f. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts to Protect the Environment through Collaboration with Wasur National Park	The Marori Men Ngge tribe also collaborates with the Wasur National Park to protect their customary land from external disturbances, such as forming customary police and carrying out forest patrols.
Changes in Social Order in the Marori Men Ngge Tribe	
a. The Openness of the Marori Men Ngge Tribe	The Marori Men Ngge tribe is open and friendly tribe towards outsiders. It also influenced social changes in the Marori Men Ngge tribe, especially in their customs and way of thinking.
b. The Marori Men Ngge Tribe and the Influence of Social Change from Outside	Social changes from outside influence change in the way of thinking and culture of the Marori Men Ngge tribe.
c. Marriage in the Marori Men Ngge Tribe	Traditional marriages are starting to be abandoned because the customary rules are very strict, it is not easy to carry out marriages among the Marori Men Ngge tribe. This results in inter-ethnic marriages.
d. Changes in Views on the Importance of Education	Education also influences social change in the Men Ngge Marori tribe, because they have seen the importance of education in efforts to improve their lives, especially in getting a job.
e. Diversity of Livelihoods in the Marori Men Ngge Tribe	As a result of limitations in daily activities, the livelihood of the Marori Men Ngge tribe has changed. They are less dependent on hunting and gathering to fulfill their living needs.
f. The Social Changes that occurred in the Marori Men Ngge tribe were too fast	Social changes occurred too quickly in the Marori Men Ngge tribe so they had to cut through stages of societal development and ultimately they experienced culture shock

g. Concern for the Traditions of the Marori Men Ngge Tribe which is Starting to Fade	Social change also has an impact on the fading of cultural practices in the Marori Men Ngge tribe. They made efforts by reactivating the use of the Marori Men Ngge language and re-teaching traditional culture and games that are full of moral values.
h. The Culture of Storytelling is Starting to be Abandoned	One effort to preserve culture is to revive the culture of storytelling. Telling the story of the life of the Marori Men Ngge tribe and also introduces their values and traditional territory to the younger generation.
i. Marori Men Ngge Tribe's Efforts in Cultural Preservation	The Marori Men Ngge tribe's culture preservation received special attention from the traditional leaders. They began teaching and documenting all the customs of the Marori Men Ngge tribe.

Discussion

Wasur National Park is where the Marori Men Ngge tribe lives. Their livelihood system is still mostly hunting and gathering so they still rely heavily on nature. Since the Marori Men Ngge tribe area was designated as a conservation area, their hunting and gathering activities have been disrupted and they have experienced limited space for movement. Some of the efforts made by the Marori Men Ngge tribe in dealing with this change can be seen from their ability to face and overcome direct threats by utilizing the resources they have so that they can return their livelihood conditions to their initial conditions (Coping Capacities). In addition, it can also be seen from the actions used by indigenous peoples from past experiences to anticipate future risks (Adaptive Capacities). It can also be seen from their ability to access assets and assistance from outside (Transformative Capacities)

1. Coping Capacities

The life of the Marori Men Ngge tribe has undergone many changes that have implications for their livelihoods. Initially, they did live a nomadic life, moving around their customary land with a hunting and gathering livelihood system, as expressed by Sanderson (2000) who saw the history of the development of indigenous peoples from hunting and gathering to Pastoralism or nomadic livestock farming. Sanderson (2000) said that the history of the evolutionary development of society is not only seen from the perspective of changes in livelihoods but also seen from the division of labor and the technology and traditional knowledge they use. The Marori Men Ngge tribe also carries out hunting and gathering activities, where they hunt wild animals using spears and arrows as well as fishing poles made from sago leaf stems. They also gather food from wild plants using simple equipment. The division of labor is generally based on age and gender. Hunting is generally carried out by men and gathering is carried out by women, such as *pangkur* sago activities. Apart from that, when men are not hunting, men and women work together to work on the gardens around their village.

Beauclerk, Narby, and Townsend, (1988) and Henningfeld (2009) said that some indigenous peoples can no longer meet their living needs by relying solely on their resources, so they can no longer live like their ancestors. There are many causes for this, including the migration of indigenous people members due to several pull and push factors. Push factors generally occur because of changes in their area and make it difficult or impossible for indigenous peoples to continue living on their land. Pull factors are usually related to new things in new locations such as better jobs, educational potential, or better health care. The Marori Men Ngge tribe benefits from living in a conservation area because they are not allowed to sell their customary land, plus they can still enjoy abundant natural resources so the above situation is not experienced by the Marori Men Ngge tribe. The Marori Men Ngge tribe is very concerned about the sustainability of the environmental capital they have because the community is aware of the ecological function they have as a natural resource that can benefit them. In addition, the Marori

Men Ngge Tribe is aware that natural resources have direct use value, especially as products that can be sold, for example, wood, food crops, orchids, and other benefits such as places for recreation. The Marori Men Ngge Tribe is also aware that the environmental capital they have can be inherited by future generations so it needs to be preserved. There are many efforts made by the Marori Men Ngge tribe to preserve their environment, including by implementing *sasi* culture, participating in protecting the forest through community activities with forest police partners, and so on.

Limitations in land ownership greatly affect the lives of the Marori Men Ngge Tribe because of land ownership and customary territory, according to Green and Haines (2016) ownership of this physical capital will greatly affect efforts to achieve welfare because this physical capital can be used as an investment and can be passed on to descendants. This physical capital can provide economic benefits, such as the Marga-based Ecotourism activities run by the Marori Men Ngge Tribe where they rely heavily on their physical capital to support these activities. The forms of physical capital owned by the Marori Men Ngge tribe include a place to live in Wasur village which is a Settlement Zone or Village Zone. Then the place where they work in gardens and Ecotourism activities are included in the Utilization Zone and Religious Zone (some of the Ecotourism businesses that are run are located in sacred areas). Also, public spaces such as meeting places can be used by the community to establish kinship relationships between them.

The Marori Men Ngge tribe carrying out nature conservation can be seen from their belief system where they pay great attention to and respect their ancestors by guarding and caring for sacred areas. Hasan (2020) said that sacred areas are places that they believe to be the place where their ancestors originally came from, where *Dema* (god) is believed to be the creator of nature and the bearer of traditions for humans. Each clan has a *Dema* who is also its ancestor. *Dema* is manifested as animals and plants in the form of totems. Each clan must protect and preserve its totem as a sacred symbol. Good or bad life, happiness or misery during life and after death are due to the power of *Dema*.

The concept of totem is related to environmental conservation efforts because there are rules in the use of animals and plants that are symbols of the clan totem. Yarman, Sambas, and Rinekso (2013) said that those who come from outside the clan, are required to ask permission first from the owner of the totem and treat the totem according to the rules of the clan that owns the totem. Like the kangaroo which is the totem of the Samkakai Clan, if the Kaize clan hunts kangaroos they must first ask permission from the Samkakai clan. The processing of hunted animals must be adjusted to the rules of the clan that has the totem, if anyone violates the rules, they will be subject to sanctions in the form of a warning followed by a fine with Wati plants (*Piper methisticum*), making beds for *kumbili* gardens (types of tubers) and handing over garden produce in the form of sweet potatoes, bananas and if they still violate, they will be subject to the death penalty. This is what the Marori Men Ngge tribe continues to maintain in maintaining environmental preservation and honoring their ancestors who have been kind to them in providing a peaceful life.

Social change also affects the sustainability of the Marori Men Ngge tribe's culture. This is marked by the abandonment of the Marori language in daily communication, the younger generation is starting to not know their culture. Even though cultural capital is important in achieving prosperity. Therefore, the Marori Men Ngge tribe is trying to preserve their culture by restoring the tradition of storytelling, introducing the Marori Me Ngge language, introducing traditional games and dances to the general public, and so on. The Marori Men Ngge tribe has begun to try to re-implement the traditions of their ancestors such as in the traditional marriage process, traditional games and dances as well as hunting and gathering techniques, and so on. Traditional leaders of the Marori Men Ngge tribe have begun to strive for cultural preservation by initiating community meetings to introduce traditional games to the younger generation and also how they hunt and so on.

Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) see the importance of cultural preservation by relating the role of knowledge which also influences the success of an adaptation. In the past, survival knowledge was passed down from parents to children by observing and imitating (called Indigenous Knowledge Systems by Barnhardt). The way to instill traditions is by teaching children to hunt, children see what their parents do, including the value system and customs passed down from the old to the young with a series of norms or rules.

2. Adaptive Capacities

Various efforts have been made by the Marori Men Ngge tribe to increase their capacity to adapt, such as this Clan-based Ecotourism activity because many activities rely on natural resources. They try to preserve their nature by maintaining it, and planting productive trees and other plants so that animals can reproduce well. In addition, the capacity of the socio-ecological system is useful for absorbing the spectrum of shocks or disturbances and for maintaining and developing fundamental functions, structures, identities, and feedback through recovery or reorganization in new contexts. The Marori Men Ngge tribe has made several efforts in this regard, such as holding an approach with all parties to be able to continue to protect their environment, realizing that this environmental capital is a legacy from their ancestors and must be passed on by them to future generations and reforming ways of preserving the environment by changing This environmental capital becomes an economic activity.

The Marori Men Ngge tribe is very careful in using its natural resources because land ownership is communal and can be in the hands of all clan members. The clan that has the right to resources can own and utilize land, sacred areas, or water sources, so that the results of the utilization of existing resources, especially the results of economic activities, must be felt by all members of the existing clan under their customary law.

The Marori Men Ngge tribe has attempted to adapt to existing changes, especially in managing their environment by identifying the potential they have for the benefit of life in the future. The Marori Men Ngge tribe is also trying to increase their capacity to learn from the crisis, they are active in participating in all training given to them to increase their capacity.

The Marori Men Ngge tribe realizes that individuals can increase their future income by investing in their job skills (through education and job training). Therefore, they are starting to realize the important meaning of education, even now, although not many, parents are encouraging their children to study at university, there are many government programs that they can access to finance education.

Human resource capacity development is closely related to the concept of human capital from Green and Haines (2016) which is an effort to develop human capital through education and training with the hope that they will become investments in the future. Therefore, it is important to encourage the participation of community organizations to offer useful strategies to build these assets by increasing community capacity while meeting the demands of local entrepreneurs. An asset-based approach builds on the experiences and interests of individuals and communities by matching them to the needs and opportunities in the region.

3. Transformative Capacities

The Marori Men Ngge tribe is currently working to maintain and strengthen their identity against the changes that are occurring. They realize that if they don't deal with it in the right way then they will face problems. This is proven by the decreasing number of Marori Men Ngge speakers, even though the language is one of the cultural identities of a community. Green and Haines (2016) argued that society needs to pay attention to social capital because social capital can help strengthen identity. Interaction with

social networks is the main source of social identity and self-concept. Overall, this produces more social solidarity in the group as more individuals develop a shared sense of self.

Woolcock and Sweetser (2002) added that social capital is not a single entity in which society has "more" or "less". On the contrary, it is multidimensional. Therefore, it is important to discuss three types of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking.

Bonding refers to relationships with people of equal standing. For example, classmates, coworkers, and neighbors. Rich and cultivated bonds are essential to living a long, happy, and meaningful life. The Marori Men Ngge tribe strives to continue maintaining their integrity by relying on the leadership philosophy that exists in each clan and re-instilling the basic values of their tribe using outreach to clan members in each clan.

Bridging refers to relationships with people who are not the same in demographic terms. They are people who do not interact regularly but are still important to one's life. The Marori Men Ngge tribe in many important activities, such as in the election and appointment of traditional leaders, in resolving problems that have a wide impact, always involves all the indigenous peoples around them. The Marori Men Ngge tribe has a tradition of working together and supporting each other in all their traditional activities. All of these activities are good social capital because in the future they can be used to carry out economic activities so that welfare can be achieved not only by one indigenous people but can be felt by all indigenous peoples, especially those in the Wasur National Park.

Linking is related to relationships with people in power, both those with political and financial influence. The Marori Men Ngge tribe has cooperation with related parties, both from government organizations and non-governmental organizations. The aim is that they can utilize this network to achieve their prosperity. Collaboration is carried out by the Marori Men Ngge tribe, local governments, and non-governmental organizations that provide training and capacity building following current needs, namely businesses in the tourism sector.

Putnam (1993) stated that the components of social capital also consist of trust, norms, and networks which can improve efficiency in a society through the facilitation of coordinated actions. Putman also added that cooperation is easier to occur in a community that has inherited a certain amount of social capital in the form of rules, reciprocal exchanges, and networks of agreement between residents. Social capital in the form of norms and networks of relationships is a precondition for economic development and an absolute prerequisite for the creation of good and effective governance.

Coleman (1988) stated that social capital is the ability of society to work together, to achieve common goals, in various groups and organizations. This social capital allows for mutual trust, mutual understanding, and mutual bonding in shared values in society.

Table 2. Summary of Discussion

Coping Capacities	The Marori Men Ngge tribe is starting to rediscover their culture which can be utilized in facing social change, reintroducing culture to the younger generation, and raising awareness about the resources they have
Adaptive Capacities	The Marori Men Ngge Tribe's efforts regarding adaptive capacities are by utilizing the natural resources they have to become their economic sources, such as clan-based ecotourism activities, orchid cultivation, and so on.
Transformative Capacities	The Marori Men Ngge tribe utilizes resources from outside by collaborating with other indigenous peoples and also cooperating with local governments and non-governmental organizations. In addition, they also strengthen solidarity within the Marori Men Ngge tribe through bounding

Conclusion

The Marori Men Ngge tribe is a tribe in Papua that has experienced many social changes, both in terms of changes in the status of customary land ownership and also social changes that have influenced the community's life structure. This research discusses what social changes have occurred in the Marori Men Ngge tribe and what their social resilience mechanisms are in facing the social changes that have occurred.

Coping capacities are the ability of the Marori Men Ngge tribe to face and overcome direct threats by utilizing the resources they have and restoring their way of life according to their customs. The purpose of this coping is an effort to restore their living conditions to their initial conditions. They have made various efforts to deal with the social changes. They have faced them by restoring cultural values in the management of customary land, and reintroducing the assets they have that can be used as economic resources because they are faced with a situation where they cannot freely hunt and gather.

Adaptive capacities are the ability of the Marori Men Ngge tribe to face social change by looking at past experiences and then anticipating risks that will occur in the future by making adjustments. The Marori Men Ngge tribe has made many learning efforts from the social changes, such as those related to their efforts to increase their capacity to adapt through Clan-based Ecotourism activities where many activities rely on natural resources. They strive to preserve their nature by maintaining, and planting productive trees and other plants so that animals can reproduce well. In addition, they also strive to adapt to existing changes, especially in managing their environment by identifying the potential they have for the benefit of life in the future. And they realize that individuals can increase their income in the future by investing in their work skills (through education and job training).

Transformative capacities are the ability of the Marori Men Ngge tribe to access assets and utilize them as sources of assistance from outside their environment by building social networks. The Marori Men Ngge tribe has attempted to build social networks with various parties such as local governments, non-governmental organizations, academics, and also tribes outside the Marori Men Ngge tribe in dealing with the social changes that occur. They build social networks with various parties such as local governments, fellow indigenous peoples, and non-governmental organizations to help them develop their capacities. The Marori Men Ngge tribe builds social networks with non-governmental organizations, especially to increase their capacities through community empowerment programs, they also build networks with fellow indigenous peoples in dealing with changes resolving existing social problems, and building bonding within their tribe to increase solidarity and cooperation.

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