The Socio-cultural Portrait and Jampak Local Wisdom of Mpur Tribe's People in Tambrauw Regency: West Papua Province

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Abstract---The subject matter of the research is to describe Jampak local wisdom in the socio-cultural portrait of Mpur Tribe's people in Tambrauw Regency, West Papua Province. The purpose of the research is to describe how Jampak local wisdom is in the socio-cultural portrait of Mpur Tribe's people. The research used a qualitativedescriptive method by a library research approach that is, using books and other literature as the main object and source. Jampak is one of the traditional houses of those Mpur Tribe's people who inhabit Tambrauw Regency, West Papua Province. It can be used as the place at which adat (traditional) parties of Mpur Tribe's people in Tambrauw Regency, West Papua Province, are performed. The research findings revealed that Jampak local wisdom in the sociocultural portrait of Mpur Tribe's people in Tambrauw Regency, West Papua, was not optimal yet, due to three factors, namely globalization, education, and outsider migration.

Keywords---Jampak local wisdom, Mpur Tribe's people's social-cultural portrait, Tambrauw Regency

I. Introduction

West Papua, inhabited by different tribes, upholds diverse local wisdoms, traditional wisdoms, and cultures, containing ethic and moral values, as well as the norms primarily prioritizing the preservation of environmental functions. The values have been implanted in local community life, coming to be a guide of behaving and interacting with natural environment, serving as a strong basis of environment management, and making the interactions between human beings and nature more harmonious as shown in humans' notions during the first phase of the evolution of humans-nature relationships.

Local wisdom is an interesting, important subject to study, given the benefits to be gained if we successfully unearth the local wisdom potentials a community upholds. Local wisdom is one of the local potentials and it should be maintained and managed wisely. Studying local wisdoms is an endeavor to preserve cultural values that have been manifested into habits or customs in a certain community or locality. The cultural values are preserved in order for the living local wisdom does not fade away, and thus can be lived out by and beneficial for the next generations.

Fast developing technology has brought about an increasingly swift flow of globalization. However, globalization presents not only opportunities of humans' growing creativities, but also results in some negative impacts on Mpur Tribe's people in Tambrauw Regency, one of which being the erosion of local wisdom values in the community in regard to the preservation of traditional houses (jampaks), currently marginalized and even abandoned.

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As a great nation, it should have always been self-confident and observes consistently the glorious values and local wisdoms living in the community, because the nation needs not only intelligent people but also moral and civilized people through practicing local wisdom values. The many people values and cultures undergoing some change by imitating or practicing modernization in every area of life led to the erosion of local wisdoms that grew and developed earlier among the people. For example, a change in one of the characteristics of villagers, that is, from practicing *gotong royong* (mutual assistance) to be individual.

Study of Literature

Local wisdom is a socio-cultural order in forms of knowledge, norms, rules, and skills of the people in a locality upheld for meeting their common (life) necessities passed down from generation to generation. Local wisdom is a social capital a community develops so as to create orderliness and balance between the community's socio-cultural life and the preservation of its surrounding natural resources. According to Sartini (1004:111), local wisdom is local notions which are wise, prudent, and valuable in character, implanted in and practiced by the community's members.

According to Zulkarnain and Febriamsyah (2008:72), local wisdom is certain principles and methods that a local community upholds, understands, and applies in interacting and interrelating with its environment and are transformed in forms of value systems and traditional (*adat*) norms. According to a definition by Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Social Affairs, local wisdom is an outlook, knowledge, and different strategies of life in form of activities a local community performs in resolving different problems in a bid to meet their necessities (Kemensos, 2006

The Effect of Globalization on the Local Wisdom of Mpur Tribe's People in a Socio-Cultural Portrait. Term "globalization" is derived from "global", meaning "universal". There is no its established definition yet but a working definition, hence depending on the side from which one views it. Some view it as a social process, or historical process, or natural process that subordinates all nations and countries to the one world and make them look more similar with one another, and realizes a new life order of a co-existence unity by removing geographic, economic, and cultural borders of communities.

The globalization effect may change the culture of Mpur Tribe's people from a genuine or traditional local wisdom values to a modernized culture, that is, an external culture that has entered and influenced Mpur Tribe's youth generation.

The effect of Educational Patterns of System on Local Wisdom. Before 1980s, Mpur Tribe's people still upheld their traditional patterns in preserving their local wisdom culture. However, the ongoing reformation era has generated a great impact on the community's life patterns, mainly in preserving local culture.

Globalization of Culture. Globalization affects practically all aspects of a community, including cultural aspect. Culture is in this context defined as the values a community upholds or the perceptions a community's members adopt about different things.

Term 'culture' (Indonesian language: *budaya*, derived from Sanskrit *buddayah*) is derived from Latin *coolere*, meaning to manage or to work, or may also mean to cultivate a land or farming. Term *culture* is occasionally translated (adapted) to Indonesian language as "*kultur*" (Koentjaraningrat, 1993:9). Tylor defines *culture* as a complex entirety,

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including within it knowledge, faith, art, moral, law, *adat* (custom), and the whole other capabilities and habits that a

human obtains as a member of a community (William Haviland, 1985: 322).

Theoretical Basis

According to a theory of change from Barker (2010:160), change of culture shows the existence a transitional

period of economic, social, and cultural patterns which are ever changing and it shapes the contour of the future,

indicating a dizzy "emotional structure" of a series of cultural practices (Barker, 2010:160). Barker points out that the

examples of appearances and pop culture status accelerated by electronic media affirm the removal of segregations,

adding to dizziness.

In other similar discussion, Baker formulates the change by explaining that the cores of postmodern

"emotional structure" are the following: (1) A meaning of fragmentary, ambiguous, uncertain life nature; (2) Awareness

of the centrality of uncertainty; (3) Recognition of the existence of cultural differences; and (4) Acceleration in life

journey (Barker, 2010:160).

To deal with the swift current of globalization that blurs the limits of cultures and as a challenge of cultural

changes, cooperation based on diversity of Indonesia should be endeavored. At local level, the diversity is translated

into the role of local culture as a principal factor or model of local community's life. At that level, there constantly

occurs a two-ways cultural phenomena, that is, a global cultural phenomenon (from global to local) and local cultural

phenomenon (from local to global) Mulyana (2005). What role the local wisdoms do play in dealing with the traditional

value systems (the local value systems that the modern (global) value systems begin to replace?

II. Research Method

The research method used in the present research was a qualitative-descriptive method with an approach of

library research, that is, by using books and other literatures as the object or major source (Hadi, 1995:5). The research

type used was qualitative, that is, a research producing information in forms of records and descriptive data contained in

the researched texts (Mantra, 2008:30). The data analysis technique used a data analysis, i.e., content analysis. It is a

scientific analysis on the message content of a data (Muhadjir, 2008:123). Data analysis is a series of simple efforts on

how the research data is in turn developed and processed into a simple framework (Zet, 2004:70). The data collected are

then analyzed so as to get information, but they are selected earlier on a basis of their reliability (Mantra, 2008:123).

III. Result and Discussion

3.1 Geographic Condition

Tambrauw Regency is one of the autonomous regions in West Papua Province established pursuant to Law No.

56 of 2008 concerning Establishment of Tambrauw Regency in West Papua Province, separated from Sorong Regency.

The establishment of Tambrauw Regency as an autonomous region was intended to shorten the span of control of

governance in a bid to provide better public services to people. Tambrauw Regency is located east of West Papua

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Province. Its capital is located in Fef District. Geographically, Tambrauw Regency is located between 1°08'00" - 8°08'00" SL and 131°56'00" - 131°05'00" EL.

Tambrauw Regency consists of 29 districts, namely: Fef, Sausapor, Yembun, Syujak, Kwoor, Miyah, Abun, Moraid, Kebar, Amberbaken, Senopi, Mubrani, Bikar, Bamusbama, Ases, Miyah Selatan, Ireres, Tobouw, Wilhem Roumbouts, Kwesefo, Tinggouw, Mawabuan, Kebar Timur, Kebar Selatan, Manekar, Mpur, Ambarbaken Barat, Kasi, and Selemkai, 216 Village Administrations.

Tambrauw Regency is 11,529.180 km²in wide. The district with the widest area in Tambrauw Regency is Senopi, 1,230.763 km² (10.68 per cent). The smallest district is Kasi District, 70,828 km² (0.61 per cent). The borders of Tambrauw Regency's territory are as follows:

a. To the north, borders on Pacific Ocean.

b.To the south, borders on South Sorong Regency

c. To the west, borders on Sorong Regency

d. To the east, borders on Manokwari Regency

Topographic Condition

Topographically and morphologically, Tambrauw Regency area is at 0-2,500 m above sea level (asl), at an elevation of $0-60^{\circ}$. Lowland and marshy lands in the regency are at 0-100 asl.

Demographic Condition

The total population of Tambrauw Regency in 2014 was 13.497 people. The average population growth rate in the regency for 2012-2014 was 0.84% per year, the highest being in 2013, 1.34%, and the lowest in 2012, 0.27%. The research result revealed that the life of Mpur Tribe's people regarding local wisdom in the socio-cultural context of the community has been shifting from traditional culture to modernized one. That could be seen from *jampak*, a traditional house that Mpur Tribe commonly used for *adat* party activities, but now has been rarely used. The influence of globalization is so great that it changes the community's way of life in certain locality, from traditional way of life to cultural modernization era. The Papua's people (society) who are inhabiting Tambrauw Regency, West Papua Province, consist of six tribes, namely: Mpur, Miyah, Ireres, Abun, Bikar/Biak Karon, and Moi.

3.2 General Opinion on Society

Before describing further on term 'society', let us check the meaning of society (Indonesian language: *masyarakat*) in Grand Dictionary of Indonesian Language (KBBI), i.e., A Number of Humans in their broadest meaning, bound by a culture they deem as common culture (KBBI 2011:885). The Papua's people (society) who are inhabiting Tambrauw Regency consist of six tribes, namely: Mpur, Miyah, Ireres, Abun, Bikar/Biak Karon, and Moi. Biak tribe calls themselves Bikar tribe. Etymologically, *bi* stands for Biak and *kar* stands for Karon (now Miyah). In Miyah people's perspective,the name Karon had not been proper and then revised to be Miyah.

Furthermore, according to a historical narrative, before the division of some Villages in Kebar District there had been only a few Villages, namely: Anjai as the capital of Kebar District, Akmuri, Atai, Ibuanari, Jandurau, Akrim, Inam and Pubuan. After the division of Tambrauw Regency on 9 June 2015, some Villages in Kebar District were divided, among themAnjaiVillage as a parent village was divided into some villages, namely Jafai, Jambuani, Matatun, Manaria, Apoki, and Tandaig, and Akmuri Village was renamed to be Anarum Village. Etymologically, *ana* stands for

Anari, and *rum* stands for Rumadas. In the linguistic perspective, the people inhabiting Kebar Valley speak Mpur, Irires, Miyah, and Meyah languages as local languages.

Miyah tribe who speak Miyah language inhabit some villages in Senopi District, namely Senopi, Sumo, Ifat Mitu, Povekek Ania, Sururem, and Namayah villages. The villages in Senopi District where the people speak Mpur language are Arapi and Thomas. Mawabuan District consists of several villages, namely Asiti, Bisaud, Wausin, Afarawi and Ajokwapi. Mpur language is used in Mawabuan district.

Irires district consists of several villages, namely Meinad, Meis, Aifamas Wafmana, Miri, and Ifiam. They used three local languages: Irires, Miyah, and Mpur. Mpur language is predominantly used in Kebar Valley, from East Kebarto West Kebar (Senopi), toSouth Kebar, followed respectively by Miyah, Irires and Meyah languages.

The speakers of Mpur language inhabit Anjai, Jambuani, Manama, Jafai, and Anarum, while Apoki village is inhabited by the speakers of Irires and Mpur languages. The most essential is that both language and clan (marga) are made as a single frame (Syufi, 2014:1). The clans that inhabit Anjai village are Anjai, Ajoi, Ariks, Newori, Jambuani, Wabia, Anari, Asentowi, and Majiwi. In addition, Mpur Tribe has seven sub-clans, namely: (1) Ajiu, (2) Mawabit, (3) Duru, (4) Maniun, (5) Manabuat, (6) Mawabuan, and (7) Masam (Syufi, 2014:1) The seven sub-clans are collectively called Mpur Tribe.

Each tribe has its own distinct concept on the locality of habitation, as ones owned by Mpur, Irires, Miyah, and Meyah peoples. The owner of *ulayat* (community land) title in Kebar Valley is Mpur Tribe. The Mpur Tribe's sub-clans who own lands in Kali Api are Maniun and Mawabuan. Lands in Anjai are owned by Dru sub-clan. Maniun is owned by Neori, Majiwi, Ambuak, Rumbesu, Bame, Pame, Bijanawi, and Waniopi clans. Mawabuan is owned by Asentowi, Asiti, Ajembuani and Ajokwapi clans (Syufi, 2016:29). Ajiu clan consists of Anari, Awori, Atai, Akmuri, Aremi, Aropi, Awabiti, Ayeri, Abiri, Amawi, Akari, Narai, Songgreri, Abram, Aritowi, Wasabiti and Arwam sub-clans. Mawabit clan consists of Api, Jambuani, and Asimi sub-clans. Dru clan consists of Ariks, Kebar, Anjai, and Ajoi. As for Masam sub-clan, etymologically *ma* stands for *manusia* (human) and *sam*, meaning jungle. In the ecological perspective, *masam* means humans who are inhabiting a jungle area. Masam clan consists of Manim, Makambak, Kasi, Asara, and Manimbu sub-clans. Manabuat clan consists of Inam and Auri sub-clans (Syufi, 2015:30).

Etymologically, *maniun* is derived from *ma*, meaning human, and *nuin*, meaning croupier or owner of timber enterprise. Thus, *maniun* means the inhabitants of an area lots of cropiers are dwelling in. 'Mawabuan' is derived from *ma*, meaning human, and *wabuan*, meaning spring. In an ecological context, *mawabuan* means humans who are dwelling in a location with some springs. *Dru* means an open area. In an ecological context, it means an open field or prairie (Syufi, 2015:30). *Manabut* is derived from *ma*, meaning human, and *nabuat* meaning bamboo mouth. It connotes drinking directly from a bamboo mouth, in this case drinking *tuak* (fermented palm wine). Irires, Miyah, and Meyah tribes recognize no sub-clans system, instead just one collectivity. Miyah tribe has several clans, namely Sedik, Hae, Titit, Irun, Bofra, Baru, Momo, and Esyah. Irires tribe consists of Syufi, Airai, Apoki, Aneti, Umagi, Fatem Sah, Aibesa, Sasior, Aifamas, and Mafiti clans. Meyah tribe in habiting Pubuan village consists of Kasi and Ajami clans.

3.3 Mpur Humans

In linguistic terms, human (in bahasa Indonesia *manusia*, derived from Sanskrit; in Latin, *mens*) means thinking or rational being (capable of controlling other things). Human is meant as a concept or a fact, an idea or reality, a group or genus or individual. It is also meant differently, depending on biological, spiritual, and cultural viewpoints,

or in combination. Biologically, humans are classified as homo sapiens (Latin for human) (www. definisipengertian.com). In the anthropocentric perspective, humans are the center of everything. They differ from other animal species, and are more exclusive. In the cultural perspective, identity is something inherent in one's life, wherever and whenever (Susanto, 2003:72). According to KBBI (2005: 741), human is defined as rational being (capable of controlling other things).

3.4 Ecology of Mpur Humans

Topographically, Mpur Tribe's people inhabit 3 regions, namely: (1) Mpur Wot people, dwelling in coastal area, such as Amberbaken and Muberani peoples; (2) Mpur people, dwelling in Nieg Jirow Kebar valley and flatland; and (3) Mpur Suor people, dwelling in hilly areas. The *wot* areas include Amberbaken, West Amberbaken, Mpur, Mubrani and Kasi districts. The *jirow* areas. Ecologically, Mpur people is classified into just two areas: Mpur Wot and Mpur Suor. Mpur Wot refers to those Mpur people who dwell in coastal areas, and Mpur Suor refers to those who dwell in hinterland areas (Syufi, 2015: 5-6).

Back to Mpur people dwelling in Kebar Valley, they identify themselves based on the location of their own habitation as both representation and identity of their territorial existence. The clan of a community is an embodiment of the ownership of *ulayat* title that the holding community owns. Mpur community elements are the clans each individual belong to.

Grounded in empirical and rational viewpoints on the meaning of a name in portrait of Mpur human life, word 'Mpur' refers to both human beings and animals. When referring to human beings, it means as good, and, when referring to animals, it means as tame or domesticated. Borrowing United Nations (UNO)'s slogan: "No one left behind", no Mpur community shall be left behind and they should exist forever in historical, socio-cultural, and political terms. That is bonded in Mpur humans who classify themselves on a basis of localities they are inhibiting. Mpur people consists of several clans (marga), namely: (1) Ajiu; (2) Mawabit; (3) Dru; (4) Maniun; (5) Manabuat; (6) Masam; (7) Mawabuan (Syufi, 2015: 8). Furthermore, clan Ajiu consists of several sub-clans, among them: Anari, Awori, Atai, Akmuri, Aremi, Aropi, Awabiti, Ayeri, Abiri, Amawi, Akari, Narai, Songreri, Abram, Aritowi and Arwam. Sub-clan Mawabit consists of Jambuani, Api and Asimi. Sub-clan Druconsists of Ariks, Kebar, Anjai, and Ajoi. Sub-clan Manium consists of Newori, Majiwi, Bame, Pame, Ambuak, Rumbesu, Bijanawi and Wanyopi. Sub-clan Manabuat consists of Wasabiti, Inam, Auri, Amawi and Duri. Sub-clan Masam consists of Manim and Manimbu, and sub-clan Mawabuan consists of Ajembuani, Asentowi, Asiar, Ajokwapi, Amuapon, and Anni. Ajiu means humans who dwell in a flatland. Etymologically, ma means human and, wabit literally means stone and ecologically means humans who dwell in a stony area. Drumeans humans who dwell an open area where winds are continually buzzing. Maniun is derived from ma, meaning human, and nuin, meaning croupier or owner of timber enterprise. Thus, manium means the inhabitants of an area lots of croupiers are dwelling in. Manabuat is derived from ma, meaning human, and buat, meaning mouth. Ecologically, it means drinking directly from a bamboo mouth. Masam is derived from ma, meaning human, and sam, meaning forest. Ecologically, it means humans who dwell in wildwood or pristine forest. 'Mawabuan' is derived from ma, meaning human, and buan, meaning spring. In an ecological context, mawabuan means humans who dwell in a location with some springs.

In a portrait of the life of those Mpur people who dwell in Kebar Valley, Amberbaken and Mubrani collectively have a single language as an identifier, that is, Mpur language. However, those speakers of Mpur language who dwell in Kebar and Mubrani speak different dialects. Amberbaken is inhabited by the speakers of Mpur language

only. Human language or symbol systems, verbalor nonverbal, is used for communicating with one another. An ethnographic narrative gives a description on the most important characteristics of a language spoken by a tribe, together with the variants of the language (Koentjaranigrat, 2009:261). *Adat* (customary) norms in the past were stricter. For example, a man and a woman who have sexual intercourse should not meet or say hello, particularly if the woman is a merited one, the consequence of which would be costly and even the life of the man may be at stake. If such sexual intercourse is denied, it will be evidenced by a method of putting-gingger (*tram itiem*) ritual. If the woman and or the man admit that they have had sexual intercouse then just tell it to a close family so as to evade the adat sanction (*tram itiem*).

In the past, the life value of Mpur people was still not contaminated by external influences. Instead, the situation was then really pure and controlled by community'social life, because there were still few local capitalists (moneys) in rural areas. Nowadays, however, local capitalists begin entering into the life aspects of community, in addition to digital devices (cellular phone/HP, *Facebook, tweeter, What App,* and *You Tube*) causing degradation in moral, ethics, life values, infected by 'virus'. Moreover, the self-identity of Mpur people has been almost totally damaged. In the past, character education of Mpur people was still untainted. When there was a wallet or other valuable item lost anywhere, no need for the owner to worry, because anyone who had found it would certainly give it to the local church and then the latter would announce it on the next Sunday. And give it to the real owner. On the contrary, at the present time, if one loses something, it will be lost forever.

Moreover, education in the past was easily controlled by families, because there was no transportation facility then, making people, including girls, to stay at home. In contrast, now there has been transportation facility which is relatively easy to access and make it easy for girls to go out, meeting their friends or boyfriend. Lots of people go in to and out of Kebar, providing service in transportation segment. However, there are also masked persons and wolf in sheep's clothing, whose coming is as if for a good reason but in fact there is evil behind it. Formal and nonformal educations are the shared responsibility of both parents and educators. Good education will generate good character in terms of moral, ethic, and spiritual so that people may see good values amid communal life. Moreover, good character may inspire other communities for them to show some respect to others as human beings with prudent moral. Without you respect others, they would not respect you either. A social phenomenon is that there often occur negative things in community life, like free social intercourse among the youths, girls and public transportation drivers in Kebar Valley. In 1990an, there was no sufficient transportation access, so that the mobilization of people between Kebar and Manokwari was still very limited. Thus, in the 1990s decade, the Kebar people who wanted to go to Manokwari, the capital city of the Regency, must take air transportation or simply on foot, taking one to two days.

Due to the division of Tambrauw Regency and driven by the transportation in West Papua between Sorong and Manokwari, Kebar Valley began to be visited by a large number of domestic and international visitors. Accordingly, the local community was asked to pay attention to formal education in order to upgrade Kebar's human resources for them to be sensitive in seeing the dynamics which are taking place and will take place amid the community. In socio-cultural terms, clan is one of the elements that protect the *ulayat* title of each clan or marga so that they become more existent in maintaining their own *adat* land territory.

3.5 Organizational Culture and Collective Life

Kebar Family Association (*Ikatan Keluarga Kebar*-IKK) has long been existing maids the community and implemented since a long time ago in the community's collective life through one language spoken by the whole Mpur

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government.

people, both those who inhibit Tambrauw Regency and those who inhabit Manokwari. All Mpur people are always hand to hand in building a strong togetherness foundation so that social, economic, and political elements may go on normally without doing harm to one another or even destroy one another among those Mpur people with good intellectual capacity. However, it is not backed up by strong regulation and there is only weak protection and so anyone may easily go in to or out of Mpur territory. Nowadays, humans are by an analogy like fauna that go and out without passport and visa. IKK organization must be well managed so that it serves as a medium of controlling regional

One widely quoted motto reads:

I hear I forget

I see I remember

I do I understand.

In the present context, if we only hear the instructions or advises of the elders to the youth generation then we will soon forget them; if we see, we will always remember what our values, faiths, and identity are as Mpur people. The representation of our identity as Mpur people is language. Finally, if we do them, then we certainly understand them.

3.6 Land

Land is the center of human life. Therefore, people should think wisely before executing or transferring their land for money. Mpur people can survive without money, but without land they will fall into a more miserable condition. Human beings need courage to protect their natural resources such as tropical forest, land, water, and all other elements of creations, as a local response and global concern (Erari, 1999:13).

Land is of a very deep meaning viewed from socio-cultural, economic, and political aspects. Therefore, it has to be managed professionally so as to benefit human life. Human beings can not survive without land. On the other side, land is valuable only because it is needed by human beings. Thus, human beings should keep and maintain land in responsible manners.

Land is a component inseparable from human life. It is a source of life for humans. However, in fact, humans' attitudes to land show that land is not valued, respected, and protected (Erari, 1999:25). Kebar community has to be respectful to land, and should not value land simply from its monetary worth. Land is of multiple dimensions. Therefore, people should not execute or transfer it without paying attention to the next generations.

Moreover, people have to hold a biocentric perspective, rather than anthropocentric one, so that the next generations will not just see historical documents, but rather undergo social facts, empirically and rationally. In Papua, land ownership is based on a communal system, not individual one where one can execute his or her land with no need to make a compromy with other family members. Land is closely integrated to human life, therefore it ought to be kept and maintained in the future. It is also a source of conflict among people, and thus it should be managed wisely so as to benefit both the land owners and users.

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IV. Conclusion

Globalization results in not only positive but also negative influences on the culture of Indonesia in general and that of Papua in particular. The norms upheld in Indonesian nation's culture have gradually been fading away. Therefore, Mpur Tribe'e people have to maintain the socio-culture aspect of their locality as one of the nation identity. Each human entity has its own language as a representation in reconstructing the phenomena that take place around human life, be it from the perspective of Mpur people life on norms, rules, values, faiths, and self-recognition and from Mpur people's education aspect in families and environment, as well as organizational culture and collective life. Before the presence of local capitalists (village moneys) and digital era, all aspects of life were going on in conformity with the norms prevailing in Mpur people.

The regulation and protection of Mpur people life are of high importance in avoiding anything negative that may take place now and in the future. Moreover, don't leave language and culture alone. Language is a representation of an identity. Likewise, family name or clan is a clue of a tribe identity. A community has its own territory as a frame of establishing spatial borders of its *ulayat* title passed down from generation to generation by their ancentors. The borders of an ulayat title are commonly demarcated by any natural markers, like river, bay, big stone, and big tree. Thus, no one of the members of a clan is allowed to misappropriate other clan's possession. The former may take the latter's possession but upon approval from the latter as the holder of ulayat title, hence no conflict will occur among the community.

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