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INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP BY PAPUAN WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN MANOKWARI-WEST PAPUA PROVINCE IN INDONESIA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Lincoln University by Ludia Theresia Wambrauw

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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by
Ludia Theresia Wambrauw

ABSTRACT

The majority of Papuan women in Manokwari, West Papua, Indonesia, engage in marketing activity in the agricultural informal sector. However, the nature of their entrepreneurial activity, and the factors that impede and enable these endeavours, are not clearly understood. The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of the entrepreneurial marketing activity of these women, and so enable opportunities for improving their position to be identified, along with constraints that impede them. At a more fundamental level, the study contributes to a greater understanding of indigenous entrepreneurship and the factors that influence indigenous entrepreneurs.

Based on indigenous entrepreneurship literature, and knowledge of the Papuan context, a theoretical framework was designed to guide the research. A qualitative approach was used to investigate three case studies of groups of women in three different areas – a more remote area, a transmigration site, and an urban area.

Within-case and cross-case analysis revealed that these Papuan women’s motivation is driven by their immediate family needs and their social and cultural obligations. More remote area traders have very strong communal and collective values, and they share resources when doing their productive work, but the transmigration site and urban traders appear to work more individually. However, the influence of the social and cultural values on the traders from the three cases is similar, and it is still necessary for them to fulfil their contribution to social and cultural obligations.

The women from all three case studies proved to be open to innovation. They were outward looking and had market awareness. There is variation between the groups in their engagement with the cash economy and the expression of their market awareness. They actively seek to add value to their produce, but have different ways of doing this. Their implementation of marketing techniques varies, with urban traders employing a wider range of marketing strategies.

The women traders from the more remote areas and the transmigration site depend heavily on their natural resources, whereas the majority of the urban traders are more dependent on marketing resources and financial reserves in order to buy produce from other producers. Hence, more remote area and transmigration site traders are self-funded, while the urban traders are partly self-funded. The more remote area traders relied very heavily upon social capital in conducting their production and marketing activities, whereas the traders in the other groups proved less reliant on social capital.
The more remote area traders face greater constraints related to poor road access, high cost transportation, and poor access to physical markets. Even though the urban traders have better access to microfinance, women from all three groups had poor access to commercial bank credit schemes. In addition, all traders had poor access to government support.

This study extends the understanding of indigenous entrepreneurship. It illustrates that the characteristics of entrepreneurship by indigenous people can vary from those traditionally associated with indigenous entrepreneurship to a mix of both indigenous and western entrepreneurship characteristics. These grounded insights into the varied nature of indigenous entrepreneurship, and the differences in constraints facing different groups, provide policy insights for the Papuan government.

Key words: Indigenous Entrepreneurship, Papuan women, Constraints, Opportunities
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List of Acronyms

ADB   Asian Development Bank
APBD   Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah
BP3D   Badan Perencana dan Pengendalian Pembangunan Daerah
BPS   Biro Pusat Statistik
DPR   Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat
GEM   Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
ILO   International Labour Organisation
KUR   Kredit Usaha Rakyat
LAKU   Latihan dan Kunjungan
MRP   Majelis Rakyat Papua
NESS   Nucleus Estate Smallholder Scheme
NGO   Non Government Organisation
OTUSUS   Otonomi Khusus
PIR-BUN   Perkebunan Inti Rakyat-Badan Usaha Negara
PTPN   Perseroan Terbatas Perusahaan Negara
SOFEI   Support Office for Eastern Indonesia
TELIKOM   Telekomunikasi
UNDP   United Nations Development Program
USAID   United State Aid
Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Rationale

Papua is potentially one of the richest areas in Indonesia with its vast land and rich natural resources. However, it has the highest poverty percentage (Bakti, 2008). Papuans themselves view poverty as lacking of material assets (Rumbewas, 2005). These people are lack opportunities and support, and the lack of infrastructure and their isolation can be viewed as a major constraint to social and economic development in Papua (Bakti, 2008; UNDP, 2005b), which could contribute to the low level of welfare of Papuan community.

In addition to lack of facilities, a further reason for the lack of cash income could be that the majority of the Papuan community (75 %) are involved in the agricultural sector (UNDP, 2005b). These indigenous people are involved in farming activities, which is characterised predominantly by subsistence agriculture. The government has conducted many programs to develop agriculture; however, many of these programs have failed to increase Papuan community welfare (Bakti, 2008; Imbiri, 2006, 2010; MampioPER. D. A, 2008; Sumule, 1994; UNDP, 2005b). For example, the failure of the government sponsored extension system (Sumule, 1994), poorly targeted and low adoption of innovations (Sumule, 1994), poor outcomes from the Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Schemes (Imbiri, 2010), and failure of microcredit schemes (Bakti, 2008). It is important to note that many of these development programs in Papua lack an understanding of, and do not utilise, the traditional knowledge and culture of Papuan communities.

Law Number 21 on Special Autonomy (OTSUS) for Papua was enacted in 2001. The purpose of this law is to reduce the development gap between Papua and the rest of Indonesia, increase the standard of living of the Papuan community, and broaden opportunities for indigenous Papuans to participate in the development process. The empowerment of indigenous Papuans is now one of the priorities of the government since it is stated in Law. The Papuan government wants to foster entrepreneurship by Papuans through community based economic development, which is the focus of the OTSUS, in order to improve their standard of living and the welfare of their communities. The focus on community based economic activities will force the government to encourage the Papuan community to
undertake entrepreneurial activities that lead to greater economic independence for them. Entrepreneurship is seen as a partial solution to unemployment, poverty and low economic growth in many parts of the world (Botha, et al., 2006). However, this does not appear to have occurred in Papua because the OTSUS did not appear to lead to better programs, and the Papua Government seems to be unable to increase community-based economic development.

Indigenous Papuans are very varied and diverse, consisting of over 375 ethnic groups (The State University of Papua, 2000) and over 250 languages (Mansoben, 2006; Tim Sintesa, 2005). Papuan entrepreneurs appear to face a number of constraints to their entrepreneurial activities. It has been claimed that Papuan culture is not future-oriented, and is characterised by low economic aspiration and poor work ethos (BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003). Thus, they are perceived as weak entrepreneurs, due to their lack of management, financial resources and relationships with legal entities (Van Burg, 2007).

This study focuses on the entrepreneurship of Papuan women traders because these Papuan women play significant roles in community-based economic activities, which is the intended focus of the OTSUS. Many previous community-based programs failed, to some extent because women were not fully involved (BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003). In most of Papua’s areas, women are responsible for meeting their family’s needs (ILO, 2011; Korain, 2008). This role encourages them to become involved in informal agricultural trading.

However, these Papuan women are thought to face greater obstacles in the conduct of their entrepreneurial activities, due to low competitiveness compared to migrants, lack of managerial skills, seasonal marketing activities and limited produce (Korain, 2008). Further, market development does not appear to support these women’s entrepreneurship. There are also many other factors that may enable and impede the entrepreneurship of Papuan women, but little is known, as there is not systematic documentation of entrepreneurship in the context of Papuan women marketers. In particular, the pattern of entrepreneurial activity and barriers faced by Papuans are not clearly understood. As a result, it is necessary to understand what entrepreneurship means in a context that is relevant to Papua, and, there is still much to be learned if entrepreneurship in Papua is to be stimulated.

There is a lot of literature on entrepreneurship, both western and indigenous. Accepted features of western entrepreneurship are individualism, focus on profit and growth, innovation, and dependent primarily on the capability of the individual entrepreneur (Bolton
& Thomson, 2004; Burns & Dewhurst, 1996; Casson, 1982; Cuervo, et al., 2007; Hougaard, 2005). On the other hand, the indigenous entrepreneurship is more communal in nature, has a focus on the community, activity is based on indigenous knowledge (P. L Dana, 2007; Peredo, et al., 2004), has economic and non-economic goals (P. L Dana, 2007; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007; Lindsay, 2005), is involved in small scale business (Fairbairn, 2006), dependent on immediately available resources or natural resources (Lasimbang, 2008; Paulin, 2007), and economic activities are conducted for the benefit the indigenous community (P. L Dana, 2007; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007; Lindsay, 2005; Peredo, et al., 2004). There is a lack of clarity about the characteristics of indigenous entrepreneurship, and also when, where and whether principles of indigenous entrepreneurship apply or western entrepreneurship models apply. As a result, there needs to be a better understanding of indigenous entrepreneurship, in order to inform how entrepreneurship in Papua might be stimulated.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

As is stated in the previous section, little is documented about agricultural trading activity in the informal sector in Papua. In addition, little is understood about the pattern of entrepreneurial activity by Papuans, and impediments to such activity. In particular entrepreneurial behaviour by Papuan women marketers is poorly understood and little is known about obstacles that can impede their marketing activities, or opportunities to enhance them. At a more fundamental level, detailed insight into indigenous entrepreneurship could be very useful.

Therefore, the research aim is to gain a better understanding of entrepreneurial marketing activity of Papuan women in the informal agricultural sector. Five research objectives were associated with this aim.

1) To understand the nature of entrepreneurial marketing activity of Papuan women in informal agricultural sector
2) To identify opportunities for improving their entrepreneurial marketing activity in the sector
3) To identify constraints that are impeding them in doing their entrepreneurial marketing activity
4) To analyse the implications of these findings for the Papuan government
5) To contribute a greater understanding of models of indigenous entrepreneurship and the factors that influence indigenous entrepreneurs
1.3 Structure of the Thesis

There are nine chapters in this thesis. Chapter One is this introduction. Chapter Two describes the context of Papua. It addresses poverty in Papua, agriculture in Papua, Special Autonomy and government roles, what is known about indigenous entrepreneurship of Papuans, and in particular indigenous entrepreneurship of Papuan women in the informal agricultural sector. Chapter Three is a literature review on indigenous people and indigenous entrepreneurship, and also on features of western entrepreneurship.

Chapter four outlines a research framework and explains the methodology used to collect and analyse data. In this chapter, the research questions are revisited, a framework designed to guide this research, the nature of marketing activities and the research context established, and a research qualitative methodology (case study strategy) selected. Collection of data through field work, and within case and cross-case analysis are discussed.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven present the three case studies in the selected sites and their within case analyses. In these chapters, the nature of entrepreneurship of Papuan women in each location is described and explained. This includes their personal attributes and motivation, marketing activities, resources, social and cultural values and how environmental factors have impacted on them.

Chapter Eight focuses on the cross-case analysis and discussion. The cross-case analysis of the three cases is presented first. Then the findings are synthesised into a higher-level of understanding of the nature of entrepreneurship. Finally, the findings are discussed in the context of the literature, and then the constraints, opportunities and policy implications are discussed.

Chapter Nine completes the study by providing some conclusions, addressing the study's limitations, considerations for future research, and this research contribution.
Chapter 2
The Context of Papua

2.1 Introduction

Papua (previously named Irian Jaya) is a region in the eastern part of Indonesia and shares its border with Papua New Guinea. It is one of the country’s largest regions at approximately 21 percent of the country area (DPR Papua, n.d.). In 2004, Papua was divided in two, Papua Province and West Papua Province. Papua become two provinces namely Papua and Irian Jaya Barat provinces in 2004 (Based on Indonesian Govt Law No.45 in 1999). Further, the name of Irian Jaya Barat province was change to Papua Barat based on Indonesian Govt Regulation No.24 in 2007. Although Papua has two provinces, they are always considered as ‘two but one’ or more commonly ‘Tanah Papua’ that means Papua Land.

This chapter establishes the context of the research, and discusses why and how entrepreneurship is becoming a focus of economic development for the indigenous community in both provinces of Papua. As a result, in this chapter will give a good understanding of the economic conditions and livelihoods faced by people in Papua. The first section discusses poverty in Papua. This is followed by a section on agriculture in Papua, in which the majority of the Papuan community are involved. The third section discusses the Special Autonomy provisions and Government roles in the provinces. The fourth section establishes the context for indigenous entrepreneurship by Papuans, and finally, the last section discusses indigenous entrepreneurship by Papuan women in informal agricultural sector.

2.2 Poverty in Papua

Papua is a rich area with abundant natural resources, but it is categorised as the poorest region in Indonesia (Bakti, 2008), even though the small number of inhabitants and plentiful natural resources indicate there are many economic development opportunities. Papua’s area contains forests, oceans, a high level of biodiversity and a large area of land suitable for farming. Papua also has natural gas/mineral deposits, oil and other minerals and metals (UNDP, 2005b). These natural resources make Papua’s contribution to Indonesia’s economy significant (BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003).
There are many industries that utilise Papua’s natural resources such as mining and logging, that are supposed to result in higher incomes for Papuans, but these activities only appear to contribute a small percentage of income for the area, so it has been suggested that the extraction of Papua’s natural resources has not been used optimally to improve the living conditions of Papuan indigenous (Indonesia Government, 2001). For example, Papua and its community only received approximately 12% of Freeport Indonesia’s\(^1\) contribution to the national economy from the exploitation of natural resources (Sumule, 2003). Papua is lagging behind in the economic development, and the education and health sectors, with a significant gap between Papua and other Indonesian regions (Bakti, 2008; BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003; Tim Sintesa, 2005).

According to central statistics (BPS, 2005), around 40% of Papua’s community (in both provinces) still live in poverty with income of less than US $ 1/day. However, this estimate is debatable. Rumbewas (2005) claims that the Papuan Governments use of consumption/expenditure poverty measurements to design poverty programs contradicts what is observed at the grassroots (community) level. Rumbewas, World Bank and SOFEI Survey in 2005 also question the validity of the BPS poverty criteria in Papua (YPLHC Papua, 2007). It appears that the number of people who registered themselves as poor people at the BPS has increased since 2005, when the Indonesian Government began to give Rp. 100,000 or ± US $ 10/ month for poor or near poor people through a Conditional Cash Transfer Program, which is known locally as Bantuan Langsung Tunai or BLT (Flassy, 2006).

As a result, Rumbewas (2005) concludes that there is no reliable research that identifies the level of poverty in Papua. In the past, most Papuan communities refused to be categorised as ‘poor’ people because they did not understand what other recognise as ‘poverty’. Instead, Papuans view poverty as’ lacking in material assets’. Papuan communities see themselves as communities with disadvantages because of lack of opportunities and support. There are groups of people who do not have money or earn cash, but they have assets such land or communal land and sago orchards. As a consequence, Rumbewas (2005) argues that indicators of poverty in Papua are:

- Lack of agricultural equipment, fishing equipment, housing, income, infrastructure (such as roads, electricity, water pumps, schools and health facilities), employment opportunities, education/skill training

\(^1\) PT Freeport Indonesia is the largest copper and gold mining company in Indonesia, located in Timika Papua. The company contributes to Indonesia up to US $ 3.9 billion since 1992 to 2005 in the form of dividend, royalty and tax.
- Limited access to credit and public welfare services
- A high dependency ratio, which means that there is a high dependence on local government support, such as the BLT program and *beras miskin* or *raskin* (rice for poor family).

Research by Cenderawasih University in 2001 (Flassy, 2006) gives an indication of this type of poverty, and states that 74% of Papua’s community live in isolated areas and do not have access to infrastructure, transportation, public, social and economic facilities. This lack of infrastructure can be viewed as a major constraint to social and economic development in Papua. For example, there is no road that link Papua’s main urban areas of Fakfak, Sorong, Manokwari, Nabire, Jayapura, Timika, Wamena, Merauke. The Trans-Irian road that was started in the 1980s was proposed to link: first, Jayapura-Wamena; second, Merauke-Waropko-Oksibil-Ubrub and Jayapura; and third Nabire-Enarotali-Iлага, and will go through Wamena. However, this is not finished yet. In order to go from one city to another, Papuans use aeroplanes and boats, such as PELNI ships, ferries, and private company’s boats. Most of Papua’s rural areas are reached by using small aeroplanes operated by the Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF) and Associated Mission Aviation (AMA). This poor infrastructure could contribute to the low level of welfare of Papuan indigenous community, as a result of lack of access to education, health, capital and markets.

In addition of lack of facilities, a further reason for the lack of cash income could be that the majority of the Papuan community (75%) are involved in the agricultural sector, which is dominated by subsistence agriculture and food gathering, and so does not contribute quality to cash incomes (UNDP, 2005a). These subsistence communities are at a disadvantage when competing in markets, when compared to non-Papuan migrants, as a result of lack of education, skills and capital.

In short, although Papua is one of the richest areas in Indonesia with abundant natural resources, it is reportedly an area with the highest percentage of poverty. However, there is disagreement over the level of poverty and what poverty actually means in Papua. Poverty in Papua seems to be associated with lack of infrastructure and isolation, and the fact that the majority of indigenous Pauans are involved in the agricultural sector, much of which is subsistence.
2.3 Agriculture in Papua

Given the reported high participation in agriculture by the majority of Papuans, agriculture in Papua is discussed in this section. The agricultural sector has huge potential in Papua. It currently contributes 13.9% and 29.7% of Papua’s and West Papua’s Domestic Product respectively (BPS Provinsi Papua, 2006c; BPS Provinsi Papua Barat, 2007), and there is large area of available land appropriate for agriculture. A significant contribution of the sector comes from estate plantations (e.g. oil palm and cocoa), which are owned by private companies and transmigrants (who cultivate introduced crops). Hence the contribution of the sector to improving the living standard of indigenous inhabitants is still low.

Agriculture in Papua is characterised predominantly by subsistence agriculture, with the majority of Papuans depending on subsistence agriculture to provide food for their family. Subsistence agriculture that is practiced by Papuans is mainly cultivation of root crops (taro, sweet potatoes, and yam), vegetables and maize, and food gathering (BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003). Shifting cultivation is a common subsistence farming system that is conducted by most Papuans in rural areas, except those who live in the Central Highlands areas (Sumule, 1994), who apply a settled subsistence farming system based on intensive sweet potato production. Any surplus produce of food crops can be sold for cash, which is used not only for basic needs, such as other food sources, shelter and children’s education, but also for cultural or customary, religious and social needs.
Table 2.1 Agro ecosystem in Irian Jaya (Previous name of Papua)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determinant</th>
<th>Lowland Ecosystems</th>
<th>Highland Ecosystems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coastal, Swamps and Rivers</td>
<td>Coastal Plains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foothills and Small Valleys</td>
<td>Broad Valleys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lakeshore Plains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hill slopes in Narrow Valleys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Production Activities</td>
<td>Hunting and gathering Sago cultivation</td>
<td>Shifting cultivation, plus coconut plantations, fishing and minor hunting activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuber crops, banana, maize, and rice in some areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staple and additional food</td>
<td>Sago, plus fish and small amount of meat</td>
<td>Tuber crops and sago, plus small amount of rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of Traditional Cash Income</td>
<td>Selling of sago (limited) and hunting and gathering produce</td>
<td>Selling of traditional vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of Introduced Cash Income</td>
<td>Basically none except working in logging industry (very limited)</td>
<td>Small number of people involved in the small holder oil palm plantation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Sumule, 1994, p. 88)

Table 2.1 shows that there are different characteristics of every ecosystem in terms of the main production activities, staple and additional foods, and sources of income, both traditional and introduced cash income. However, there is also variation of the principal subsistence activities within the same ecological zones. For example, in the coastal, swamps and river zones, most of the Papuan tribes in Yapen Waropen Regency (Western Mamberamo Group and Waropen major population groups) only do sago gathering and fishing, while most of Papuans in Jayapura (Yos Sudarso, Tanah Merah, Pantai Utara, Tor, Sarmi, Mamberamo and Sentani major population groups) also conduct swidden agriculture, as well as sago gathering and fishing (Walker & Mansoben, 1990). There are differences within the same zone in the primary food staple. For example, in Coastal Plains, cassava is consumed as a source of carbohydrate more than sweet potato, while in the North of the Coastal Plains, taro and yam are the staple, as it is in the bird’s head area of Papua Island and some parts of Cenderawasih Bay, while sago is the staple in the South Coast (Haynes, 1988).

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2 Swidden agriculture also known also as slash and burn agriculture or shifting agriculture
Papuan traditional cash income is related to their principal subsistence activities. As part of fulfilling their subsistence needs, Papuans sell surpluses from their farms, such as vegetables, fruits, pigs, and products from gathering and hunting activities. For most of Papuan communities in the lowlands, these cash transactions are more limited, and mainly focus on selling local fruits and vegetables. There is a small proportion of the population in this lowland areas that is involved in urban activities, logging and the oil palm Nucleus Estate Smallholder Scheme (NESS), which are their sources of cash income (Sumule, 1994). Haynes (1988) notes that Papuan communities in the Highlands (Broad Valleys) cultivate introduced vegetables, maize and legumes, and also grow coffee and cash crops. Therefore, he reveals that their cash incomes not only come from their traditional activities, but also from these introduced crops. Hayward (1983) reports that there is a shift from barter trading to a market economy in the Central Highlands communities (e.g. Dani), but mentions that most of the trading businesses is oriented to an immediate need for particular products. However, little is documented about this trading activity and how it varies.

Most of agricultural development programs in Papua have focused on changing the existing technologies and agricultural systems that have been part of the cultural and social lives of Papuan communities for a very long time. As a result, many agricultural technologies and crops are difficult for Papuan farmers to adopt, since they are used to traditional tools and ways. Therefore, some of agricultural development programs that have been implemented in the past using a top down system from central government to regions are not increasing the Papuan community welfare as planned. Several cases of agricultural programs in Papua that were not successful:

(a) Failure of the Government sponsored extension system

Agricultural extension in Papua is mainly based on the Training and Visit System (known as Sistem LAKU). This visit system, in general, is aimed at motivating farmers to adopt new technologies and to give assistance. However, the effectiveness of this extension system in supporting indigenous people in Papua has been questioned. Sumule (1994) says that the main problem is that, the villages of indigenous farmers are dispersed and isolated, unlike migrant farmer settlements, that are close one another and have better access to road and transportation. As a result, it is impossible for the extension officers, who have 16 groups of farmers in his/her working areas, to visit all villages in their working areas in two weeks as recommended. Moreover, transportation
for extension officers is inadequate. As a result, the extension officers only visit the villages that are close to their place of work. Another reason why some extension programs have failed is because of lack of adequate assistance, or support only being given for a short period (UNDP, 2005a). In addition, there has not been a good understanding about the local culture, and how best to support these indigenous communities in their agricultural activities.

(b) Poorly Targeted and Low Adoption of Innovations

Transmigration is an Indonesian Government program in which people from high density areas (e.g Java) in Indonesia relocate to low density areas, such as Sumatera, Kalimantan and Papua. The transmigration program in Papua was implemented through programs, such as *Pola Tanaman Pangan* (Food Crops System), *Pola Perkebunan Inti Rakyat* (Nucleus Estate Smallholder Scheme), *Pola Nelayan* (Fisherman System), *Pola Hutan Tanaman Industri* (Industry Plant Forest System), *Pola Jasa dan Industri* (Service and Industry System) and *Transmigrasi Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Differences Transmigration) (Mampioper. D. A, 2008).

There are two types of people who participated in the program; national and local transmigrants. National transmigrants are those who have been relocated by the Indonesian Government from their place of origin outside Papua, such as Java, Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) and Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT). The local transmigrants in Manokwari are of two types. They are member of the Arfak Community, who are usually the traditional owners of the land used for the program and their relative, and those who have migrated from other areas of Papua (Sumule, 1994).

Indigenous people, in this case Arfak Tribals, who were involved in the transmigration program, are treated the same as their Javanese counterparts. They have been given two ha of land (0.25 for a house and a yard, one ha for food crops, and 0.75 ha for perennial crops), basic living support for one year, agricultural inputs and working tools, and also training and visits from extension officers. However, seven innovations introduced through the transmigration project were poorly adopted by Arfak tribals (Sumule, 1994). These innovations were the introduction of a new food crop, introduction of an annual crop, hand hoeing, fertilisers, pesticides, rural cooperative enterprise and cattle raising. Sumule’s research shows that only 1.1 % Arfak tribals in the transmigration areas were still cultivating dry land rice, a new food crop, and 6.5 % were still cultivating soybean,
an annual crop, in 1993. Sumule (1994) adds that many Arfak tribals never adopted the innovations, and moreover, that almost all who had adopted them, had subsequently discontinued them. The reason given why Arfak tribals never farmed, or discontinued farming rice and soybean, is because it was complicated and required too much work (Sumule, 1994). This not only happened in Manokwari, which is the home of the Arfak tribals, but also in other regions of Papua.

The Morind tribe in Merauke\(^3\), who used to live in swamplands, have advanced swamplands farming techniques. Bakti (2008) reports that they are able to produce agricultural products (e.g. tuber plants) without using any chemical and fertilizers and they also used hydroponic techniques that utilise bamboo and empty tree trunks, which contain organic fertilizer to cultivate plants. However, these techniques were not seen as maximising their potential. We field rice farming has been introduced to them, but the program failed, as the Morind people do not have capacity to cultivate wetfield paddy, which requires intensive labour and cultivation.

Introduction of fences for breeding animals, such as pigs and cows, has not been successful in Papuan communities, especially in rural areas. For example, migrant farmers (especially Javanese) usually tether their cows or put them in a fenced area, and so are able to feed them. For Javanese, cows are useful for ploughing their farm lands for paddy rice and are part of their saving or investment. However, most Papuan farmers let the cattle graze freely to forage for grass in the house’s yard, neighbourhood and even in the forest. For example, in Snoopy District-Kebar (Manokwari), cows, chickens and pigs are raised in the owner’s house yards in the village, which do not have fences. This system causes many problems because cows and pigs destroy and eat plants and crops, and often become wild. As a result of this, Kebar’s community do not want to cultivate vegetables and horticultural crops that were introduced by extension officers (Imbiri, 2006). In addition, there are many cows that are running wild in the forest.

(c) Poor Outcomes from the Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Schemes

Another example of a program that has not had the desired impact on Papuan household welfare is the oil palm plantation development. An oil palm plantation was established through the Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Scheme (NESS), locally known as

\(^3\) Merauke is the central production region for rice in Papua and is produced mostly by Javanese transmigrants
Perkebunan Inti Rakyat/PIR. The company PTP II Tanjung Morawa Medan is the nucleus with Papuan smallholders each cultivating small areas of oil palm to feed into the processing mills associated with the nucleus. This scheme was supposed to support the enhancement of Papians’ welfare, but has not resulted in maximum outcomes for Papuans. Many of the transmigrants who are involved in the oil palm NESS scheme are Papuans, who are part of the local transmigration scheme. However, the scheme does not seem to be used to maximum effect to improve their welfare. Currently, there are many oil palm smallholdings in Papua that are rented by migrants or managed by migrants with only a small percentage of income being given to the Papuan owners. The reason often given is that the productivity of the oil palm trees has declined (Imbiri, 2010), and when the price of oil palm declined, the return for fresh fruit bunches from the oil palm trees also declined, and so the indigenous Papuans who owned their small oil palm plantations, could not manage the expensive cost of harvesting and transportation (Ellis, 2000). However, this does not explain why non-indigenous transmigrants who rented the land can afford to do so. One explanation might be that Arfak tribal involved in oil palm NESS still practice their semi-nomadic lifestyle, and therefore, the scheme does not result in higher income for them (Sumule, 1994).

(d) Failure of Microcredit Schemes

Failure of microcredit schemes (e.g. Jaringan Pengaman Sosial or Social Safety Net) also occurred. These schemes were set up by the central Indonesian government, and when doing so, there was little understanding of Papua’s culture, and economic and social structure. Also, there was lack of assistance in administering the schemes (Bakti, 2008). The result was non-repayment of loans. Jaringan Pengaman Sosial gave credit to small businesses, groups of community business/labour/farmers and religious organisations (churches). As loans were repaid, they were to be used to lend to others in the same community through fund rotation. However, this system was not fully successful and some of the businesses and groups discontinued operating.

Based on the experience of Yasantho Foundation in Merauke and the Rumsran Foundation in Biak, Bakti (2008) concluded that microcredit schemes in Papua should take into consideration the community structures in the local areas. The foundation found that the

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4 This observation based on my own experience involved as a facilitator of Social Safety Net Program 1999/2000 in Manokwari Regency
formation of groups consisting of different clans is likely to fail as a result of inter-clan rivalry and suspicion. It was found that even for a group comprised of the same clan, the organisational structure should take into account the clan strata if it is to be successful.

Many of the programs referred to above are focused on particular target areas such as the transmigration sites, which are the key production areas for crops, such as paddy rice, soybean and corn. Agriculture and Food Security Department programs are focusing in increasing agricultural production and introducing new crops and new technology packages, and giving assistance through the extension officer. However, this is not followed up by further supports, such as focussing on markets for the local agricultural produce, especially for farmers from remote areas. Many traditional farmers have difficulties marketing their agricultural produce because of lack of transportation and poor road infrastructure.

There are many such examples of development programs in the agricultural and other sectors that do not have a significant impact on Papua’s indigenous communities, because they did not understand and utilise the traditional knowledge and culture of Papuans. Different areas in Papua have different characteristics; therefore generalisation of programs from one area to another is often not appropriate. In addition, Papua’s governments want to reduce the dependency of their communities on natural resources exploitation (Sumule, 2003) because of increasing concern about environmental destruction, and the rights of indigenous people, who depend on natural resources for their livelihood. As a result, agricultural development has become a focus of the local government (Papua and West Papua) in order to increase the standard of living of the Papuan community, and to increase the contribution of the agricultural sector to Papua’s economy in general.

In summary, agricultural development is important to improve the Papuan communities’ welfare. Therefore, appropriate strategies and development programs need to support local communities if agricultural development goals are to be reached.

2.4 Special Autonomy and Government Roles

Poverty in indigenous communities in Papua, the level of development of agriculture and the lack of success of many agricultural development initiatives needs to be placed in a wider political context. Therefore it is essential to understand a range of issues associated with special autonomy in the region and the role of government.
The Indonesian government has enacted Law (Undang Undang or UU) Number 21 in 2001 on Special Autonomy, popularly known as OTSUS (Otonomi Khusus). Further, as Papua is administratively now divided into two provinces, the government enacted Law Number 35 in 2008 to ensure that OTSUS also applies in the West Papua Province.

The OTSUS Law states that Papua, both Papua and West Papua Provinces, is empowered both financially and politically in all government sectors, except those which are exclusive to the National Government. OTSUS is proposed to reduce the development gap between Papua and the rest of Indonesia, increase the standard of living of the community, and broaden opportunities for indigenous Papuans to participate in the development process. Furthermore, special autonomy required greater empowerment of indigenous community in all development sectors in Papua (Indonesia Government, 2001).

OTSUS in Papua focuses on four aspects: Education, Infrastructure, Health and Economy. One of the main priorities is to increase the community standard of living through community based economic development. Article 42 of the Law states that the special autonomy vision for Papuan community economic empowerment is focused on increasing all Papuan community welfare (standard of living). There are four principles of the vision for community economic development (Eeastern Indonesia Forum, 2007):

- to establish an independent community economy
- to focus on (or give priority to) indigenous Papuan development
- to have a market orientation
- to develop as part of the national and global economy

Based on these four principles, a goal of OTSUS is to increase productivity and be competitive in order to create community welfare based on equality, community participation and efficient sustainable development. This regulation calls on the local government to empower the community based economy (Mohamad, 2007). That is, the community based development program is supposed to reduce the number of Papua’s community who are ‘poor’ relative to the national standard of living, and also to encourage economic activities run by the local people, and so shift them from their perceived poverty to a higher level of income and welfare.

Mohamad (2007) further claims that community based economic development will force the government to encourage the Papuan community to become more entrepreneurial, which will
then lead to greater economic independence. That is, it is believed that entrepreneurial activities of indigenous Papuans will reduce poverty and increase Papua’s economic growth, and that entrepreneurship can shift the Papuan community from self-sufficiency into a commercial market economy. In addition, the implementation of OTSUS makes the empowerment of women one of the main targets of Papua’s government. As a result of this, the Papuan government is trying to encourage women’s participation in economic, social and political development (Papua Government, 2008). Furthermore, Women’s Empowerment Offices have been set up at Regional and Provincial levels to support the vision of OTSUS.

Specific Regulations for the Province (Perdasus) and General Regulations for the Province (Perdasi) are used to implement OTSUS in Papua. Perdasus of Papua Province No 18 in 2010 focuses on the Community Based Economic Development and has been enacted in 2010. However, based on the regulation’s title, which specifically mentions ‘the Perdasus of Papua Province’, it is still not clear whether this regulation can be also implemented in West Papua Province. This regulation was endorsed by the Papuans People’s Assembly, locally known as Majelis Rakyat Papua (MRP), which is the representative of the indigenous Papuan People. However, the judicial view is that this regulation is only valid for the Papua Province. This is because the process of planning and submission to the People’s Representative Council (DPR), was done by the representative of Papua Province, and there was no contribution by the Governor and Regional People’s Representative Council (DPRD) of the West Papua Province (Sumule, 2010). As a result, legally, West Papua economic development is enacted which is through the RPJM, Middle Term Development Planning. This technical regulation available in the West Papua province is a direct translation of the OTSUS Law, but the government has not been yet formulated a measurable target for community based economic development (Kasihiuw, 2009).

The OTSUS fund for community based economic development is given to government offices, which are then responsible for administering it. However, they do not appear to have programs that align with the vision of OTSUS. As a result, it is claim that the benefits of OTSUS have failed to reach grassroots indigenous Papuan communities. UNDP (2005b) states that the main reason for the failure to reach the regional development goal is the lack of synchronisation among strategy, development planning and annual budgets. In addition, corruption in Papua (both Papua and West Papua Province) is thought to be increasing as autonomy and government funding are devolved to provincial and regency level. As a result,
the supposed beneficiaries of this community based economic empowerment in Papua have still not improved their welfare or standard of living. Another reason advanced for the failure is the lack of suitable development formats for community based economic development that suit the capacity of the Papuan community, and also lack of government support roles (Ama, 2006; Silo, 2006; Suara Perempuan Papua, 2006).

In the past, top down development planning was not successful in Papua as it has different characteristics, not only environmental but also cultural, compared to other Indonesian areas. BP3D Provinsi Papua (2003) also mentions that previous development programs have failed because they cause economic dependency. That is, there are some programs that granted money for the Papuan community, PKPS BBM, BLT and SLT that have created a tendency for the community to depend on handouts from the government and not working to improve their own lives. Example of such program are Program Kompensasi Pengurangan Subsidi Bahan Bakar Minyak (PKPS BBM) is a Compensation Program for the Indonesian Government’s reduce subsidy over Oil Fuel material, Bantuan Langsung Tunai (BLT) is a Conditional Transfer Program, which is compensation for the poor community as the government increased the fuel price, Subsidi langsung Tunai (SLT) or Direct Cash Subsidy, is a Rp. 100,000 ($10 US) is a grant given for poor families. Another central, or National, program is the Development of Village Agro Business (PUAD) and Communities Economic Development in the Villages. This program’s budget from the central government was received by the local government that is responsible for conducting it, but due to lack of management, the use of the fund was not controlled (Kasihiuw, 2009).

Further, even bottom-up development planning, which has been conducted in Papua since 2001, does not appear to have had a significant impact on Papua community welfare and its economic development (UNDP, 2005a). UNDP (2005b) also reported that multiple and repeated programs, and lack of coordination are creating confusion, conflict, apathy and dependency at the community level. Suara Perempuan Papua (2006) further claims that when initiating the community economic empowerment, the Papuan government did not know where to start. Many development projects were not successful because of the lack of coordination between related government institutions. The cause of this was said to be the lack of capability and experience of the Papuan government in development planning, not only at municipality and regency levels, but also at provincial level (UNDP, 2005b). Many government technical programs are not well administered and well documented.
In summary, the Papuan government wants to foster entrepreneurship by Papuans in order to improve their standard of living and the welfare of their communities. However, it appears that this is not occurring because special autonomy does not seem to have led to better programs, and the Papuan government does not seem to be able to improve community based economic development.

2.5 Indigenous Entrepreneurship of Papuans

Given the focus the government is placing on Papuan entrepreneurship, there needs to be a greater understanding of this and the limitations to it.

The population in Papua is around 2.5 million (1,875,388 in Papua and 651,958 in West Papua), 60% of that number are indigenous Papuans (BPS Provinsi Papua, 2006b; BPS Provinsi Papua Barat, 2007). Papua’s indigenous communities are very varied and diverse. There is a rich variety of cultures and customs. They have over 250 languages (Tim Sintesa, 2005) and Papua’s indigenous people are reported to consist of over 375 ethnic groups (The State University of Papua, 2000), with more than one thousand clans (BPS Provinsi Papua, 2006a). This diversity could mean that there is variation in indigenous entrepreneurship between different groups, but this is unclear.

Van Burg (2007) reports that only 25% of Papua businesses are still continuing five years after their establishment. He mentions that the major failure factors for Papuan entrepreneurs are: loyalty to the family, money management, social pressure to give goods/money for free, human resource issues, and poor book keeping.
Figure 2.1 Failure Factors for Papuan Entrepreneurs as perceived by Support Professionals
Source: (Van Burg, 2007)

Papuans are perceived as weak entrepreneurs based on their capabilities with respect to administration, machinery, financial resources and relationship with legal entities. Some research concluded that the reasons for this are: Papuan cultural values are not future oriented; the aspirations of micro-business operators is low; and there is a poor work ethos (BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003). It is further claimed that Papuan communities cannot manage funds for productive use (Ama, 2006), and that, for most Papuan informal businesses, there is no separation between business and household property (Van Burg, 2007). On the other hand, it is acknowledged that Papuans have strong capabilities with respect to market knowledge, marketing, sales, production and purchasing, even though these skills are not fully utilised (Van Burg, 2007).

It seems that cultural values are an important part of Papuan entrepreneurship. Indigenous business and economic activities are embedded in cultural and social aspects, which are usually society and community oriented. As noted previously (Section 2.3), market activities
of Papuans makes up only small contribution to their family’s income, as much activity is done traditionally and is not highly market oriented.

Yusuf (2000) comments that the Pacific’s way of life is sharing resources, kinship and communalism, and people are more concerned about the present than the future. However, the benefit of indigenous entrepreneurial activity could be seen as flowing to society through gifting and mutuality, financial support to community members, and support for cultural activities rather than through measures of individual well-being. Flassy (2008) supports this and notes that social value is more important than economic value in Papuan communities. Rather than accumulating money by economic activities, for many Papuans, money could be considered as an opportunity to build social and family relationships by giving away money to family and other people in order to develop and strengthen family relationships (Ama, 2006).

In most Papuans’ households, the members are not only the nuclear family, but include the extended family, such as grandparents, brothers/sisters in laws, nieces and nephews. There is a sharing system in the Papuan community, where the burden of one of the members in the extended family or clan or community is often shared by others in the same group; for example, bride price is shared not only by the groom, but also by his family, extended family and clan.

Curry (1999) mentions that the demand for cash is not only driven by the opportunity in the market economy and desire to increase their investment capital, but also by of the exigencies of indigenous exchange. That is, cash in an indigenous community is used as a gift item in indigenous exchange. For example in the Papuan community, customary (‘adat’) events such as funerals, weddings and births are very expensive. The family members who have money or property contribute for these cultural events. Therefore, much business capital can be spent on cultural events (Van Burg, 2007). He also says that entrepreneurs have an obligation to give away goods or cash to family relatives as these will affect their social status. Hence, the majority of Papuans may not think about growing their business through investing money they receive from business activity back into the business.

Moreover, it is claimed that Papuans are not motivated to grow their business (BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003), and that Papuan people are used to working for their daily needs, and not for making profit (D. Hayward, 1983). It is also claimed that they are also not used to saving for future needs (ILO, 2010). However, as noted above, there are social reasons for Papuans to do business, as having an enterprise, even a very simple one, will result in better social status.
(Van Burg, 2007). Papuan entrepreneurs are also not used to keeping a record of their transactions, and for most of them, there are no separation between the business and household money. Van Burg (2007) states that even if they record the transactions, they often do not know whether they make a loss or a profit. In many cases, money, or even supplies, are taken from business for personal use, without payment to the business.

As with many other small entrepreneurs in developing countries, capital appears to be constraint for Papuan entrepreneurs. The lack of infrastructure, such as roads and transportation, is also an obstacle to entrepreneurship of Papuans, as a result of lack of access to capital and markets. In addition, access to credit from banks may also be difficult as many Papuans do not have collateral and the business may be too small to meet banks’ requirements.

However, there is a government program known as People Based Small-Business Loan (KUR), which is based on the Indonesian President’s Instruction No. 6 in 2007 on Real Sector Development Acceleration and Micro Small Medium Businesses. The aims of KUR introduction are; (i) to accelerate the development micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs); (ii) to increase access to financing for SMEs and cooperatives; and (iii) to alleviate poverty and to expand work opportunities. Through the KUR program, loans to micro, small and medium businesses are distributed. Several banks such as Mandiri Bank, BRI Bank, BNI and BTN bank are involved as the participant banks in the program (Retnadi Djoko, 2008). Further, the loan was guaranteed through facilitation from two assurance companies chosen by the government, PT Asuransi Kredit Indonesia (PT Askrindo), and General Company of Business Development Facilitation (Perum Sarana Pengembangan Usaha or PSPU).

Unfortunately, there is no evidence that the provincial and regional governments, the participating banks and the insurance companies’ are cooperating in implementing the regulation in Papua. Therefore, the micro and small businesses in the informal sector have difficulties accessing the KUR (credit). In fact, several commercial banks that claimed to have participated in the program, such as Mandiri Bank and BRI, are still applying the standard requirements. These include collateral, fixed selling location and regular income, even though the KUR program states that collateral is not obligatory for the micro and small businesses, as they are supported by the insurance companies as the guarantor. As a result, loans from the banks are mostly got by medium to big business.
In addition, although the microfinance institutions (bank or non-bank) are supposed to increase access of the Papuan community to credit, Landiyanto (2006) reports that only a small number of micro finance loans are distributed at the main regencies in Papua. In Papua, the financial institutions that give loans for small business are Bank Perkreditan Rakyat (BPR)\(^5\), Mandiri Bank, Papua Bank, Baitul Maal Wan Tanwil (BMT), Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI)\(^6\) units, Credit Unions, Perum Pegadaian\(^7\) and Tempat Pelayanan Simpan Pinjam (TPSP)\(^8\). These finance institutions are operated and located mainly in urban and rural areas close to urban areas; therefore, they are not of benefit to most of indigenous Papuans who live in rural areas. These finance institutions may also find it difficult to penetrate and expand markets, especially in rural areas. Significant expenses are needed to reach isolated areas; and in addition, the cost for banks to operate in Papua is very expensive.

In conclusion, Papuan entrepreneurs appear to be facing a number of obstacles that may impede their entrepreneurial activities. However, patterns of entrepreneurial activity and impediments to them are not clearly understood. Therefore, more needs to be learned if entrepreneurship in Papua is to be stimulated. Because Papua is very diverse in term of groups and culture, much remains to be learned about indigenous entrepreneurship within these groups.

2.6 Indigenous Entrepreneurship of Papuan Women in Informal Agricultural Sector

Papuan women play an important role in community based activities in the informal sector, and may face even greater obstacles to entrepreneurship. The Papuan Government is placing particular emphasis on the situation of Papuan women and how to improve their situation. It is thought that many previous community based economic development programs failed, partly, because women, as major economic actors, did not fully participate (BP3D Provinsi Papua, 2003). Success in community economic based development will therefore require women’s participation and the improvement of their abilities and capacities. This has been recognised by international organisations that have concluded that Papuan women should be recognised as an important part of the development programs in order to ensure program success (Bakti, 2008).

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\(^{5}\) Bank Perkreditan Rakyat (BPR) is a community credit bank that also known as rural banks;
\(^{6}\) Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) is a Indonesian community bank that reach Papua’s rural areas (villages) and provide small loans or credit for farmers;
\(^{7}\) Perum Pegadaian is an Indonesian pawnshop that is state owned. It provides microcredit throughout Indonesia with simple procedures and fast transaction;
\(^{8}\) Tempat Pelayanan Simpan Pinjam is a savings and credit service post. It serves village’s level and support and supervises by BRI.
The Papua Government drew up Perdasus No.1 in 2007, which relates to acceptance and management of OTSUS fund. Within this it is stated that the women and children empowerment budget is 2.28% (Foker LSM, 2008). There is also some financial allocation for women’s empowerment through the Development Fund and Regional Expense (APBD). For instance, in 2007, the government allocated seven trillion rupiah (approximately US $700,000) from APBD for women’s empowerment (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan, 2008).

As noted in Section 2.4, there are very few government policies and programs to increase entrepreneurship in Papua, although it is believed that this is an important way to achieve aspects of community based economic development. However, several programs have been conducted to increase Papuan women’s participation in economy; these include hand crafts, cooking, sewing training and socialisation of gender material funded by the OTSUS Fund in Sorong Regency (Nauly, 2008). ILO has started an Entrepreneurship Skills Development (ESD) program for Papuan women in the Highlands. This institution is developing the entrepreneurial skills of Highland women through training packages and assistance (ILO, 2010). Other activities such as kiosks and the establishment of home industries, and bookkeeping management training in coastal areas in Merauke have been supported by the Almamater Foundation and Yasantho (Santo Antonius Foundation) in conjunction with the Merauke Fishery and Ocean Official Office (Foker LSM Papua, 2006). Financial support by the Women and Empowerment Office for Papuan women business groups contributed Rp. 8 million (approximately US $800) per group, and women organisations contributed a further Rp. 5 million (approximately US $500) per group in Nabire Regency (Y. Wambrauw & Goo, 2008).

Although those examples show that there is support for women’s economic empowerment, but they are not representative of all areas in Papua, and Papuan’s women participation in development appears to be low (Papua Government, 2007). Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan (2008) states that since implementation of OTSUS Papua Province, Papuan women remain marginalised in all sectors. They do not have many opportunities in the development process (ILO, 2011). Korain (2008) claims that Papuan women are not seriously taken into account in various aspects of development, even though these women have important roles in indigenous communities. Further, in most Papuan regions, Papuan
women are ‘the main economic actor’ in their households and even clan, and are said to be the ‘back bone’ in meeting daily needs (ILO, 2011; Korain, 2008).

The traditional role of Papuan women as village, farm, and natural resources caretakers encourages them to become involved in informal agricultural trading in a very natural way (Korain, 2008). Wambrauw (2005) found that the need for cash for basic needs seems to be the main impetus for women’s involvement in informal marketing, and they earn cash by selling farm products (either their own produce or others) in the local and roadside market. In addition, informal marketing is perceived as a job that Papuan women can do because of the perceived low skill requirements, and easy entry and exit.

As stated in Section 2.4, Papiuans are perceived to have strengths in marketing activities, even though the level of this activity is still low. Papuan women dominate this informal marketing of agricultural products in urban and rural areas. In villages with better access to road and public transport, women are able to sell their farms’ product directly to the traditional markets in the urban areas. However, women who live in remote areas with difficult access to roads and transportation often cannot sell their products in the urban areas. The majority of Papuan farmers in remote areas, especially in the Highlands, only have a small quantity of produce for sale, which may be barely enough to cover the travel cost. As a result of this, these communities often depend on traders who come to their villages and buy their products, even at a low value. In these very remote areas, men are traditionally responsible for marketing activity, as women have important roles in indigenous households that inhibit them from long periods of travel and absence from their houses.

Not all Papuan women conduct their marketing activities in the public markets; some of them are marketing their products at roadsides or in front of their houses. Much of the product that sold in this way is betel nuts, together with lime and mustard seeds. Only a small number of women sell vegetables or fruits at the side roads or near their houses, as in most of Papua’s urban areas, there are vegetables traders or peddlers, locally known as Bejak Sayur, who operate daily using motorcycles to go from village to village. Many Papuan women also market fruits and cooked foods in the harbour when the PT National Indonesian Shipping Company’s (PELNI) motor ships (KM Doloronda, KM Labobar, KM Sinabung, KM

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9 Betel nut is a seed from the betel palm. Chewing betel nuts is an important cultural activity in Papua’s coastal areas
10 Mustard is a kind of fruit that is eaten together with betel nuts and lime
Nggapulu, KM Tatamailau, KM Kelimutu and KM Bukit Siguntang) transit in the region. In some of the remote areas, women often sell their products at the airport.

However, these entrepreneurial activities of Papuan women are thought to face many obstacles. The informal markets that these women operate in are dominated by primary products with low value, with a lack of sector and institutional support. Even though informal sector marketing is thought to require little skill, Renwarin (2006) concludes that most Papuans involved in the informal sector have neither appropriate skills nor the capacity to generate higher income, and this may be more likely for Papuan women.

An additional factor also requires consideration. Even though some of Papua’s regions such as Minyambouw, Anggi and Jayawijaya, produce introduced agricultural products, such as onion, garlic, carrot, big chillies, cabbage, chinese veggies, cauliflower, and potatoes, most of these products are supplied from Surabaya in east Java and Bitung in North Celebes. Migrant entrepreneurs that are involved in traditional markets prefer to import agricultural products from other Indonesian regions, as they find it more profitable. UNDP (2005b) reports that this very ironic, because on one hand, indigenous people face difficulties in marketing their products, but at the same time agricultural products are imported for consumption. Moreover, the Papuan Government does not have specific policies to encourage the use of local produce. Indeed, the Papuan Government cannot yet calculate regional production, which can be used to determine the percentage of imported agricultural produce from outside Papua (Kasihiuw, 2009).

Although Papuan women engage in entrepreneurial marketing activities, their entrepreneurial behaviour and ability appears to be different from migrants, such as Javanese or South Celebes people, who are known as better marketing entrepreneurs. It seems that, in informal marketing, Papuan women have low competitiveness compared to migrants, who have greater quantity and higher quality of products, better managerial skills, and often, selling cheaper prices for the same products. The marketing activities of Papuan women is also restricted because of seasonal marketing activities and limited produce, as they are dependent on resources, such as land and natural resources (e.g. forest, sea, and river). These women may face capital constraints to continuing their marketing activities if their cash is used for household, cultural and community needs. In many cases, they do not even have a float when doing their daily marketing, so do not have change for buyers. Some women stop selling in
the market when they run out of financial capital, and they start again if they can get money from their husband or family, or a loan.

Market development in Papua is not supported by an approach that can grow entrepreneurship behaviour within indigenous communities. This is shown by migrants’ competitiveness in the market and agricultural supply distribution (Korain, 2008). She also claims that there is no specific policy by the Papuan government to meet the market, capital and skill problems of indigenous Papuan women. Market buildings in the cities are mostly accommodated by migrants, and Papuan women often sell their products on the side roads. This situation is illustrated by the case of Papuan women vendors at Pasar Kaget Gelael in Jayapura. They were to be reallocated by government in order to create a clean and better environment in the capital city of Papua Province, as the market is located in the heart of Jayapura City. In 2004, these women were forced to move, and banned from trading in the Gelael area. However, they refused to move, and even went against the decrees of Dinas Trantip Kota Jayapura (government official service for discipline) and the Army. Because the Papua Government had promised to build a market for indigenous Papuan women in the main area of Jayapura City in 2001, but this did not happen, and these women, together with the university students and local NGO’s, came to The House of People's Representative (DPR) in 2008, to demand that the government honour its promise to build the traditional market for Papuan women (Foker LSM Papua, 2006; HAMPapua.Org, 2008).

These are examples of information that was found with regard to women’s entrepreneurial activities in Papua. There are also many other factors that enable and impede the entrepreneurship of Papuan women, but little is known, as there is not systematic documentation of entrepreneurship in the context of Papuan women marketers.

2.7 Conclusion

Despite Papua having significant natural resources, there are reported high level of poverty in the area. This level of poverty has been associated with lack of infrastructure and isolation. Agriculture is the key sector that most Papuans are involved in. Much of this is subsistence agriculture activity though there is some trading activity in the informal sector that seems to vary by region. However, little is documented about this trading activity, and how it varies and how it has changed.
The government is trying to address poverty by raising the level of agricultural development. However, many of these initiatives have not been successful. With the granting of OTSUS to the region, these efforts have been renewed. The government wants to foster entrepreneurial activities by Papuans in order to improve their standard of living and reduce poverty. There appears to be a number of obstacles that impede entrepreneurial activity, but patterns of entrepreneurial activity and impediments to them are not clearly understood.

With the granting of OTSUS, the government has placed particular emphasis on the situation of Papuan women and specifically seeks to improve their situation. While women are known to engage in marketing activity in the informal sector, the extent of this activity, and factors that enable it, are not clearly understood. There are also a number of obstacles that could impede such marketing activities, but once again, little is known about these in the context of Papuan women marketers.

If government measures to improve the situation of Papuan women through increasing their participation in entrepreneurial activities are to be successful, then there needs to be a better, and more systematic, understanding of agricultural marketing activity by Papuan women in the informal sector, since it is known that this is the entrepreneurial activity that these women are engaged in. If this marketing activity is better understood, then opportunities for better improving their position can be identified along with constraints that are impeding them. If this done, then it would assist the government to better target programs to improve the situation of Papuan women.
Chapter 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

3.1 Introduction

To address the research objectives, it is necessary to understand what entrepreneurship means in a context that is relevant to Papua. This chapter will review the literature relating to indigenous entrepreneurship. Section 3.2 defines the meaning of indigenous people, followed by a discussion (Section 3.3) of the definition of indigenous entrepreneurship and why the standard model of entrepreneurship does not give enough guidance for investigating this form of entrepreneurship. Section 3.4 examines features of the standard model of entrepreneurship that may be useful for this study. They include the factors contributing to entrepreneurial make up, and, in Section 3.5, different types of entrepreneurship. Finally I draw conclusions in Section 3.6.

3.2 Indigenous People

There are approximately 350 million indigenous peoples around the world (2005). These groups of people are complex and have different identities, cultures and customary livelihoods. The International Labour Organisation (1989, p. 1) definition of indigenous people is:

“Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or establishment of present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.”

The World Bank (1991, p. 1) also has its own definition of indigenous people. It identifies indigenous people by their possession, to some degree or other, of some of the following attributes:

- Close attachment to ancestral territories and the natural resources in them
- Presence of customary social and political institutions
- Economic system primarily oriented to subsistence production
- An indigenous language, often different from the predominant language
- Self-identification and identification by others as member of a distinct cultural group
- Primarily subsistence-oriented production
The Asian Development Bank (ADB) (n.d.) echoes these points. This organisation states that the characteristics of indigenous people as:

- Descent from population groups present in a given area, most often before modern states or territories were created and before modern borders were defined; and
- Maintenance of cultural and social identities; and social, economic, cultural and political institutions separate from mainstream or dominant societies and cultures.

Furthermore, the ADB (n.d.) notes additional attributes of indigenous people that are similar to those identified by the World Bank. These include:

- self-identification and identification by others as being part of a distinct indigenous cultural group, and the display of a desire to preserve that cultural identity;
- a linguistic identity different from the dominant society;
- social, cultural, economy, and political traditions and institutions distinct from the dominant culture;
- an economic system oriented more toward traditional systems of production than mainstream systems; and
- unique ties and attachments to traditional habitats and ancestral territories and natural resources in these habitats and territories.

Lasimbang (2008) adds a further dimension, mentioning that indigenous economic systems are characterised by a variety of small scale economic activities along with regulation of territories, land and resources. Hence, indigenous peoples are highly dependent on the land on which they live, and natural resources or immediately available resources (Paulin, 2007). Another characteristic of indigenous economic activities is the subsistence nature of production in which food is produced primarily for the family and the community, with any surpluses being marketed in the nearby area (Lasimbang, 2008).

Group of indigenous people living in their traditional and subsistence ways, are commonly among the poorest and most vulnerable segments of the society (Peredo, et al., 2004; The World Bank, 1991). Many indigenous and tribal communities live in remote areas and tend to be politically and socially marginalized (Maphosa, 1998), with the majority of them lagging behind in the economic, education and health sectors (Peredo, et al., 2004). They are less educated, are concentrated in lower income groups, are more likely to be unemployed and thus have greater reliance on social welfare (Paulin, 2007). Although the conditions of indigenous communities have long been a concern of policy makers, discussion and resolution of issues, especially related to their welfare, have not been controlled by indigenous people themselves (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007).
Factors that define indigenous people as identified through the literature are summarized in Table 3.1.
Table 3.1 Factors Defining ‘Indigenous’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Author/Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Descent from original people</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retain social culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of customary, social, institutions</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On ancestral land</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depend on immediate available resources</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small scale activity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence/traditional production system</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal reciprocity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment sustainability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalised/disadvantaged population</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distinct language</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify as distinct group</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater dependency on social welfare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As identified in Table 3.1, there are four key areas that are stressed by authors when characterising indigenous peoples. These are indigenous people are descendants of the original people, they are a marginalised or disadvantaged population, they are engaged in subsistence/traditional production systems, and they depend on immediate available resources.

It has been argued that stimulation of indigenous entrepreneurship has the potential to improve the condition of indigenous people through the creation of enterprise that respects indigenous traditions as well as empowers indigenous people as economic agents in the competitive global world (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007). Entrepreneurship itself is seen as an essential solution to unemployment, poverty and low economic growth in all parts of the world (Botha, et al., 2006). In short, encouraging entrepreneurship by indigenous people has been emphasised as a promising prospect for developing the economies of indigenous community.

### 3.3 Indigenous Entrepreneurship

This section will examine the meaning of indigenous entrepreneurship, and discuss why and how it differs from the standard model of entrepreneurship.

#### 3.3.1 Definition of Indigenous Entrepreneurship

Peredo et al (2004) states that it is essential to emphasise entrepreneurship with respect to the economic activities of indigenous people in their own setting. Therefore, the notion of indigenous entrepreneurship needs exploration. Maphosa (1998) says that indigenous entrepreneurship is entrepreneurship that takes place within a particular cultural context. Culture has a strong influence in indigenous communities; so indigenous entrepreneurship will reflect these cultural values (Lindsay, 2005). Further, the measurement of success of indigenous people through their own eyes is also influenced by culture.

Entrepreneurship of indigenous people means self-sufficiency within their community setting (Furneaux & Brown, 2007). Hindle and landsdowne (2007, p. 9) define indigenous entrepreneurship as:

"the creation, management and development of new ventures by indigenous people for the benefit of indigenous people. The organisations thus created can pertain to either the private, public or non-profit sectors. The desired and achieved benefits of
venturing can range from the narrow view of economic profit for a single individual to
the broad view of multiple, social and economic advantages for entire communities.
Outcomes and entitlements derived from indigenous entrepreneurship may extend to
enterprise partners and stakeholders who may be non-indigenous’.

Dana (2007) emphasizes that indigenous entrepreneurship is a form of self-employment based
on indigenous knowledge, which is a view echoed by Lindsay (2005), who says that
indigenous people have the needs to achieve self-determination and improve their social
economic basis.

Based on selective review of literature, the factors that make up indigenous entrepreneurship
can be seen in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2 Factor defining’ indigenous entrepreneurship’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Author/Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Based on indigenous knowledge</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has meaning as self-sufficiency in the community</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has both economic and non-economic goals and explanatory variables</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depend on natural resources</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operate at the margin and are involved in small scale business</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism and reciprocal</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefit the community</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 shows strong support for the notion that indigenous people entrepreneurial activities
are strongly influenced by their culture. The benefit of these activities will flow within their
communities. This form of entrepreneurship will be based on collectivism and reciprocity, indigenous knowledge, and natural resources.

### 3.3.2 Indigenous Versus Standard Models of Entrepreneurship

Dana (2007) claims that the features of the culture of an indigenous community which often contradicts the basic assumptions of the standard theories of entrepreneurship, which are mostly based on the research in developed countries and successful businesses. Therefore, indigenous entrepreneurship will differ from this standard model of entrepreneurship.

Standard models of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial factors are based on research in western (developed) countries, and assume a primarily economic motivation. Consequently, such models of entrepreneurship may be unsuitable for investigating indigenous entrepreneurship, where the primary motivations may be both economic and non-economic (P. L Dana, 2007; Lindsay, 2005).

These standard models are based on individualism, and almost all state that the individual’s competence and resources are the key factors to starting up an entrepreneurial business, and further, that the entrepreneur is primarily focused on their own self-interest (Bolton & Thomson, 2004; Carland & Carland, 1990; Cuervo, et al., 2007; de Bruin & Dupuis, 2003; Hougaard, 2005; Massey, 2005; Pfeifer, et al., 2003). On the other hand, indigenous entrepreneurship is more communal in nature, with the focus tending to be more on the communal benefit.

![Figure 3.1 A standard framework of entrepreneurial ventures initiation](image)

Source: Pfeifer et al. (2003, p. 6)
Figure 3.1 illustrates a relatively standard framework that conceptualises a business venture start up. This start up is seen as depending on primarily the capability of the individual entrepreneurs. These capabilities and motivation to start up a business venture are, in turn shaped and influenced by cultural factors and contextual supports such as the legal system, training programmes and advisory and support programmes. Hence, entrepreneurial activities are based on the assumption that individuals are motivated by private consideration (Casson, 1982) and the main goals of these models of entrepreneurship are profit (wealth) and growth (Carland & Carland, 1990; Dollinger, 1999; Zetterberg, 1978).

The indigenous entrepreneurship model (Figure 3.2) differs from the standard model shown in Figure 3.1, as it recognises the influence of cultural and social values, with the assumption that the cultural values among indigenous people are quite different to those in developed countries. These values shape the attitudes of the entrepreneurs, which then affects the start-up of a new business.

Figure 3.2 Cultural Model of Indigenous Entrepreneurial Attitude
Source: Lindsay (2005, p. 4)

A further difference between the standard model of entrepreneurship and the indigenous model is that Indigenous entrepreneurial activities will be often based on communal rather than individual resources. Further, indigenous entrepreneurship not only focuses on returns for individuals but also the community (Cahn, 2008; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007; Paulin, 2007; Peredo, et al., 2004). The major differences between these two sets of values is illustrated in Table 3.3 where Hofstede’s cultural dimensions are used to differentiate the cultures of indigenous people from those identified in the standard literature as common entrepreneurial cultural values (Lindsay, 2005, p. 5). Adaptation from the comparison of Redpath and Nielson (1997) common indigenous cultural values with Mc Grath, MacMillan, and Schainberg’s (1992) common entrepreneurial cultural value.
Table 3.3 Comparison of Common Indigenous Cultural Values with Common Entrepreneurial Cultural Value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hofstede's Cultural Value Dimensions</th>
<th>Common Indigenous Cultural Values</th>
<th>Common entrepreneurial Cultural Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individualism/Collectivism</td>
<td>High collectivism/Low Individualism</td>
<td>Low collectivism/high individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Distance</td>
<td>Low power distance</td>
<td>High power distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty/Avoidance</td>
<td>Low uncertainty avoidance</td>
<td>Low uncertainty avoidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity/Femininity</td>
<td>High femininity/low masculinity</td>
<td>Low femininity/high masculinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucian Dynamism</td>
<td>Difficult to apply – Distinctions between the two ends of the scale are unclear and can be contradictory</td>
<td>Did not include in their analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lindsay (2005)

Lindsay (2005) notes that collectivism is a key trait of indigenous communities. There is consensus in the literature that much of indigenous culture is about sharing resources, communalism, reciprocity, fulfilling social commitments and achieving social gains in the community (Curry, 1999, 2007; P. L Dana, 2007; Lindsay, 2005).

A further difference between the two models is that the standard model of entrepreneurship focuses on the commercialization of innovation, while a key motive of indigenous communities’ is preservation of heritage (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007). That is, culture and social values are embedded in the indigenous businesses (Curry, 2007), and therefore, culture will shape the indigenous entrepreneurs attitudes (Lindsay, 2005). Indeed, Hindle and Landsdowne (2007) go as far as to maintain that where culture and preservation of heritage do not feature as an important part of the development of an indigenous venture, then it may not be defined as indigenous entrepreneurship, even if the venture is owned by indigenous people and/or there is involvement of indigenous people. In their view such a venture might be considered as a variation of the more standard models of entrepreneurship.

In summary indigenous entrepreneurship differs with the standard models. Most authors are agreed that culture has an important role to play in the entrepreneurship of indigenous people, and that entrepreneurial activities will give benefit to indigenous communities.

3.4 Factors contributing to the entrepreneurial make up

The previous section discussed the meaning of indigenous entrepreneurship and why this differs from the standard models. However, there are some aspects of the standard entrepreneurship models that may provide some guidance when studying indigenous
entrepreneurship. This section discusses factors that can contribute to the entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial behaviour.

3.4.1 Personal attributes

In the standard entrepreneurship literature particular personal attributes have been identified as important for an entrepreneur. Attributes such as psychological, age, education and work experience are thought to shape entrepreneurial business.

3.4.1.1 Motivation and Psychological attitudes

There are several psychological characteristics observable in entrepreneurs, such as perseverance and determination, initiative and taking responsibility, orientation to clear goals, creativity, honesty and integrity, and independence (Bolton & Thomson, 2004). However, such research suggests that certain psychological attributes are believed to have a strong association with entrepreneurship. These psychological attributes, such as need for achievement, risk taking and locus of control are often used in the literature to differentiate between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs (Reynolds, et al., 2000).

However, there is limited study of indigenous entrepreneurs’ attitudes and attributed (Lindsay, 2005). The attitudes that drive indigenous entrepreneurs may differ from that of entrepreneurship depicted in the standard model. In particular, their personal attitudes will be strongly affected by their culture (Figure 3.2). Hence, the standard characteristics identified for entrepreneurs should not solely be used purely to characterise indigenous people’s entrepreneurship, as the attitudes of indigenous entrepreneurs should be viewed in the context of their culture (Lindsay, 2005).

3.4.1.2 Age, Education and work experience

In addition to psychological factors, entrepreneurship characteristics referred in the standard literature include personal attributes such as age, education and work experience.

(i) Age

Some literature argues that entrepreneurs often start their business in two age groups. Bolton and Thomson (2004) report that in business start programs around the UK, there are two groups of entrepreneurs:

1. Between twenty-two and thirty years: During this time, people have had some experience but may have less family and financial commitments than in their thirties.
2. Forty five years and over: At the time people may start a second career, and again, their family and financial responsibilities are less.

On the other hand, Burns and Dewhurst (1996) claim that it is commonly understood that the typical entrepreneur begins their businesses in their thirties. They note that, at this age, individuals have already developed a strong base of business experience and higher personal confidence. Reynolds et al. (2000) offer some support, reporting that individuals aged 25-44 years are the most entrepreneurially active.

In short, the literature suggests that there is little consensus on the age when entrepreneurs start their businesses and are the most active. It is possible that this may vary with unique individual characteristics.

(ii) Education
Dwi Riyanti (2004) states that, based on previous research, it appears that entrepreneurs with higher levels of education are more successful because that education supports them with knowledge and modern managerial skills. This enables them to be more conscious of the business world reality and to use their learning capability to manage a business. On the other hand, Bolton and Thomson (2004) note that entrepreneurs’ overall education is not higher than average (Bolton & Thomson, 2004). The GEM analysis reports that almost 62 percent of active entrepreneurs have not completed more than a secondary education, while those with at least some university experience represent only 35 percent of the total and only three percent include men and women with graduate experience (Reynolds, et al., 2000). Bolton and Thomson (2004) maintain that entrepreneurs do not value education as an essential factor for their success. Interestingly, for those entrepreneurs who did have a degree, Birley and Norbun (1987) (cited by Birley, (1996)) found that there was no connection between the type of degree awarded and the nature of the product/market of the new venture, although Reynolds et al. (2000) states that education related to the type of business and expected business growth.

In summary, there are varying opinions on the impact of education on entrepreneurship.

(iii) Work Experience
It is thought that work Experience will impact on the nature of a new venture (Burns & Dewhurst, 1996). Zimmerer and Scarborough (2008) claim that entrepreneurs need to have experience in the field they want to be involved in, as this will provide practical experience
and knowledge about the nature of the business. That is, a potential entrepreneur requires adequate technical ability or a working knowledge of the physical operations of the business, and sufficient conceptual ability to proceed with an entrepreneurial venture.

3.4.2 Resources/Assets

Any entrepreneur requires sufficient resources to start up a new business and maintain an existing one. Within an indigenous context, Cornel and Kalt (1992) acknowledged four internal assets that can be used by indigenous communities to increase their economic activities, such as ownership of natural resources, human capital, institution of governance, and art, music and culture (Mazzarol, 2007). Resources, or assets or capital have been defined by USAID (2006) and IDS (Scoones, 1998) as five-fold, being natural capital, physical capital, economic/financial capital, human capital and social capital.

3.4.3 Environment

The GEM\textsuperscript{11} model develops an entrepreneurial framework conditions (EFCs) that are needed for entrepreneurship. These are financial support, government policies, government programs, education and training, R and D transfer, commercial infrastructure, internal market openness, access to physical infrastructure, and cultural and social norms, and intellectual property rights protection (Reynolds, et al., 2000). As this study focuses on indigenous entrepreneurship of Papuan women who perform traditional small scale marketing activities in the informal sector, five of these elements of GEM model of EFCs are considered relevant.

- **Financial support**: Availability of financial resources, equity, and debt, for new and growing firms including grants and subsidies.

- **Government Policies**: Government policies, such as regulation and taxes will either impede or encourage new and growing firms. There are two dimensions to this. The first is the extent to which new and growing firms are prioritized in government policy in general. The second relates to regulations facing new and growing firms.

- **Government Programs**: The presence and quality of direct programs to assist new and growing firms at all levels of government (national, regional, and municipal).

\textsuperscript{11} Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) is a non-profit academic research association that has goal to make and provide high quality international research data on entrepreneurial activity.
• **Access to Physical Infrastructure:** Ease of access to available physical resources, communication, utilities, transportation, land or space at a price that does not discriminate against new, small, or growing firms.

• **Cultural and Social Norms:** The extent to which existing social and cultural norms encourage, or do not discourage, individual actions that may lead to new ways of conducting business or economic activities, and may, in turn, lead to greater dispersion of personal wealth and income. There are two distinct sub-dimensions to this EFC: National Entrepreneurial Culture, or the extent to which the national culture encourages entrepreneurship, and Respect for Entrepreneurs, or the extent to which entrepreneurs have high status.

Hindle & Lansdowne (2007) note a motivational environment for creating and developing entrepreneurial businesses is necessary if they are to flourish. The five elements of the GEM model that have been discussed are thought to provide an opportunity for indigenous entrepreneurship to develop.

### 3.5 Attitudes of Indigenous Communities to Entrepreneurship

The characteristics of entrepreneurship discussed in section 3.4 relate to the standard model entrepreneurship. This section examines the attitudes of indigenous communities to entrepreneurship. Indigenous people have a communal perspective of reciprocity and social obligation, and sustainable use of resources (Lasimbang, 2008). Culture and social values are embedded in indigenous businesses (Curry, 2007) and culture shapes indigenous entrepreneurs’ attitudes (Lindsay, 2005). Therefore, the characteristics of indigenous entrepreneurship are community orientation, collectivism, kinship relations, and community control. In addition to this, low innovation adoption, low use of capital and labour, and low value have also characterised this form of entrepreneurship.

#### 3.5.1 Community Orientation

Indigenous entrepreneurship is oriented toward the community (Cahn, 2008; Schaper, 2002). As a result, the benefits of indigenous entrepreneurial activities often extend beyond individuals to multiple economic advantages for the whole community (Lindsay, 2005). Hence, entrepreneurship of these groups of people is often associated with community-based economic development (Peredo, et al., 2004).
3.5.2 Collectivism

Most indigenous cultures are concerned about sharing resources, communalism, reciprocity, fulfilling social commitment and achieving social gains in the community (Curry, 1999, 2007; P. L. Dana, 2007; Lindsay, 2005). Hofstede (1980) noted that “collectivism results in an emphasis on organizational belonging rather than in individual achievement and rewards” (Steward, et al., 2003, p. 32). Hence, most of indigenous entrepreneurial activities are community oriented (Lindsay, 2005; Peredo, et al., 2004) and the ventures are organized ‘collectively’ and related to community development goals (Peredo, et al., 2004). As a result, sharing resources within indigenous societies (social investment) is more important than economic investment by individuals (Furneaux & Brown, 2007). This means that the family, extended family, elders and leaders, community opinions, and other community cultural values all play important roles in influencing indigenous entrepreneurship. Therefore, the ‘indigenous team’ in new business ventures involves not only entrepreneurs and the businesses’ entrepreneurial team, but also the entrepreneur’s family, extended family and even the community (Lindsay, 2005).

3.5.3 Kinship Relation

Maphosa (1998, p. 181) noted that Marris and Somerset (1971) and Garlick (1971) found that, in Kenya, kinship relations are a constraint on organisational efficiency and capital accumulation. Curry (2007) adds that in PNG, the investment of capital is often not in anticipation of future profit, but rather an investment in social relationships. Rather than viewing this as a disadvantage, Ballard (2001) reports that in many South Asian countries, reciprocities of kinship provide the most important foundation for almost all kinds of interpersonal relationships, and hence of network construction. He therefore argues that access to the cultural capital embedded in those networks is a substantial asset. Thus, social networks, which are the indigenous community’s social capital, can have a significant impact on their entrepreneurship (Dennis Foley, 2008). For example, entrepreneurs not only have a collective foundation, but also support from their collective financial assets. Nafziger (1969) further reports that small Nigerian entrepreneurs are significantly dependent on the extended family for their initial capital. However, negative views of indigenous peoples kin on capital accumulation, suggests that cultural and social structures that may create constraints for entrepreneurship. Hence, what may be benefit in one country may be a constraint in another culture (Kennedy, 1980 cited in Maphosa (1998, p. 183)).
3.5.4 Community Control

Western views of entrepreneurship focus on leadership, self-esteem, knowledge and skill (Giera, 1999). On the contrary, because collectivism is the key trait of indigenous communities, individual control may be subordinated to the higher level of collective influences (Lindsay, 2005). Redpath and Nielsen, 1997, cited in Lindsay (2005, p. 6), say that, “Individual autonomy and personal control are important, but only in terms of how they benefit the community”. The personal control and influence over a business will be replaced with the control and influence of family, extended family, and community. Therefore, the personal control of indigenous entrepreneurship will appear low due to community tendency. In short, individual entrepreneurial endeavour would be permitted- as long as it benefitted the community.

3.5.5 Low Innovation Adoption

In the standard literature, an entrepreneur is defined as an individual who is creative and innovative and who desires to develop valuable products when there is opportunity to do so (Bolton & Thomson, 2004). Thus, an entrepreneur is an individual who is innovative and willing to take a risk (de Bruin & Dupuis, 2003). As such, entrepreneurship refers to a person who has particular abilities and characteristics, conducts something new (for instance new product, new idea, new strategy, technology), or establishes new organizations or enterprises, and creates value, whether new or higher value (Massey, 2005).

However, in some indigenous groups, cultural values are thought to inhibit innovation and only economic activities that fit with the cultural norms may be accepted (Lindsay, 2005). Ritterbush and Pearson (1988), cited in Fairbairn (2006, p. 357), mention that indigenous entrepreneurs were “poor innovators but good imitators” in the type of business established. Furthermore, new ideas, changes and progress that threaten cultural values and practices may be prohibited (Redpath and Neilson, 1997 cited in Lindsay (2005, p. 6)). For example, the culture of some indigenous communities in Africa can inhibit the exploitation of opportunities and also discourage risk taking (Nkongolo-Bakenda, 2007).

3.5.6 Low Use of Capital and Labour

Zetterberg (1978) claims that standard entrepreneurship is strongly influenced by the availability and price of capital and labour, and entrepreneurs are those engaged in productive activities through their efficient use of capital and labours (Dollinger, 1999). Hence an
entrepreneur is able to identify the financial capital resources needed and to source those funds from various financial bodies, whether it is loan, private equity, public equity, or other financial facilities. This concept is illustrated in Figure 3.3

Figure 3.3 The Relationship between Entrepreneurship and Capital and Labour
Source: Zetterberg (1978)

In this context, Furneaux and Brown (2007) maintain that indigenous entrepreneurs face a number of barriers to the development of their business, mainly caused by their lack of access to capital, which they require to be successful in their businesses.

Peredo et al (2004) further state that, since the majority of indigenous communities live in chronic poverty with lower education levels and poor health, they do not have capital and access to formal financial institutions because they are poor. Therefore, their investments are often financed by personal risk capital such as savings, loans, and assistance from relatives, pensions or sale of assets (Kaufmann & Parlmeyer, 2000). Furthermore, indigenous people rarely have savings in the form of money, but in other forms, such as livestock. Accessing credit is difficult for these people due to complicated loan requirements, language difficulties, and lack of acceptable collateral (Fairbairn, 2006). This lack of access to money capital can inhibit entry to economic activities (Maphosa, 1998).

Lower levels of education are also seen as obstacles to indigenous people’s participation in small business. Daly (1994), cited in Furneux and Brown (2007), claims that 90 % of the factors that cause low incomes for indigenous people can be accounted for by lower levels of education and their location outside urban areas. Maphosa (1998) claims that, although numerical literacy may not be an essential factor in the decision to start an enterprise, it is a substantial factor in business success. Several studies have reported that the lack of
management skills among indigenous people has a significant impact on the success of small indigenous enterprises (Furneaux & Brown, 2007).

3.5.7 Low Opportunity Recognition

In the standard entrepreneurship literature, it has been argued that there are three basic competencies of an entrepreneur: analysis, creativity and communication (Hougaard, 2005). De Bruin and Dupuis (2003) mention that entrepreneurs are those who are aware of formerly unseen benefit opportunities. However, it is thought that indigenous recognition of entrepreneurship opportunity may be low. This is not because they cannot recognize opportunities, but because they use ‘different’ criteria for assessing and analysing opportunity and benefit to western or non-indigenous entrepreneurs (Lindsay, 2005). For instance in Alaska, identification and/or response to opportunity in different ethnic groups is bounded in culture (P. L Dana, 2007). More generally, in indigenous communities, opportunity recognition will have a tendency to be community focused and will be based upon agreement styles of decision making (Lindsay, 2005).

3.5.8 Low Value Created

Pfeifer et al (2003) state that ‘(standard) entrepreneurship is the act of creating value by seizing opportunity through risk taking and mobilization of human, social, financial and physical capital’. Syahyuti (2006) also claims that the concept of entrepreneurship is about motivation and the capacity of the individual or group to find opportunity in creating new value or generating new growth in the economy and in responding to a perceived need in the market. Therefore, entrepreneurship will create value for the business’s actors. However, it has been argued that indigenous peoples’ economic activities are not only carried out because of a response to market need, but also because of cultural and social imperatives (P. L Dana, 2007). Curry (1999) supports this, adding that profit and consumption may be not being the primary factor that drives entrepreneurial activities of indigenous groups.

Most indigenous peoples are involved in subsistence productive activities (Curry, 1999; Lasimbang, 2008) and small scale enterprises (Fairbairn, 2006). Dana (2007) claims that indigenous entrepreneurs’ businesses are rarely profitable as they tend to depend on immediately available resources. In addition to that, entrepreneurial action among indigenous people often involves barter or transactions with no money changing hands (Curry, 1999). As a result of these factors, it may be difficult for these entrepreneurs to reinvest. Hence, it is
often concluded that indigenous entrepreneurship is more likely to create low value for the business and also for the communities. However, the benefits of indigenous entrepreneurial activity (even it is low in value) may flow to the society through gifting and mutuality, financial support to community members, and support for cultural activities.

3.6 Typology of entrepreneurs

In the standard literature, there are several typologies categorising entrepreneurs based on their demographic or personality characteristics (Tang, et al., 2008), some of which have been discussed in previous section. Woo, Cooper and Dunkelberg (1991) cited in Stewart et al (2003, p. 30) state that the nature of their goals may provide a foundation for categorising entrepreneurs. For example, entrepreneurs who are motivated by profit and growth may have a different psychological disposition than entrepreneurs who are motivated to earn income for family needs (Steward, et al., 2003). In this vein, Carland and Carland (1997) cited in Stewart et al (2003, p. 31) defines high growth oriented entrepreneurs as *macroentrepreneurs*, while stability based or income focused entrepreneurs are defined as *microentrepreneurs*.

Burch (Burch, 1986a, 1986b) suggests that, even though the characteristics of entrepreneurs cannot be completely defined, there are certain key characteristics and tendencies that can be used to illustrate their profile. He notes that, entrepreneurs are a type of person who has the need to achieve, are willing to work hard, able to nurture, and are disposed to accept responsibilities. They are oriented toward reward, are optimistic, with an inclination toward excellence, have a knack for organisation, and a desire to make a profit. He also states that entrepreneurs seek independence, wealth, opportunity, innovation, adventure, accept risk, and rely on intuition. Some of these features are illustrated in Figure 3.4.
According Figure 3.4, the ‘Labourer’ is least entrepreneurial, and the ‘Bureaucrat’, the ‘Lender’ (bank officer), the ‘Professional’ and the ‘Manager’ also tend to be non-entrepreneurial. Levent et al (2006, p. 6) state that “non-entrepreneurial behaviour is exhibited by those who wish to stay within certain limits and do not desire extreme responsibilities”. It is possible, however, for these individuals to exhibit streaks of entrepreneurship by introducing a new procedure, process or service. Those who are entrepreneurs are independent, seeking for wealth and opportunity, innovative, risk acceptor and have intuitive.

Entrepreneurial activities and the decision to start a business are driven by different circumstances and motives (Mulira, et al., 2010). An individual can either be pushed into self-employment as there was no other alternative, or can be pulled into self-employment in order to chase a business opportunity. Based on this, Bhola et al. (2006, p. 3) noted that “opportunity-based entrepreneurship involves those who choose to start their own business by taking advantage of an entrepreneurial opportunity, and necessity-based entrepreneurship involves people who start a business because other employment options are either absent or unsatisfactory”.

As indigenous entrepreneurship is an emerging subject for research and still developing, there is very little known about the typology of entrepreneurship in indigenous society. It is possible that the characteristics of indigenous entrepreneurship will differ from those found non-indigenous societies on that standard ‘western’ typologies may adapt to include the
culture and environment of the indigenous people. To further understand what such indigenous characteristics are, it is important to carry out research on these features.

3.7 Conclusion

Indigenous people appear to have different values and cultural characteristics compared to standard (Western) entrepreneurs. The standard models of entrepreneurship see economic reasons as the primary motivation, but this is often not very useful when considering indigenous entrepreneurship, since this kind of entrepreneurship tends to have both economic and non-economic motivations. Standard models are based on individuals, innovation and commercialisation, which is often at odds with the cultural and social values inherent in the indigenous peoples’ activities. Indigenous peoples’ entrepreneurial activities are likely to be based on cultural and social values and can be characterised by more consensus decision making, low innovation adoption, collectivism, and community control, low use of capital and labour, low opportunity recognition and low value created. However, as indigenous entrepreneurship is an emerging field, there is much that we do not know compared to the standard models formulated in the West. Hence, the standard models should not be used purely when trying to understand indigenous entrepreneurs as they appear to involve very different factors and environment. This research could contribute a greater understanding of models of indigenous entrepreneurship and the factors that influence indigenous entrepreneurs.

In spite of the limited research on the indigenous entrepreneurship, the available literature does provide a starting point to understanding and examining entrepreneurship among Papuan women. The existing literature on indigenous entrepreneurship can provide a framework to study these women’s entrepreneurial attitudes and activities, and how cultural and social values influence this entrepreneurship.
Chapter 4
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the framework used to guide the research, how this research is conducted, and what methodologies were used in this research to collect the data. The research questions are revisited Section 4.2. In Section 4.3 the research framework is explained. This is followed by a brief discussion on the nature of marketing activity and the research context in Section 4.4. Then, Section 4.5 the methodology used in the research is discussed. This followed by an explanation of the research location in Section 4.6 and a discussion on the mechanics of the field work in Section 4.7. This chapter is concluded and summarised in Section 4.8.

4.2 Research Questions Revisited

The overall research aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of entrepreneurial marketing activity by Papuan women in the informal agricultural sector. This aim will be achieved through the five research questions posed in Chapter 1. Now that the Papuan context has been established and the literature on indigenous entrepreneurship has been perused, these research questions will now revisited and refined.

Research Question 1 states: What is the nature of entrepreneurial marketing activity by Papuan women in the informal agricultural sector?

Based on the material in Chapters 2 and 3, it emerged that indigenous communities’ entrepreneurial activities are anchored in their cultural and social values and characterised by a community orientation (Cahn, 2008; Lindsay, 2005; Schaper, 2002), and indigenous knowledge (P. L Dana, 2007; Peredo, et al., 2004). It depends on immediately available resources or natural resources (P. L Dana, 2007; Paulin, 2007; Peredo, et al., 2004). Thus, cultural values are likely to play an important role in Papuan entrepreneurship. Prior research has claimed that Papuans are weak entrepreneurs as they lack capabilities in management, financial resources and technology (Van Burg, 2007). They are overwhelmingly involved in small-scale business activity in the informal sector.
This literature suggests some subsidiary questions that can be posed to further enhance this first research question. These are:

a) What are the characteristics of Papuan women agricultural marketing entrepreneurs, including their personal attributes and resources that they use for their agricultural marketing activities in informal sector?

b) Why they are engage in this entrepreneurial marketing activity?

c) How are they involved in informal agricultural marketing?

Research Questions 2 and 3 deal specifically with opportunities for and constraints faced by, these women. In particular, Research Question 2 asks: What factors create opportunities for improving their entrepreneurial marketing activity in the informal sector and Research Question 3 asks: What constraints are faced by these women in undertaking their entrepreneurial marketing activity in the informal sector?

It has been suggested that a variety of measures could give Papuan women opportunities to improve their entrepreneurial activities. These include the Special Autonomy Law (OTSUS) for Papua, agricultural sector development, bottom up development planning, People Based Small-Business Loan (KUR) and many other programs. Papuan entrepreneurs also seem to face a number of constraints, such as lack of access to infrastructure, lack of government assistance (despite the above programs) and lack of financial resources, which may impede their entrepreneurial activities. In my reading of these issues, I have become sensitised to them. However, I will reserve judgment, and will let the opportunities and constraints emerge from this study, as it is my intention that this study be grounded in the experiences of the women who I interview.

Research Question 4 deals with the implications of the study for policy purposes. Specifically, it states: What are the implications of these findings for the Papuan government?

The Literature in Chapter 2 noted that many of the current development programs are not utilised to better improve indigenous entrepreneurship of Papuans. The OTSUS, which is proposed to benefit Indigenous Papuans through programs such as community based economic activities, does not seem give benefits for these Papuan women, and the Papuan Government seems to be unable to support the entrepreneurial activities of Papuan women. This raises the issue of what should be done to have better targeted programs to improve the situation of Papuan women engaged in entrepreneurial marketing activity in the informal agricultural sector?
Research Question 5 is a more fundamental one. It focuses on the nature of indigenous entrepreneurship itself. In particular, Research Question 5 states: What implications do the findings of this study have for models of indigenous entrepreneurship?

The literature suggests that there are features of indigenous entrepreneurship that are very different from the standard western model; such as indigenous entrepreneurship being motivated by both economic and non-economic goals (P. L Dana, 2007; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007; Lindsay, 2005), culture having a strong influence in their activities (Curry, 2007; Lindsay, 2005), social capital having a strong impact on their business activities (D. Foley, 2004; Nafziger, 1969), and the use of different criteria to recognise opportunities(Lindsay, 2005). I want to be able to contribute to this literature as a result of my research findings.

4.3 Research Framework

Before discussing my Research Framework, I need to look at how to approach the task of answering the research questions. Because I want my study to be grounded in the experiences of the women entrepreneurs, then the key focus initially will be on gaining insight into the issues relating to Research Question 1. Once I understand the nature of entrepreneurial marketing activity by Papuan women, I can then understand the opportunities and the constraints they are facing, and so answer Research Questions 2 and 3. After I have done this, I will then be in a position to analyse the implications for the Papuan Government (Research Question 4). Also, when I have answered Research Question 1, I will also have gained insight into the nature of indigenous entrepreneurship (Question 5), and I can identify what the contribution of my research is to the literature on indigenous entrepreneurship.

At this point, I need to establish a framework that integrates the themes of indigenous entrepreneurship literature and the Papuan context to guide this research. This is done in Figure 4.1.
I need to understand what these women’s marketing activities in the informal sector look like. That is, where do they sell, what they sell, how often do they sell, what do they do to improve the value of their produce, and so on. Once I know that, I can then begin to understand more about this entrepreneurial behaviour that they exhibit by conducting this marketing activity in the informal sector.

It is proposed that cultural and social values have strongly influenced Papuan women in their entrepreneurial activity. The literature on indigenous entrepreneurship mentions that indigenous people’s entrepreneurial activities are strongly influenced by their culture. This indigenous entrepreneurship takes place within a particular cultural context (Maphosa, 1998), and it will reflect cultural values (Lindsay, 2005). Hence, cultural and social values are thought to have shaped the Papuan women’s attitude to their entrepreneurial marketing activities. It is suggested that these values dictate their personal attributes, and affect their economic activities, and access and control over resources.

Literature suggests that indigenous entrepreneurs depend heavily on natural resources (P. L Dana, 2007; Paulin, 2007; Peredo, et al., 2004) and are involved in subsistence productive activities (Curry, 1999). Thus, the resources that indigenous people access might be in the
forms of immediately available resources or natural resources. Social capital is also thought to have an important role in supporting indigenous entrepreneurs’ activities, through sharing resources (Curry, 1999, 2007; P. L Dana, 2007; Furneaux & Brown, 2007; Lindsay, 2005) and social networks (D. Foley, 2004).

According to the literature, personal attributes seem to have shaped entrepreneurial activities (Bolton & Thomson, 2004; Cuervo, et al., 2007; Reynolds, et al., 2000). These indigenous entrepreneurs’ personal attributes will include their motivation to be involved in the business activities, and other factors, such as age, education, trading experience and so on.

In addition, external influences in the environment are also thought to affect these women’s marketing activities. Financial support, Special Autonomy and Government Policies, government and other institutions’ programs, and access to physical infrastructure are thought to contribute to Papuan women’s entrepreneurship in the informal sector, as they will have an impact on their access to resources and their capability to market their produce. The external environment is considered to have an impact on the indigenous people’s social and cultural values because of the change in their access to infrastructure and the market economy, involvement in various development programs, and assimilation with other Indonesian communities.

Therefore, all of the factors outlined in Figure 4.1 and the interrelationships between them will be considered in order to understand the entrepreneurial marketing activities of Papuan women.

4.4 The Nature of Marketing Activity and the Research Context

In order to understand the nature of these women’s marketing activities in the informal sector, I need to have some means of conceptualising ‘marketing activities’. This issue is briefly addressed in this section.

There are some key principles of marketing management, which will give some indication of the actions that might be taken by someone who is marketing their product regardless of the environment that they operate in. These key principles have been extracted from Kotler (2003) and Martin (2005).

The most important issue in making basic marketing decisions is to identify the consumer, the characteristics of the product the consumer desires, how stable their demand for this product
is likely to be and who are the competitors. After this has been done, a range of subsidiary
decisions can be made on what product to produce, how much of it to produce, and which
grade, standard or quality to produce. Further a range of selling decisions will need to be
made, which include where to sell, when to sell, who to sell to, how to sell, and which price to
sell at.

Marketers research and select a target market. This allows consumer needs and constraints to
be identified. After this has been done, the needs of the consumer can be focused upon.
Developing specific marketing strategies can then be undertaken. Marketing strategies
consist of a range of marketing decisions, commonly known as the marketing-mix. These
marketing-mix decisions relate to the product to be produced, the price to be charged, the
place where the product is to be sold (distribution or supply chain) and how the product can
be promoted. This is known as the 4 P’s of marketing-mix variables.

These principles of marketing management can assist me in conducting my research. I will
attempt to understand how the women marketers view their customers and competitors, what
target markets they sell to and why, what products they sell and how they make decisions to
sell these products, how they set prices, and whether they engage in any activity that can help
promote their products.

Related to the principles of marketing management is the area of value chains/supply chains
and how they are managed. There are a number of concepts from this literature which can
help also in conceptualising ‘marketing activities’.

At the end of any chain, there is a customer, which is the final consumer. In a long chain,
there will be a number of intermediate buyers, with the end customer representing the final
destination. The customer has needs (which will vary according to the market segment).
Hugos (2003, p. 2) states that ‘a supply chain consists of all stages involved, directly or
indirectly, in fulfilling a customer request’. Martin and Jagadish (2006) support this, claiming
that a supply chain aims to meet the end consumer’s need for a certain product. Therefore, a
supplier will endeavour to create value for that customer in various ways. In a well-
functioning chain, all firms link and align with each other to create value for the end
customer, and so for the chain as a whole. This value creation occurs through business
operations and the integration of processes between firms, including logistics and quality
control (Martin & Jagadish, 2006). Each of the intermediate customers, in their role as
suppliers, responds to the needs of the next buyer by creating value in the form of improved
attributes. Therefore, relationships occur, and information flows between farmers/producers, assembly agents, traders, wholesalers, transporters and retailers in a chain. The information that flows along in a chain will link suppliers and intermediate customers with market demands and inform them about the required product form, quality and quantity.

Hence, I also need to understand the chains that my research subjects are involved in. More specifically, I need to understand how they create value for their intermediate or end customer, how they transport their product and maintain its quality, and how they gather information on the market.

The research subjects for this study are Papuan women involved in marketing activities and who operate in the informal sector. These women play a significant role in contributing to their family economy. Some of these women will come from very remote locations and from very different cultural settings to those often seen in research endeavours on entrepreneurship and marketing. As a result, I will need to observe these women and gain their trust by engaging with them in their own environment- at the market or at their village- and in a way that they feel comfortable with. This research context will have an impact on how I can conduct my research.

The implication of this research context is that the type of information that I can gather may not necessarily be strongly quantitative. I need to answer my research questions in a context where conventional methods of gathering data and conventional types of data may be difficult to extract, which will provide me with both constraints and challenges.

4.5 Research Methodology

I need a research method that can handle the type of research questions that I have posed, operationalize the research framework that I have developed, and allow me to gather the required information from my particular subjects.

4.5.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative approaches typically supply data rich with detail and insights into participants’ experiences and characteristics (Douglas 2003). Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). It involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials, which can include case studies, personal experiences, life story interviews, observational, historical
accounts, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives, or any combination of these methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Qualitative researchers are concerned with the meaning people attach to things in their lives (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). The process is inductive; that is, the researcher gathers data to build concepts, insight and understanding from patterns in the data rather than collecting data to assess or tested preconceived models, hypothesis, or theories (Merriam & Associates, 2002; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). The type of findings which are inductively derived from data in a qualitative study is in the form of themes, categories, typologies, concepts, tentative hypothesis, and even substantive theory (Merriam & Associates, 2002).

Since this research aims to examine the nature of entrepreneurship of Papuan women and the factors that enable and impede their endeavours, qualitative research using appropriate techniques is a valid and preferred approach to the research problem.

4.5.2 Case Study Strategy

Case study was adopted in this research as the primary qualitative method. The case study is an intensive description and analysis of a phenomenon or social unit, such as an individual, group, institution, or community (Merriam & Associates, 2002). A case study is defined by Yin (2003, p. 13) as an ‘empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used’. Yin (2003) also states that case studies can be exploratory, explanatory and descriptive, and are a preferred strategy when the focus is on contemporary phenomena within a real-life context, and when the researcher seeks answers to ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions. It is most appropriate where the interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than specific variables, and in discovery rather than confirmation (Laws & McLeod, 2004).

Case study research can employ various data collection tools, such as direct observation, participant observation, document analysis, archival records, survey, questionnaires, interviews and others (Dooley, 2002; Yin, 2003) and the results may be qualitative, quantitative or both (Eisenhardt, 1989). It has the ability to embrace multiple cases, to embrace quantitative and qualitative data, and to embrace multiple research paradigms (Dooley, 2002).
A single case may form the basis of research on typical, critical or deviant cases, while multiple cases may be used to achieve replication of types of incidents in different settings, or to compare and contrast different cases (Schell, 1992). Stake (1994) uses the term ‘collective case study’ for multi cases, which is a collection of individual cases. The cases in the collection may be similar or dissimilar, display redundancy and variety, while each having voice. This research uses a multiple (collective) case study approach, as I want to study and compare the entrepreneurial marketing activities of Papuan women in the informal agricultural sector in three different settings. The cases I have chosen are a remote area setting, a transmigration area setting, and an urban area setting. These cases are chosen because they reflect different accessibility to infrastructure, such as road, physical markets and support from the government and financial institutions. This multiple-case design allows cross-case analysis and comparison, and the investigation of this particular phenomenon in diverse setting (Darke, et al., 1998), and which allows for more robust generalization (Thies & Volland, 2010) or theorizing (Stake, 1994). Hence, this case study research will allow me to yield answer to my research questions, and will be particularly suitable in approaching the questions relating to indigenous entrepreneurship theory.

The process of conducting a case study has been outlined by Yin (2003). Figure 4.2 captures this process. Hence, I have developed theory (my theoretical framework), and will now select my cases and design the data collection protocols. I will then conduct Case Studies one, two and three, and write individual case reports, which include the within-case analysis. Then I will conduct the cross-case analysis.
**Figure 4.2  Case Study Method**
Source: Yin (2003, pg. 50)
Indigenous Papuan traders from Minyambouw and Surrounding areas (Remote areas), Prafi (Transmigration site), Manokwari City and surrounding areas (Urban areas) are the three different locations that have been selected for case study. Three cases will give sufficiently by broad and deep descriptions of Papua women traders in Manokwari.

In addition to the cases, the government and other institutions are also a focus in this study, in order to understand their roles in supporting the entrepreneurial activities of Papuan women in these urban, transmigration site and remote areas.

4.6 Research Location

Manokwari has been chosen as the location of the research. My reason is that I am familiar with the location, and I have already interacted with some of Papuan women agricultural market traders, and so can gain entry into the research sites being studied.
Figure 4.3 Manokwari Regency
Manokwari Regency includes the capital city of the West Papua Province, and so a number of markets are accessible. It includes a large number of Papuan women from different ethnic groups and also non-Papuans, who are all involved in marketing agricultural products in the public markets and the side roads in the area. Three different areas are chosen as cases to represent Papuan women traders from the urban and suburban areas, a transmigration site and a remote area (these locations are showed by the red circle in Figure 4.3). This diversity allows me to study the nature of indigenous entrepreneurship by Papuan women traders who have different factors that enable and impede them in undertaking their marketing activities.

After observations in an urban market (Wosi Market) and transmigration site markets (SP1 and SP2 Markets), I conducted interviews with Yayasan PERDU\(^\text{12}\) (NGO) staff and the Head of Economic Division of Regional Executive Development Board (Bapeda) in Provincial Level and had discussions with some of my colleagues in the university. On the basis of this information, the transmigration site in Prafi, and Minyambouw District and its surrounding areas were selected for the second and third cases, respectively.

Prafi was selected as this area is a suburban area as well as the transmigration site. Prafi is the central area for the production of oil palm, cocoa, paddy rice, soybean, corn and various kinds of vegetables. It is essential to understand the marketing activities of Papuan women farmers who are local transmigrants\(^\text{13}\) in the area, as they have been relocated and they live side by side the national transmigrants, who are mostly Javanese. On the other hand, the Minyambouw traders from the highlands were chosen based on my observation that there are a lot of traders from Minyambouw and surrounding areas who sell their produce in urban markets. In addition to that, Minyambouw and the surrounding areas have been targeted by the West Papua Government to be the central production area for highland produce, such as cabbage, carrots, potatoes, spring onions and celery.

### 4.7 Research Field Work

#### 4.7.1 Preparation

There is a regulation in Papua, including Manokwari, that research done by any institution, organisation or individual must get permission from the regional government through the

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\(^{12}\) PERDU is a local NGO that focuses on community development and natural resources conservation

\(^{13}\) People who being relocated from their original areas/villages through the government Transmigration Program
Regional Executive Development Board known as Bapeda. In order to get the permission letter from the Bapeda, I had to first get an introductory letter from my employer, the State University of Papua through the Research and Development Centre. Therefore, after my arrival in Manokwari, the first two weeks were spend getting an introductory letter from the university and a permission letter from the head of Bapeda, who then reports this research activity to the Bupati as the head of Manokwari Regency.

I then contacted government officials and technical institutions in order to get data and information on their program with regards to Papuan women traders. These are the Bapeda of Manokwari Regency, the Bapeda of West Papua Province, the Women’s and Children’s Empowerment and Family Planning office of West Papua, the Women’s Empowerment and Family Planning Board of Manokwari, the Trade and Industry Office of Manokwari, the Cooperative and Medium and Small Businesses Office of Manokwari, and the Community’s Empowerment Office of Manokwari. I also contacted commercial banks, such as Mandiri Bank, Indonesian Nasional Bank (BNI), Papua Bank, Indonesian Community Bank (BRI), Danamon Bank, and Pawn Company. I also approached microfinance institutions, such as Arfak Jaya Cooperative. Finally, I also contacted the head of Prafi and Minyambouw Districts in later weeks to inform them about my research, which was to be conducted in their districts.

4.7.2 Selection of Respondents

The selections of respondents or individuals within these regions to be interviewed were done by using purposive and snowball sampling to identify potential respondents. Some of the respondents are chosen purposively as I knew them and was aware of their activities, thus it was easy for me to approach them. Further, respondents were also selected on the basis of my observation of their marketing activities. Snowball sampling was also used in this research. That is, I identified from the population being researched and asked them to identify other members of the population who in turn, then identified further members and so on (The Scottish Housing Regulator, 2008). By using these sampling methods, a substantial number of market traders were identified and approached to take part in this research. Five Javanese traders were also interviewed in order to gain a perspective of the non-Papuan traders marketing activities. The number of respondents interviewed is shown in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1 Number of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Respondents (Number)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papuan Traders</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manokwari Urban Area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trasmigration Sites (Prafi)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Remote Areas (Minyambouw and Surrounding)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Papuan - Javanese Traders</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these respondents, I was able to conduct five group discussions with Papuan women traders. Two group discussions were done in the urban areas, while three were done in the Minyambouw District (remote area).

4.7.3 Data Collection and Analysis

4.7.3.1 Data Collection

The data from the field work were gathered through primary interviews and observations, and secondary data collection. An interview is a useful way to get large amount of data quickly (Marshall & Rossman, 1999), and interviews were used to generate data on the traders’ knowledge, views, experiences, resources, and access to infrastructure in doing their marketing activities. These in-depth interviews were useful for gaining a deep understanding of these traders’ experiences from their own point of view. Such interviews can be much more like conversations than formal events with predetermined response categories (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). In this research, semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used. A list of key questions was prepared in Christchurch before my departure to Manokwari. The key questions were aimed at getting information on their marketing activity, and focused on how and why questions in order to get depth and breadth of information from these traders. These women were interviewed one by one as I wanted to get information based on individual trader experiences. I did not tape the interviews because this could make these Papuan women respondents feel uncomfortable and suspicious. Detailed notes were recorded in a note book. All interviews were set up based on the themes and categories for each respondent and directly typed.

The research was started in the city as most Papuan women market traders are distributed in the area. The data collection started with my observations in Sanggeng and Wosi public markets. I approached Papuan women traders that I considered to be regular traders and appeared to be successful. These women then referred me to other traders who according to
them, were successful in their marketing businesses. There were also some traders who I had
known before I started my research. I interviewed them, and they directed me to other
potential respondents. Besides the regular traders at the market, side road and the harbour,
some casual traders were also interviewed. There were five Javanese traders interviewed in
Wosi Market in order to get a brief understanding of non-Papuan traders marketing activities.
All of the interviews with these urban traders were conducted in their selling locations.

Respondents from Minyambouw and surrounding areas (more remote area) were interviewed
in their selling locations in urban and transmigration sites and in their home village. I was
very fortunate that, on my first visit to Minyambouw District, I was travelling with an
extension officer from the Agricultural Centre Research and Development. She has an
experimental program to plant five new varieties of sweet potatoes in several areas in
Manokwari, including Minyambouw. Only one farmers’ group was participating in this
program, and I was able to meet some of the women traders from that group and talk to them.
After that visit, I came back again to the area to interview some of the women, the local
extension officer and the head of Minyambouw District. I visited the nearby farms and
observed how they conducted their farming activities, and their interaction with each other in
the villages, and their interaction with the members of Women Organisation from Manokwari
City who conducted a Cooking Training Program in the district.

The interviews with transmigration site traders were conducted in SP1 and SP2 Markets in
Prafi District. I was able to visit the nearby farms, which are around the villages and the oil
palm plantation, and saw their lives in the transmigration sites, where they live side by side
with other transmigrants (mostly Javanese). It is important to note that respondents from
Minyambouw and Prafi (the transmigration site) come from the same tribe, which is the Arfak
Big Tribe. These two groups of people originally come from the same areas, such as
Minyambouw, Testega and Surrounding areas. Therefore, these people share the same
culture and social values.

Beside the interviews with individuals, interviews were also conducted with groups of traders.
I was able to conduct five group discussions. Two group discussions were conducted in the
urban area, and three group discussions were conducted in Minyambouw District.

The data gained from these interviews was supported by my observations. Masson (1996, p.
60) mentions that observation, and in particular, participant observation, is a ‘ method to
generate data which involves the researcher immersing her/himself in a research setting, and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, interaction, relationships, actions, and so on, within it’. By doing this, I was able to get nearer to the traders’ situation, and get broader pictures and more in-depth information on their marketing activities. Another point is that such observation is needed because, based on my previous research experiences, some respondents may give information that the researcher want to hears, which may not be relevant to their actions or conditions, and so the information can be biased. Observation plays an important role as the researcher notes the interviewee’s body language and affect in addition to her words (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). I observed their activities at the markets, how they prepare their produce, how they sell, what they do to attract buyers, how they interact with buyers and other traders, and what happens after they finish selling. The observation not only focussed on my respondents, but also Papuan market traders in the urban and transmigration markets in general.

In addition, secondary data was also gathered to enrich this study. The sources of secondary data are the research reports of the State University staff and students on traditional farming and marketing activities of the Papuan women, and reports from university research centres, such as the Women’s Development Research Centre (P4A UNIPA) and the Regional Economic Development and Fiscal Research Centre (P3FED).

Further, representatives from government offices and institutions, non-government organisations, and financial institutions were interviewed and requested to supply supporting documents (e.g. annual reports) in order to gather information on their roles in supporting these women’s marketing activities in the informal sector. However, there was no interview with the microfinance institutions as the head of Arfak Jaya Cooperative Amban Branch refused to be interviewed because of security issues. Therefore, data on this informal institution was gathered from the traders who get loans from it and also from the Cooperative and Small and Medium Business Office.

4.7.3.2 Data Triangulation

Triangulation refers to an approach to getting data from a wide range of different data sources, different data collection methods and different researchers. Data triangulation is important to increase the credibility of a study (Davidson & Tolich, 2003). This research used data triangulation to increase the robustness of data collected. This meant comparing
interview data with observational data or written documents, and checking for consistency from other institutions with regards for some topics.

Hence, data were not only gathered from indigenous women regular market traders, but also casual traders from urban and suburban areas, more remote areas, the transmigration site, and a few Javanese traders. Data was also gathered through group discussions in Manokwari City and suburban areas, and Minyambouw (more remote) area. I also did observations in order to reassure myself about what really happens at the market. In addition to that, the support documents and information from the research reports of the State University staff and students were used to support the primary data.

Although the women traders are the focus of my research, information from the regional governments’ institutions, NGOs, financial institutions, and independent institutions were also collected to enrich this study. Although I initially planned to do focus groups with these institutions to gather their opinions about the effectiveness of policies and programs in regards to Papuan women entrepreneurial activities, this was not done as I already conducted interviews with some of these institutions’ staff.

4.7.3.3 Managing Data and Analysis

Qualitative data can be managed and presented by using techniques such as tabular displays and graphs without destroying the meaning of the data, through rigorous coding (Miles & Huberman, 1984). After the field work, and a process of reading and re-reading of the fieldwork notes, respondents’ data records and observation, data from each respondent can be broken down and organised based on themes and categories. Strauss and Corbin (1998) state that categories are concepts, derived from data, that stand for phenomena. The data results are examined to identify themes or patterns (ideas, concepts, behaviours, interaction, incidents, terminology or phrases used), and organised them into logical categories. The data can be then be summarised in tabulation form.

The research used inductive analysis. Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data (Patton, 1989). Case analysis involves organising the data by specific cases for in-depth study and comparison (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Multiple case studies comprise two different steps of analysis: the within-case and the cross case analysis.
Case analysis begins with a comprehensive study of each case. For each case, I analysed respondents’ data from interviews, observation and documents to develop an in-depth description of the case. Developing a case description is an analytic strategy that develops a descriptive framework for organising the case study (Yin, 2003). The case study narrative provides a depth and breadth of understanding on the lives and marketing activities of these traders in their natural setting. A good case is generally taken from real life and includes the following components: setting, individuals involved, the events, problems and the conflicts (Dooley, 2002). The case study should explains the case situation, a person’s life, a group’s life, or a program’s life (Patton, 1989). A systematic process for constructing a case study is shown in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2 The Process of Constructing Case Studies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step one</th>
<th>Assemble the raw case data. These data consist of all information collected about the person or program for which a case study is to be written.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step two</td>
<td>Construct a case record. This is a condensation of the raw case data organizing, classifying, and editing the raw case data into manageable and accessible package.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step three</td>
<td>Write a case study narrative. The case study is readable, descriptive picture of a person or program making accessible to reader all the information necessary to understand that person or program. The case is presented either chronologically or thematically (sometimes both). The case study presents a holistic portrayal of a person or program.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Patton, 1989)

Each case study was developed by asking these questions: (a) who are these traders? (b) Why and How they doing their activities? (c) What enables or impedes them in doing their activities?

As there are key interrelationships between categories, the analysis was conducted according to my framework (Figure 4.1), which included the internal factors relating to the traders, such as personal attributes, motivation and resources, the social and cultural factors, and the environment. The outcome of inductive analysis should be to develop categories into a model or framework that summarises the raw data and shows the key themes and process (Thomas, 2006). Therefore, cases were concluded with a case analysis that synthesized the results of the case.
After completing the within-case analysis, I conducted the cross-case analysis, where it is proposed to compare and contrast cases (Patton, 1989). Cross case analysis facilitates the comparison of similarities and differences in the event, activities and the processes that are the unit of analysis in case studies. Miles and Huberman (1984) say that case analysis should precede cross-case analysis. Darke et al (1998) mention that multiple-case designs allow cross-case analysis and comparison, and the investigation of a particular phenomenon in diverse settings. The cross-analysis of this study is based on the five objectives, which were elaborated in subsidiary research questions.

4.8 Conclusion

The research is based on a qualitative method. Case study was used as the strategy of inquiry as the research wants to answer ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions. A framework designed to guide this research was constructed by integrating the themes of indigenous entrepreneurship literature and the Papuan situation. The aim was to examine the nature of entrepreneurship of Papuan women and the factors that enable and impede their activities. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used for gathering data. Data from observation and secondary data were also collected as part of data and method triangulation. The unit analysis in this research is Papuan women traders from more remote and surrounding areas, a transmigration site, and urban and suburban areas. They were selected through purposive sampling and snowballing techniques. The chapter also explained how the data was managed, analysed and interpreted.

The results and analysis of each three case studies are discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, while the Cross Case Analysis and Discussion is done in Chapter 8.
Chapter 5
MINYAMBOUW DISTRICT AND SURROUNDING AREAS (MORE REMOTE AREAS): RESULTS AND CASE ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction
The purpose of this chapter is to explore and explain the marketing activities of Papuan women traders from the case study in more remote areas. The chapter consists of five sections. Following this introduction is the second section that describes the site of the remote areas. The third section examines the marketing activities of women from these more remote areas. This includes their personal characteristics and marketing characteristics. The purpose of this section is to identify the characteristics of a representative marketer, and also the degree of variation between them. This information is then used in the fourth section which is an illustrative and more deeply qualitative case study of a woman from the area. Finally the fifth section is the case analysis.

5.2 Context for the More Remote Area: Minyambouw and Surrounding Areas
Minyambouw and surrounding areas, such as Anggi, are the sources of highland produce such as cabbage, carrot, potato, green mustard, spring onion and celery in the Manokwari Region. These areas have been targeted by the Provincial Government to become the central production areas for highland agricultural produce.

Minyambouw District is located 1600 meters above sea level, approximately 80 km from Manokwari city. It has 50 villages, and includes the villages of Angra, Minyambouw, Mbenti and Mokwam, where my respondents come from. Anggra, Minyambouw (the capital of Minyambouw District) and Mbenti are located close to each other, while Mokwam is farther away.

Almost all of the population in the Minyambouw District belong to the Hatam community (sub-tribe) of the Arfak Big Tribe. This community started to have direct access to the city in 2003, when the government built a gravel road from Prafi to the area. Before the road was developed, people from Minyambouw used aeroplanes to get to the city or they walked to

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14 At the current time, there is no direct flight from or to Minyambouw District
Prafi Kampung (one village in Prafi District) and continued travel by using public transport to the city. There are more than ten rivers crossing the road which is very rugged. So, the only transportation vehicles that are used to get around the district are four wheel drive mini-buses such as Hardtops and Mitsubishi L200s. It takes around 3 hours to get to Minyambouw District from the city.

![Figure 5.1 Unused market building in Minyambouw](image)

Electric power is not reticulated out into these districts and there is no generating capacity, so there is no electricity in any of the villages in the district. There is one market building that was built by the local government in the capital village of the district (Fig 5.1), but this market has not been used since it was built because community members all produce the same agricultural produce and, thus, have nothing they need to buy or sell to or from each other. As a result of this, many in the community sell their produce in the urban or suburban areas as there are many buyers for their farms’ produce there.

Another remote area, where one of the respondents comes from, is Anggi District, which is also located in the highlands. It has 13 villages and the distance to Manokwari city is around 128 km. Anggi Community has the same cultural characteristics as the Minyambouw community as they come from the same Tribe (The Arfak Big Tribe).

Although there is a road access from Minyambouw to Anggi, the current road access to the area is not good and a permanent road was still being built at the time of the research. It takes 6-7 hours to go to the Anggi area in good weather. In previous years, in order to go in or out
of Anggi, people went through Ransiki District by using hardtop vehicles. These vehicles often got stuck when the road was muddy and had to be pulled out by another vehicle. The access road is difficult and dangerous, and the road has been damaged. Piling up of soil/sand to make it usable was still in progress at the time of the research. It takes a long time to go this way, and the driver stays overnight in the area before going back to the urban area the next day.

There is no regular road transport going to the area, so people from Anggi who visit the urban area charter a four wheel drive vehicle in order to get back to their villages. This is at relatively high cost (one way for three million rupiahs for the charter of a four wheel drive). The four wheel drive vehicle then carries passengers, most of whom are farmers who want to market their produce in Manokwari. As noted above, the alternative transport is by air to Manokwari city, which takes around 30 minutes. At the current time, there is still a direct flight weekly\textsuperscript{15} to the area, but it is difficult to get a seat to go in and out of Anggi as the number of seats available on the plane is limited relative to the number of people wanting to travel by this way. For example, to get a seat, people need to wait up to three months after they put their name on the waiting list. The flight cost and road transportation cost are very similar; however a passenger can only take a limited amount of their produce if travelling by air (if travelling by road transportation, they can take 3-5 bags of produce), and it is difficult to get a seat on the flight.

As with the respondents from Minyambouw District, the trader respondent from Anggi also sells in the urban area because there are no buyers in her home area.

The markets where these farmer traders sell their produce in the urban area vary. The seven respondents from Minyambouw District sell in Wosi Market and the trader from Anggi sells in Sanggeng Market. Both markets are in urban areas. Two respondents from Minyambouw District sell in markets SP2 and SP4 in transmigration sites.

\textsuperscript{15} The direct flight is done by Merpati Airline; the type of Aeroplane is Twin Otter with around 12 seats for passengers
5.3 Characteristics and Activities of Papuan Women Traders from More Remote Areas (Minyambouw and Surrounding Areas)

In order to get some indication of the characteristics of Papuan women traders from the more remote areas, some simple descriptive statistics are presented in this section. This process is then used to identify the attributes of a representative woman trader, who can then be selected for more in-depth case analysis.

5.3.1 Personal Characteristics of Respondents in More Remote Villages

5.3.1.1 Ethnicity

The ethnicity of respondents in more remote areas is seen in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Ethnicity of More Remote Area Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Tribe (Sub-Tribe)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Minyambouw District</td>
<td>Hatam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Anggi</td>
<td>Sough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 shows that all respondents from Minyambouw district are member of the Hatam Tribe and the one from Anggi district is from the Sough Tribe. These two tribes, along with the Meyakh and Moile, are the sub-tribes of The Arfak Big Tribe. All sub-tribes speak different languages but share a similar culture.

5.3.1.2 Age

The age range of Papuan women traders from the more remote areas is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Age Range of More Remote Area Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Numbers of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15 - 24</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25 - 34</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>35 - 44</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>45 - 54</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>54&lt;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows that half of the respondents in Minyambouw and Anggi areas are in the age range of 25 to 34, followed by almost the same number in the age range of 35 to 44. Only one respondent is older. Hence, marketing activity is done during a trader productive working life.
5.3.1.3 **Education**

There is not much variation in the education of respondents in more remote areas as can be seen in Table 5.3. Most of trader respondents are not formally educated and only two have experienced primary education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Level of Formal Education</th>
<th>Numbers of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of formal education of these respondents is due to the lack of education infrastructure in the area, and because their parents saw no need to support their children’s education.

5.3.1.4 **Family Members**

Family members supply the household labour resources for farming, but also determine the consumption needs of the family. The number of family members of respondents in more remote areas shows in Table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Family Members</th>
<th>Numbers of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 - 4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9 &lt;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these respondents have 5 to 9 family members, with two having less than this and one respondent with more than 9 family members. In general, the community has large families, as they need labour for their farming. However, the meaning of a family in this community also includes their extended family, and not just their nuclear family. Although family is the main source for farming labour, members of the Minyambouw community also support each other at different times, such as opening up new areas for farming and cultivation.

5.3.2 **Marketing Characteristics**

5.3.2.1 **Market Location**

The respondent farmers from Anggi and Minyambouw all market their produce in urban and suburban areas as they report that there is no demand for their produce in their villages. All of them are casual traders. Most respondents from villages such as Minyambouw, Mbenti and Anggra of Minyambouw District and the respondent from Anggi sell their produce in the
urban market, while respondents from Mokwam Village of Minyambouw District conduct their selling activities in transmigration sites (mostly in SP4 Market). The reason for this is that most of the Minyambouw traders have relatives in the urban area who can provide them with free accommodation, so transmigration site markets were not so attractive to them. On the other hand, Mokwam traders prefer the transmigration site as they have relatives in the area.

5.3.2.2 Trading Experience

Women in Minyambouw mostly started their marketing activities after 2003, when the roads were built to connect these areas to the Manokwari urban area and Prafi (Transmigration sites).

Table 5.5 Trading Experience of More Remote Area Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Trading Experience</th>
<th>Numbers of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result, the majority of these respondents have marketing experience of around 5 years since gaining road access to the urban areas (Table 5.5). Before the road opened, only small aeroplanes\(^{16}\) could be used or they had to walk for around three days through ridge areas to the urban area or travel to transmigration sites and then continue by using public vehicle to Manokwari urban area. Secondary data show that, in the past, it was mostly the men from the Minyambouw community who went to urban areas to market their agricultural produce (Ismiyarti, 2003). The men did this because of the length of time away (2-3 days) and for personal security reasons. But this has changed since road access to urban area was opened up, so now it is the women who go to the urban areas to do trading and the men only go to market the produce if the woman is unable to do it; for example because of sickness or having to conduct cultural or social obligations.

The trader respondent who has experience for more than 10 years comes from Anggi, which has direct flights to Manokwari city on small aeroplane. Before the road access was open, the Anggi community used this flight to travel and bring their agricultural produce to the city. Therefore, they have more experience in conducting marketing activities.

\(^{16}\) However, there are now no flight from Minyambouw to the urban area
5.3.2.3 Source and Use of Capital

The respondent farmers use their own local resources. They get seeds for cultivation from the previous season, and if they do not have seed, they will get them from their relatives with agreement that they will share a small part of the harvest with that relative. In their farming activity, they use tools such as axes, bush knives, crowbars and shovels.

All respondents finance their marketing activities by using their own funds supplemented sometimes by money from other sources such as government grants. They have little knowledge of the financial institutions’ services and how to get a loan. When I asked some of them about whether they knew of any kind of credit provided by the bank or micro finance, they look confused and just raised their shoulders as a sign that they did not know anything about it.

Their funds are used mainly for transportation from Minyambouw to the markets. Some respondents in the group discussions in the area mentioned that they will only go to sell in the urban area if they have money to pay for the transportation. If a woman does not have money to travel, she usually asks a neighbour or relative who is travelling to the city to help sell her produce and then buy her basic needs for them (mainly food).

In addition to spending money for transportation, these traders pay a government fee for selling in the urban market, which is known as ‘market retribution’. This is collected each day of trading by the official collector and is around Rp 1,000 per day for trader who does not have a permanent place or table in the market and Rp. 2,000 per day for permanent traders with permanent space (Manokwari Government, 2006).

5.3.2.4 Types of Produce Grown and Marketed

Women from Minyambouw and some other villages in the highland are producers of highland produce for the Manokwari Region. Papuan women traders from Minyambouw and surrounding areas plant their produce in a garden around their house and in traditional farms, which are mostly in the hilly areas 1-2 hours walk from their village.

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17 Every person who sells in the markets and public facilities should pay market retribution based on the Manokwari Government Regional Regulation No 23 of 2006.
The women use a multi-crop system, in which each farm is planted with various kinds of crops. The fresh agricultural produce from these areas that are grown and marketed are cabbage, carrot, potato, spring onion, celery, tomato, string bean, squash, and passion fruits. People from the area also plant taro, cassava, banana and sweet potato, but these crops are mainly for their own consumption. The respondent from Anggi plants the same produce, but other Anggi farmers also grow and market garlic and shallot.

The frequency of crops planted each year are cassava, taro and banana planted once a year; sweet potatoes and potato planted twice a year; corn, squash, string bean, tomato, cabbage planted three times a year; and spring onion and celery planted four times a year.

These traders sell their fresh produce directly from their farms to the market. The produce is transported by the farmers to the urban area which adds value to the produce as there are no buyers for this produce in their home area. The women respondents from Minyambouw would go to the urban market to sell around 8 – 20 times a year, while the one from Anggi went less frequently to sell in the urban market than those from Minyambouw.

5.3.2.5 Trading Place and Time

Papuan trader respondents from more remote areas such as Minyambouw and Anggi market their produce in the urban markets. Travel from Minyambouw to the city by road transport takes 2-3 hours and around 6-7 hours from Anggi to the city. On arrival, the women set up their stalls and begin to sell their produce.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Time (Hours/Day)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14&lt;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these traders take around 5 to 10 hours in urban market to sell their produce (Table 5.6), but the respondent who comes from Anggi spends about 11 to 14 hours in the market selling. The trading time does not include travel time.

The majority of respondents from more remote areas sell their produce in Wosi Market (a public wet market). Based on the interviews and group discussions, traders from Minyambouw have reported difficulties in finding spaces to sell their produce in this urban
market. They do not have permanent spaces in the market, so many of them use available empty spaces that they find in the market. However, these spaces can then be claimed by urban traders who arrive later in the day, who argue that they live close to the market and sell very often in that market and so they are more entitled to the space. Therefore, if the other urban traders who claim they occupy the place come to the market on a particular day, traders from more remote areas have to move to another place in the market if space is available or share space with another trader. If space not available, she will leave the market and return the next day. This situation is not universal, and trader respondents from the Mokwam village of Minyambouw District are able to get space on the ground in the SP4 (Prafi) Markets to sell their produce as there are many spaces available in the market.

None of the Hatam women from Minyambouw want to sell in Sanggeng Market. Respondents from Minyambouw and the Head of Minyambouw District said that Meyakh Tribe traders (another sub-tribe of Arfak Big Tribe), who mostly sell their products in Sanggeng Market, claim that Sanggeng is their market area. This is because the Meyakh community live in surrounding areas of Manokwari city, mostly in North Manokwari District, and their villages are very close to Sanggeng Market (± 15 to 20 minutes to Sanggeng Market), so many of them sell in this market. Based on my observation, Meyakh traders only sell produce such as vegetables and tubers in Sanggeng Market, but produce such as fruit will be sold on the side of the road, in front of stores and the harbour. I was informed that if the members of the Hatam community from Minyambouw try to sell in Sanggeng Market, they will be chased away or a complaint will be made by the Meyakh tribe traders. However, there are some Anggi women traders who I found were selling in Sanggeng Market.

All of these women sell on the ground; they spread their produce on plaited mats or rice sacks. Many of these traders have no cover over their produce or themselves when selling and so are vulnerable to sun and rain.

When selling, these traders use the season as one of the criteria to establish their selling prices (higher prices for produce not in season and lower prices for produce in season). There is also a price differential for the imported produce. Many buyers prefer to buy imported highland produce such as cabbage, carrot and potato from North Celebes and Surabaya, because the prices are relatively cheaper than the local traders produce. Even though the local traders
realise this, they do not adjust their price down to the imported price, as they have to cover their transportation cost.

### 5.3.2.6 Cost of Trading Activities

There is no large variation in the cost of trading activities between respondents from the more remote areas (Table 5.7).

#### Table 5.7 Trading Cost Per Day of More Remote Area Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Cost/day of trading</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;100,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 - &lt; 200,000</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 - &lt;300,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all of these traders are within the Rp 100,000 to Rp. 200,000 range for their marketing activities. The respondent from Anggi pays more as she has further to go to get to Manokwari. The minimum transportation cost associated with their trading activities is Rp 160,000, the average is Rp 206,000, and the maximum is Rp 300,000. Virtually all this cost is used for transportation, as they have to pay around Rp 160,000 to Rp. 200,000 for a return trip from Minyambouw to the urban area.

### 5.3.2.7 Revenue from Trading Activity

The revenue from the trading activity of Papuan women from more remote areas is shown in Table 5.8.

#### Table 5.8 Trading Activities Revenue of More Remote Areas Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Revenue/day of trading</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;200,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 – &lt;300,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000 – &lt;400,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400,000 – &lt;500,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000 &gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1 NZ = Rp. 6255.8 (Indonesian Rupiah)

Most of these respondents receive from Rp 300,000 up to Rp 400,000 from their marketing activities and no respondent receives less than Rp 200,000. The average revenue of respondents each day when they trade is Rp 362,500, with a minimum of Rp 225,000 and a maximum of Rp 475,000. This revenue is based on how many bags of agricultural produce they can bring to urban market.
5.3.2.8 Profit

More remote respondent traders’ profit can be seen in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Profit Each Day Sell of More Remote Area Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Profit/day of trading</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;50,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 - &lt;100,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 - &lt;200,000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 - &lt;300,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most remote areas respondent’s profits\(^{18}\) for each trading trip were in the range of Rp 100,000 to Rp 200,000, although two received less than Rp 100,000, and two received around Rp 200,000 and Rp 300,000. The average profit of the respondents is Rp 164,000, with a minimum of Rp 50,000; and a maximum of Rp 250,000.

5.3.2.9 Use of Marketing Income

The respondents in more remote areas use their net income (profit) from marketing for consumption and cultural/social obligations (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10 The Use of Income of More Remote Area Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of Marketing Income</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working Capital</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/Sibling education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural/Social Obligation</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They use their marketing income to buy basic consumption needs such as salt, sugar, oil, noodles, tea and coffee, and some of the respondents also use the income to buy food and snacks in the market while they are selling and while they are staying in Manokwari urban area. The marketing income is also used for cultural and social obligations. None of them have savings in a bank account and they keep their money in their home. Only their children or young people in the community who continue their education in the urban area have bank accounts with savings in them. One respondent also uses her marketing income to support her children’s education.

5.3.2.10 Business Evolution

After the road to Minyambouw District was built, the sizes of the farms in the community become relatively larger than they had been. This is because there was a change in the farm

\(^{18}\) The term ‘profit’ is understood by these traders to mean their revenue less their direct cost, and so is a crude cash estimate.
function from being the food source for the family to being both the food source and source of cash crops.

In the past, men marketed the cash crops in the urban areas or transmigration sites, but their marketing activity occurred at a lower frequency than at present because of the difficulties of transporting goods as explained in Section 5.2. Although the frequency of marketing trips has increased with the construction of the road, women still only go to the urban area to market their farm produce once or twice a month on average, if they have money or a need to buy consumption goods. This does not mean they go regularly once or twice in every month on average, as there are some months when they just stay in their village and some months where they go more often. Their business activity fluctuates, as they do not have a regular schedule to market their agricultural products in urban or suburban areas.

5.3.3 A Summary of the Characteristics of Women Trader Respondents from More Remote Areas

Based on the above descriptive information, it is concluded that a representative women trader from the remote areas would be from the Hatam sub tribe of the Arfak Big Tribe living in Minyambouw District. She would be 25-44 with no formal education and have five to nine family members in her household. She has been trading for 5-9 years in urban markets, is a casual trader who goes these markets 8-20 times a year, and spends 5 to 10 hours in the market per day on each visit when she is selling her produce. She depends mainly on her farming activity as the source of her marketing produce. She is self-funding, with no bank account or savings, and her marketing costs are around 100,000 - 200,000 rupiahs, which is mainly for transportation cost. She would get around 100,000 – 200,000 rupiahs cash profit, and uses this for buying her basic consumption needs, and fulfilling her cultural and social obligations.
5.4 A Key Story of ‘Mama Yemima’ from Minyambouw (More Remote Areas)

On the basis of the above characteristics, a trader who is representative of this group, ‘Mama Yemima’, has been selected for more in-depth case study.

5.4.1 Family, Social and Cultural Context

Mama Yemima is a woman who lives in Mbenti Village in the Minyambouw District of the Arfak Mountains. The people who live in the area are the Hatam tribe of Suku Besar Arfak (Arfak Big Tribe). Mama Yemima is an example of a trader from the Hatam Tribe.

In the past, the Minyambouw community used to live in a traditional house known as ‘rumah kaki seribu’, a ‘thousand feet’ house, which is built in a number of stages, with wood piles to support it. The fire place to cook and warm the house is located inside. However, at the current time, almost all of the community live in a semi-permanent or a concrete house. The local government through the Social Office, and the Labour and Transmigration Office built semi-permanent houses (made of concrete and wood) with cement floors for many of the community members.

Mama Yemima and her family live in one of the semi-permanent houses. The kitchen is part of the old house, made from wood and separated from the main house. The kitchen has a relatively large area, as it has multiple uses for cooking, storage of seeds for the next planting season, and is a place for social activities. For example, during my field study, Mama Yemima’s farming group had a meeting with the extension officers with regard to the introduction of a sweet potato cultivation program, and they were gathered in Mama Yemima’s kitchen. Although women were attending the meeting, only men did the talking, as in their culture, men have the right to make decision. Mama Yemima has domestic obligations, such as taking care of children, providing food for her family, cleaning the house, washing clothes and dishes and gathering fire wood. Activities such as cooking, taking a bath, washing clothes or dishes are done by using hose water in her back yard, and the water source comes from a river behind her house, which is brought up through a hose. There is no toilet and urinating and defecating is done in the bushes or down at the river.

In the Minyambouw community, including in Mama Yemima’s household, meals are cooked mostly in a simple way through baking in the fireplace or boiling in a pot over the fire place.
Mama Yemima did not know many different ways of preparing and cooking food, and she expressed her excitement when a women’s organisation from Manokwari City named *Tim Penggerak Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK) of the Manokwari Regency came to the district and trained the Minyambouw women representatives from 50 villages to cook different recipes using available produce in the area. To welcome and show their respect for the women’s organisation, Mama Yemima and the other women danced ‘*Tumbu tanah*’, a traditional dance of the Arfak Big Tribe. The cooking classes took place on Monday every fortnight for three months for 50 women representative from the community. The Minyambouw women spent almost the whole day attending the cooking classes and talking to these urban women, who were led by the wife of *bupati* (the head of Manokwari Regency). Although Mama Yemima and other women normally just boiled pumpkin, taro, sweet potatoes and vegetables, they carefully followed the steps of the new cooking process, which promised to extend their culinary skills.

Besides her domestic work, Mama Yemima also has social and cultural obligations, and she spends time socialising with other women in her neighbourhood while taking care of the younger children. The social and cultural relationships between people in this community are very strong. They support each other, and contribute items and money for social and cultural events. The community contributes money, pigs, and *kain timor* (timor cloth), *kain Toba* (*Toba* cloth), blankets, and *paseda* (shell bracelets) for bride price and customary fines.

At the time of the research, the community had just collected money to pay for a bride price, which cost 50 million rupiahs, 10 pigs and several Timor woven cloths and blankets. Another cultural matter that is addressed is an obligation to meet the customary fines. A fine is given to any community member who acts against the customary order. The customary regulation is an unwritten rule used to manage the lives and attitude of the community on marriage, cheating, land, conflict and dispute, and murder. For example at the time of this research, there was a lady in Mokwam Village of the District who died after giving birth to her baby, who also died. The community had already buried the baby, but the mother’s body was still unburied for around 4 days because her uncle had to first pay a customary fine, as he was blamed for her death, even thought it was not obvious that he had any direct involvement in her death. In this case, the body could only be buried if the uncle paid or agreed to pay the fine.

19 Activator Team of Empowerment and Family Welfare
In addition to that, the community also contributes to social events, such as a contribution to a mourning family, which can include money or items such as sugar, tea or coffee, and labour. For example, with regards to the death of the mother and baby, the Minyambouw community who live in the urban areas have social obligations for the funeral and must contribute six bags of rice (25 kilogram each bag) and two boxes of noodle for the mourning family, all of which is transported to the village by public transportation. Some women also contribute labour when they help to cook for the mourning family and relatives who come from other areas. In general, the social and cultural values are about sharing and reciprocal relationships.

Mama Yemima and her community believe in the existence of suanggi. The suanggi is a person who is a nocturnal evil sorcerer who causes unexplained deaths. Poison can be bought from the suanggi, who can also be hired by a person to kill his/her enemy. In general, the community in these areas do not travel at night and always travel in a group to avoid being attacked by the suanggi. I observed their fear of Suanggi, when I went back to the city from Minyambouw village with two trader women, one with her baby. The vehicle began its journey to the city in the lowland at 5.30 pm. On the way, the vehicle’s brake was broken and we had to stop in an area surrounded by forest and far from the nearest village. It was already dark and I was standing with these two women at one side of the vehicle, while waiting for the driver and his assistant to fix the vehicle. We saw a light coming down from the higher area, and these two women began screaming ‘suanggi, suanggi’ and they ran in to the bush on the other side and were hiding there. In fact, the light was from a motorcycle of a fish trader who sells his produce in that area and was on his way to go back to the city.

5.4.2 Farming and Hunting Activity

Mama Yemima is also a farmer, which is an important activity, conducted by her and all women in Minyambouw because farming is their food source. Mama Yemima does her farming activity in a garden around her house, and in her plots in the hilly areas, which usually needs 1-2 hours walk to reach. Like the majority of the Minyambouw community, Mama Yemima still does shifting cultivation, and uses a slash and burn system to open a new garden. The decision to open a new farm is made by the extended family, which consists of 3-5 families. Within this Minyambouw community, there are some people who have rights over the land. They and their extended family (lineage) also have access to the land for building houses or opening up new farm land. Even though, women have a right of access to the land,
they do not have right of ownership to a land as land in the Arfak Community is passed only through male members of the family (Sumule, 1994).

Opening up a new area for farming is started by opening up a forest area, which is done by both men and women. Men will cut and slash down the bushes and trees and leave them to dry for 3-4 months and then burn them. The farm is then fenced by using wood from the forest such as Aruwop wood (*Dodonea fiscos*), black wood (*Diosphyros Sp*) and other kinds of wood that can last for 2-3 years. The width of the open land is not measured, and the area allocated depends on the number of the household members who consume the produce. In the Minyambouw community, after the community farm is opened and fenced, it will be divided into sections for each household from the same extended family. Mama Yemima shares the land farms with her two sisters.

The Minyambouw community uses rotation in their cultivation to increase the land productivity. There are areas which are used as farms for three years, and other areas that are used for one or two years (*Hastanti & Irma, 2009*). Then, the land will be left fallow for around three to five years and farmed again. Farming activities such as planting, looking after the growing crops, harvesting and marketing are done by Mama Yemima and other women in her extended family.

![Figure 5.2 Minyambouw Women who have just returned from collecting produce from their farm in the mountain and a farm near the village.](image)
Mama Yemima plants her farms by using a multi crop system. She plants many kinds of crops, such as sweet potato, taro, cabbage, carrot, potato, celery, spring onion, tomato string bean, squash, corn and passion fruits. Vegetables such as cabbage, celery, tomato, string bean and carrots were introduced to the Minyambouw community by various sources such as missionaries and the government and also education institutions before the community had direct access to the urban market. This was done to improve their diet and welfare. Sweet potato, cassava and taro are planted by Mama Yemima mainly for her household consumption, but other crops are planted to be sold.

Other food sources for the family come from hunting, which is done by adult males of the families, and is done to meet the meat protein need. They will also sell excess meat from hunting. Normally hunting is conducted by a group of 10 to 15 men (usually relatives) by using bows and arrows and traps, and also using dogs to track and catch the animals. As well as traditional tools, some of them use guns, especially to shoot cuscus. The types of animal hunted are wild pig, deer, cuscus, bandicoot, cassowary, tree kangaroo, and many types of birds. On average, hunting is done four to five times in a month, each time for 2-5 days. The hunting activity is done in their customary area and they pay careful attention to the land border area of a family, a clan or village in order to avoid punishment by fine for transgressing into someone else’s area. The hunting time is increasing now because the road access seems to have caused the wild animals to retreat to the deeper forest.

5.4.3 Marketing Activity

Mama Yemima sells her produce at Wosi Market in the urban area. Her reason for trading is to get cash to meet her family’s immediate needs such as consumption and cultural/social obligations. She does not have a permanent schedule to go to the urban area to sell her produce. Instead, she is a casual trader, who goes once a fortnight or once a month, depending on the availability of her money to pay for her transportation and also whether she has any needs to be fulfilled. If she does not go to the market, the produce is just harvested for her family’s consumption needs, or left in the ground to produce seedlings. However, she often just leaves the produce to rot in the ground if she has no need for money or cannot pay to get to the market.
Mama Yemima meets the cost of travel with her own cash. This comes from prior marketing activity, but she also earned money from her involvement in a government program through her farmers’ group. From September 2009 to January 2010, her group were involved in an Agriculture Research Centre field trial, where five introduced varieties of sweet potatoes were brought in to some Manokwari areas in order to determine whether the area in Manokwari is suitable for the cultivation of these varieties. This group gets 15 million rupiahs for six months to take care of the sweet potatoes from planting to harvesting, and the money is distributed to individual group members by the group leader.

Mama Yemima has never got a loan, and has no experience of applying for credit from the formal or informal institutions as there is no bank, microfinance or cooperative in the district. This is because the financial institutions in urban areas are not targeting these women from remote areas for credit because they fail to meet most of the criteria for acceptance required by the institutions, such as collateral and regular income.

When she goes to the urban market, she takes her younger children who are less than five years old with her, while older children are left at home as they can look after themselves, and also because Mama Yemima has her extended family there who are always available to look after them if needed.
To go to the urban market, Mama Yemima waits in front of her house for a four wheel drive vehicle (public transport), which usually goes to Minyambouw once or twice a day. If the vehicle passes through to drop off passengers in her village or the next villages, she will stop it and talk to the driver to order space in the vehicle for her and her produce. The driver will keep a space on his vehicle for Mama Yemima and others who order it on his return journey. Usually, when Mama Yemima plans to go to trade her produce in the city, she will already have harvested the produce from the farms, including the one in the hilly area. However, at other times, if there is available space in the vehicle, and the driver agrees to wait for her, she will harvest the produce from around her house and just go. The driver assistant or her relatives will help her to get her produce on the vehicle. She usually brings 3-5 bags of produce to the urban market at one trip. She uses rice sacks (50 Kg rice sacks) or clothes to hold the produce (see Figure 5.2).

She and other women traders in Minyambouw have a good relationship with the transport drivers and know all of the drivers’ names and their mobile phone numbers so they can ring them in the urban area for the return trip. However, she does not have mobile phone herself and there is no signal for a mobile phone in her area, so she borrows a phone when she needs to ring a driver in the city. There is one driver who is flexible and has a good understanding of these women’s financial situation. If a woman does not have enough money or no money to pay, she could pay the driver later on after her produce is sold or at a later time. The community will ensure that payment is made. For instance, one of Mama Yemima’s neighbours did not pay for a couple of days. When the driver passed through and waited for Mama Yemima while she harvested her produce, he told Mama Yemima about that and she helped him by shouting at her neighbour’s house in order to remind her to pay. Because this neighbour was not available in the house, someone in the neighbourhood ran to the hilly farm to get her and so ensure that she paid.

Although there is a regular transport service to Mama Yemima’s Village, her relative, who lives in Mokwam Village of the district, finds more difficulty in selling in urban or suburban areas because the transportation in her area is not so regular. In many cases, women traders in Mokwam Village may find that they harvest produce from their farms, but because there is no public transportation when they need it, the produce is left to decay. This is because the road condition can be very bad, so there are not many drivers who want to go to that village regularly.
In Mama Yemima’s village, the earliest public transport from the area to the city is at around 6 am and the latest at around 4-5 pm. The journey to the market takes 2-3 hours in good weather. The road is made of gravel and soil, and goes through mountains, ravines and across more than 10 rivers. There are some parts of the road where road works were in progress at the time of the research. The poor condition of the road has led to fatalities and associated problems. For example in 2009, there was an accident when a four wheel drive vehicle overturned in the river as a result of the swift current and some passengers died. The community then held the driver hostage and requested the driver’s family or his community to pay fines to compensate them for their loss. As a result of such incidents, drivers are often afraid to drive to Minyambouw and surrounding areas and public transportation to Minyambouw district can be suspended for a period. This situation has an impact on Mama Yemima and other traders’ marketing activities.

Mama Yemima has close social networks with her community including other traders from her village. Her decision to sell in the urban market was taken mainly because she has relatives who rent a house in town and can provide her with free accommodation. She does not sell in the transmigration sites’ markets as she does not have any family in that area. Another example of their networking is if another woman is unable to go to the market to sell her produce for any reason, Mama Yemima will help her by taking her produce to sell and buying whatever her neighbour needs in the urban market for her and vice versa.

When she arrives in Wosi terminal in the morning, occasionally there are other traders from other ethnicities such as Java (non-Papuan), and Biak and Serui (Papuan) who want to buy up as much of her produce as they can in bags (approximately 150 rupiahs per bag of spring onions) which they then sell in the market. She sells to them at a lower price then she would get in the market, because it guarantees that her produce is sold out quickly and she has guaranteed cash. However, in most cases, Mama Yemima sells in the market. She will divide her produce into smaller lots, which she then sells at a higher price per unit than what she sells to intermediate buyers at the market. Mama Yemima pays for the service of a child, who pushes a wheel barrow to carry her three to five bags of produce into the market while she tries to find an available space for selling. The most common space available for her and most of the Minyambouw or other traders from remote areas is on the ground. Even though they are located on the ground; they have to pay the market fee (1,000 rupiahs) in order to sell there.
Mama Yemima and the other Minyambouw women sit side by side and help each other to clean their produce, and organise the produce on the plaited mats or rice sacks. In the market, Mama Yemima sells cabbage, spring onions, celery, passion fruit and squash. She divides the cabbages, based on size, into four different prices Rp 5,000, Rp 8,000 Rp 10,000 and Rp 15,000 (a small cabbage can weigh around 500 to 600 grams, while large cabbage can weigh up to 1.5 Kg). The spring onion (around 220 to 320 grams) and celery (around 5 to 50 grams) are tied in a bundle, with each bundle priced at Rp 2,000. Passion fruits and squash are organised in a pile of three to four and are priced at Rp 3,000 a pile. Sometimes, if they do not have change for big notes tendered by a customer, they can borrow from other traders and pay back later on.

Mama Yemima sits and waits for people to buy her produce, and if people who look at her produce, she will say the price of the produce such as ‘celery two thousand’ or ‘squash three thousand’, but she will make no other effort to market her produce. She will stay selling her produce in the market for 7 to 10 hours and if her produce is not sold out in one day, it is stored by other traders who have a permanent place in the market and for which she pays them Rp 2,000 daily. She will then sell the produce again the next day until all of the produce is sold out, which usually takes two days.

As Mama Yemima does not have permanent space in the market, she faces difficulties in keeping her selling space. Usually at around 12 noon, traders from Sowi (the urban area) come to sell in the market, and they claim some of the spaces. The reason is because Sowi women live close to the urban market, and so they think they have a greater right to the space. Yemima does not have a choice, so she leaves and looks for other space, and if there is no available space, she will leave the market and come back the next day. If she did not leave, there would be a complaint by the Sowi traders and she may be chased away by these urban traders from the market, which creates embarrassment, not only for her, but also for her community. However, sometimes, some Minyambouw traders can rent a space from another permanent trader, and pay them five thousand rupiahs per day to do so.

Mama Yemima’s income is mainly used to meet the family’s basic needs, to pay for transportation to go back to her village and she has no income that she proposes to save. She does not have a bank account, so any left-over cash that she gets from the marketing is just kept in her house. The income for basic needs is mainly to buy food items such as rice, sugar,
salt, tea and coffee, which are sold by non-Papuan traders who own small stores (kiosks) in the Wosi Market. She also uses the money for the education of her children over 15 years old, especially for her children who do further study in the urban area, as there is no higher education facility at Senior High School level in Minyambouw District. However, some of her traders’ friends and relatives do not allocate marketing income for their children’s education because the children are of a younger age bracket or do not continue their education. The income from marketing is also used for her social and cultural obligations as the Arfak community have a strong respect for social and cultural values.

After she sells her produce and buys her family needs, then she arranges to go back to her village. Mama Yemima and other Minyambouw traders usually contact the driver through their relatives who have a mobile phone or one of them directly meets the driver in Wosi Market where he waits for the passengers. I went with the driver who picked up the traders from Minyambouw in their relatives’ home in the urban area. Although I was picked up by the driver at 4 am at my house, the journey to Minyambouw started at around 6 am as he had to pick up passengers at different locations. Moreover, on the way to Minyambouw Capital Village, we stopped in several areas and waited for some of the passengers to drop off items. For example, we stopped for quite a long time to wait for the community to unload some of the items brought from the urban area for a family in Warmare District, and then we stopped again in Mokwam Village and waited for a relatively long time as they unloaded items, such as some bags of rice and boxes of noodles, and we also waited for these women to cry with the mourning family as this is a part of their cultural lives. I arrived at my final destination at around 9 am, taking 5 hours to get there.

When she has arrived in her village, Mama Yemima will go back to her domestic work and work on her farms. She will go back to urban area again to sell when she has a need for money and can afford the transport cost.

There is no government support for Mama Yemima’s marketing activity. Most of the government programs in Minyambouw District relate to domestic activity such as the one conducted by the PKK Womens group, or to increasing agricultural production. However, activity is not directed to the marketing of the produce. Recently, the government sent some of the community to attend training in Malang, East Java, on how to make apple crispy chips. The Government had an Integrated Area Development Project since 1994/1995 up to
1999/2000 in which 1,500 apple seed plants were distributed to every household in the targeted villages of Minyambouw. However, there is now no production of apple in the area despite this initiative (BPS Manokwari, 2008). The head of the district does not agree with some programs done mainly by the Agriculture and Food Tenacity Office because this institution focuses on introducing new crops and technology to increase farm produce, but does not provide the market for the goods produced.

In short, Mama Yemima’s marketing activity is conducted as part of her role to meet her family’s basic consumption needs, and also cultural and social obligations. She depends mainly on her traditional farms and does not have a regular schedule to sell in the urban market. She has no access to financial institutions and no permanent space in the market.

5.5 Case Analysis: Women Traders from Minyambouw and Surrounding Areas

5.5.1 Introduction

The section will begin by analysing the marketing activities of the women traders from Minyambouw and the surrounding areas. In accordance with the conceptual framework derived from the literature (Chapter 4), motivation and personal attributes will be then identified, and the impact that these factors seem to have on marketing activities will be identified. Following this, the traders’ physical and social resources, and their social and cultural values will be identified, and how these resources and values appears to affect their marketing activities will then be analysed. Then, environmental factors such as financial institutions, government policy and programs and infrastructures will be examined. Finally, the findings will be brought together in the Case Synthesis that gives a snapshot of the conceptual relationships for this case study.

5.5.2 Activities, Motivation and Personal Attributes, and Resources

5.5.2.1 Activities

All respondents from these more remote areas are classified as causal traders, which mean that they do not conduct their marketing activities on a regular basis. They depend on their traditional farming activity for both their home food consumption needs, and as a resource that can generate cash income for them when required. It appears that these women’s marketing activities are the main source of cash income for their family.
There has been a change over time in the role of men and women in marketing activity. The men carried out the marketing activities before the community had a direct road access to the urban areas and transmigration sites, but now, with road access and so greater security and more efficient means of transport, women do it. However, their marketing activities are erratic. They go to the market when they need money for their immediate needs, which are consumption, children’s education and cultural/social obligations, and/or if they have money for the transportation. They are selling on the ground outside the market building, as they do not have permanent space in the markets. At the market, they just focus on selling out their produce with little effort to attract buyers to buy their produce.

However, they recognise what sort of produce to sell in the market, so adapt their farming to reflect market needs. This is shown by increasing the farm size, and maintaining a regular planted area of introduced crops for selling.

As a result, they are a step beyond selling what is surplus to consumption. If they were just selling their surplus, then adapting their farming activity to meet the market need would not occur. Instead, their farm would be allocated mainly for their main food sources such as tubers, banana and local vegetables. In spite of this, they are still not fully engaged with the market. If they were fully engaged, they would have a regular marketing schedule, apply better marketing techniques to increase their sales, and allocate some part of the marketing income for productive use (capital).

Now that the type of marketing activity undertaken by these remote women traders has been identified, an attempt is made to identify what drives this marketing behaviour through observing the factors identified in the conceptual framework (Chapter 4) and linking these to the marketing activities.

5.5.2.2 Motivation and Personal Attributes

Motivation and personal attributes impact on the marketing activity of these women. The involvement of these more remote area women in marketing is related to their responsibility to provide for family immediate needs and the customary obligations, which includes getting cash for these purposes. This need of cash is motivating them to find a way of generating cash using their resources, in this case, through their farming activity.
As they are in the middle-age group, they have greater mobility, which allows them to travel to the city and transmigration sites to sell their produce. They cannot draw on any formal education and training to improve their marketing performance because they lack of formal education. Their knowledge on how to conduct their business, and also the type of activity they engage in, comes solely from the informal education and experience they have gathered over the years by doing their marketing.

They are outward looking, which results in market awareness. Consequently, they plant relatively intensive crops for market. For example, they plant crops, such as spring onion, cabbage, celery and squash, for market three to four times a year (Section 5.3.2.4). They also tend to be open to innovation. This is demonstrated by their eager participation in the cooking training that was conducted in their area (Section 5.4.1).

As well as planting crops specifically aimed at the market, these traditional traders also seek for simple ways to add value to their produce. They clean their produce and sell it in smaller lots or bunches in the market in order to get higher price.

Furthermore, some of these traders appear to have status in the community; for example Mama Yemima who is a wife of a farmers’ group leader (as described in Section 5.4). This status contributes to her self-assurance and confidence in undertaking marketing activity.

Although these traders are still a long way from being categorised as highly commercial traders, they demonstrate entrepreneurial flair in achieving their goals. They are motivated by their families’ immediate needs, and customary obligation such as bride price and customary fines, but they are also influenced by modern Indonesian society, through their desire to consume introduced food items and to gain better education for their children.

This section has identified the linkage between the motivation and personal attributes of these women and their marketing activities. It is now necessary to consider the resources that they have access to in conducting this activity.

### 5.5.2.3 Resources

These traders access their own resources for their farming and marketing activities. The results suggest that they have adequate resources for their farming activities. They own resources such as land and farm tools and have access to labour. Land for farming is available, as it is not difficult for the community to access additional land for farming.
Traditional agricultural tools (e.g. axes, hoes, bush knives and shovel) are still suitable for this type of farming activity, and the seeds used for farming are derived from the previous season’s crops. Beside land and tools, the size of a household has significant impact of their farming and marketing activities. This is because, the size and number of farms that are opened is related to their consumption need. In addition, the family members are needed as the main labour source for farming.

These women have little or no finance to support their marketing activities. They are self-funding and have no access to financial institutions. This financial condition constraint has an impact on their activities, as many of them depend on cash available for the transportation cost to the market. If they do not have money for transportation, they will just stay in the village unless they can make some arrangement with the driver to pay the cost of transport after selling their produce.

Besides their physical resources, the more remote area traders have strong social capital. They have co-operative relationships in farming and marketing, and family members are not their only source of labour, as they help each other in some of their farming activities. Then, at the market the traders help each other to clean their produce, such as spring onions, by removing the roots, and preparing the produce for selling by tying the produce and piling it into bundles. It is observed that these traders sit side by side or in a small group in one place to sell their produce. One reason for this might be security, as the urban area is not their home, but it also means that they can support each other in their marketing activity.

Furthermore, as they have close social networks, their decision on where to market their produce is dictated by the availability of relatives in an area. These traders sell in urban and suburban markets because they have relatives who provide free accommodation for them in those areas.

Besides their relationship with their community and relatives, some of these traders build a good relationship with the public vehicle drivers, and can negotiate good options to go to urban area, even if they do not have enough cash. In order to maintain the relationship with the driver, they give group assurance that the driver will get the payment, as was illustrated by the case of Mama Yemima neighbour, who asked another trader to come from her farm to make payment to the driver (Section 5.4.3)
In short, these women have adequate physical resources, but limited access to financial resources. They have very strong social capital through their networks, which supports their traditional marketing activities.

5.5.3 Social/Cultural Values

The source of the very strong social capital that was observed arises from social/cultural values. Likewise, the motivation to engage in this marketing activity in this way comes from this source also. Hence, the social and cultural values of the more remote communities are embedded in these traders’ social and economic activities. They have strong communal and collective values, and are obligated to fulfil their cultural and social obligations.

In addition to meeting their immediate needs, their marketing activity is also done in order to contribute to their social/cultural obligations. All of the respondents use their marketing income for social and cultural obligations. These social and cultural expenses are sometimes quite large, as they pay a lot of money for obligations such as bride price. Their contribution will affect their social status in the community and their reciprocal relationships. Indeed, this social relationship is a form of future investment in the security of their community status.

Their semi-subsistence way of life which focuses on meeting their immediate needs, has driven their seasonal (or irregular) trading activity. This is because many of them only go to the market if there is a need to be met.

As noted previously, the traders share the use of resources such as land and labour. They use communal land and share the farm land with their kin. In addition, they engage in communal labour practices, as they help each other with some activities; for example, in farming and marketing activities. This strong social capital arises from their cultural and social values.

In addition, their kinship relationship plays a significant role in supporting their marketing activities. This can be seen from the decision on where to sell, which is dictated by the availability of relatives’ houses in those areas, in this case Manokwari city and Prafi, and the support given to relatives who are unable to go to urban market themselves by selling their produce and further helping them by buying any goods for them that they require.

In summary, culture and social values provide the context for the personal attributes that were identified, and is central to access the resources available to these women. Hence, the culture
and social values drive the marketing activity through their impact on personal attributes and resources.

5.5.4 Environment

Access to physical infrastructures, such as the road, is very beneficial for these remote women, and allows them to operate as traders, which they could not do previously when the marketing was done by men. The road opens up the opportunity for these women to gain cash income as they now have direct access to urban and transmigration site markets. But, the long distance, poor road condition and high transportation cost, also contributes to the irregular nature of these women’s marketing activities.

Furthermore, although they now have direct access to the urban market, they have poor access to market infrastructure. There is no permanent space in the urban markets for these women traders. As they come from outside the urban area, they have less unofficial right than the traders who come from the urban area. The local government does provide permanent spaces for Papuan women in urban markets. However, they are mainly provided for urban traders with regular marketing schedules not women like these ones whose activities are irregular.

They also do not have access to finance, and all their activity must be self-funded. None of these more remote areas traders get loans or have access to financial institutions, such as the banks (Mandiri Bank, BRI, Papua Bank and BNI), the Pawn Company or to micro-finance (Arfak Jaya Cooperative). None of these financial institutions have branches in more remote areas. The traders themselves are not familiar with bank services and none of them have savings at the banks, as they keep their excess money at home (Section 5.4.3). Furthermore, financial institutions’ requirements, such as assets for collateral, regular income and a permanent location in the market, excludes these women as potential borrowers. Moreover, even though microfinance targets small scale (micro) businesses, with simple requirements and no collateral, these women still do not have access to it. Their irregular selling activity and their very remote home locations seem to be the reasons why they are not targeted by microfinance provides.

In addition, there are no policies and programs to support these traders’ marketing activities; that is, there is no government support available to them. Many government grants in the area only focus on developing infrastructure such as roads (Section 5.2), introducing new
crops and increasing agricultural produce. The government does not seem to have any detailed targeted programs, other than production activities, to achieve their plan to establish Minyambouw and surrounding areas as the central production area for the highland vegetables. The only assistance program to improve marketing activity in the Minyambouw community is directed to commercial farming. Further, one assistance program conducted by the Perdu Foundation had not continued due to high transportation costs. Although the government is aware that imported produce from North Celebes and Surabaya dominate Manokwari markets, they have not yet set up any policy to assist the competitiveness of the local produce. However, the government and other programs have played an indirect and possible inadvertent, role in encouraging marketing activities through provide a source of trader cash through incentives to participate in the sweet potatoes program, introducing new crops, and so on.

As noted previously, the community has very strong traditional cultural and social values. However, the expression of these social values is now changing. Though it is predominantly subsistence, it is beginning to engage with the cash economy. Demand comes from school fees, and cash is now being used as a way of setting social obligations. So the wider external environment, has is beginning to impact on social and cultural values, but this is very marginal at this stage.

5.5.5 Case Synthesis and Conclusion

The case analysis is captured in Figure 5.4. This diagram, which is derived from the conceptual framework established in Chapter 4, captures the marketing activities of these women, their personal attributes, and the type of resources they have access to, and consider these factors in the context of their culture and social values, and their external environment.
Figure 5.4. Indigenous Entrepreneurship of Papuan Women Traders from Minyambouw and Surrounding Areas (More Remote Area)
These remote areas traders are classified as casual traders with no regular marketing schedules who depend on their farming activity for their produce. They are starting to engage with the cash economy, but are not yet fully engaged with the market. However, their marketing activities are extremely important and are the main source of income for their families.

Their marketing activities are motivated by their immediate needs, and social and cultural obligations. They are in the middle-age range, which allows them to do their farming and marketing of their produce in urban/suburban market. Status in the community assists them to gain the self-assurance to conduct marketing activities. However, they lack formal education and training, and their business activities are shaped by their informal knowledge and experience. They have market awareness, are outward-looking, open to innovation, and seek ways to add value.

These traders have adequate physical resources for farming, and are self-funded in marketing. None of them gets a financial support for their marketing activities. They have very strong social and cultural capital, which is important in the conduct of their marketing activities. These women further build their social capital by forging good relationships with the public transport driver, which allows them to negotiate options to go to urban areas.

Their marketing activities, along with their personal attributes and motivation, and the type of resources that they can access, occurs within the context of their culture and social values, along with the external environment within which their operate. With respect to their culture and social values, their semi-subsistence way of life contributes to their casual marketing activities. They have strong communal and collective values, which shows by their shared use of resources, such as land and labour, and have strong kinship and reciprocal relationships through their contribution to social and cultural obligations, such as bride price and customary fines. This social relationship is a form of future investment for them.

With respect to the external environment, access to physical infrastructures, such as the road, has allowed these women to undertake marketing activities, but the condition of the road is poor. They have poor access to market infrastructure, and they often face difficulties in finding space to sell in the urban markets. These women have no access to finance and are excluded as the potential borrowers. Further, there are no direct policies and programs that support these women’s marketing activities, but government and other programs have played indirect roles in encouraging their marketing activities. Improved access, demand for
modern goods, and the need to pay school fees have encouraged these traders to engage with the cash economy, which, in turn, are having a marginal impact on how social and cultural values are expressed as cash start to replace goods when meeting cultural obligations.
Chapter 6

PRAFI DISTRICT (TRANSMIGRATION SITE): RESULTS AND CASE ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on Papuan Women traders who live and conduct their economic activities in Transmigration Site, and includes a case analysis of these women traders’ marketing activities.

There are five sections in this chapter. In the beginning is this introduction, then the context of transmigration site. Section 6.3 describes the characteristics and marketing activities of Papuan women traders from these transmigration sites. Section 6.4 is an illustrative case study of women traders from transmigration sites. After these descriptive sections, the chapter is concluded with the case analysis and synthesis.

6.2 Context for the Transmigration Site: Prafi District

Prafi District of the Manokwari Regency is located in the Prafi Plain, and is approximately 50 to 60 km (around 1 hour by road transportation) from Manokwari City. Prafi currently consists of 16 villages, and the majority of the indigenous community (Arfak Big Tribe) live in eleven villages - Somi, Ingkwoisi, Umbuy, and Mebji, all located in Settlement Unit 1 (SP1); Bedip Matoa and Lismaungu located in SP2; and Waseki, Bogor, Kali Amin, Uhyehekebrig, and Kerenu, all located in SP3. By contrast, the majority of the population in the other four villages such Prafi Mulia (SP1), Desay (SP2), Aimasi (SP3), Udapi Hilir (SP4) are non-Papuan (mostly Javanese), while the population in Wasegi Indah village (SP3) is equally divided between the indigenous people and non-Papuans.

In 1962, the government introduced a Cacao Plantation Program in the Prafi area and relocated members of the Arfak Community in Minyambouw. Some areas in Prafi, for example, Umbuy Village and SP1, were primary forest used for hunting and farming for the Minyambouw people, who referred this area as ‘dusun’, which means their place for food gathering or farms. They built huts there, as they usually stayed for a couple of days or weeks in the area to hunt and plant crops before going back to Minyambouw. As a result of this lifestyle, the Arfak community are known as semi nomadic people (Sumule, 1994). The
Indonesian government decided to use the *dusun* and the community were relocated from Minyambouw and allocated 0.5 ha each of this land to plant cocoa.

However, the program only ran to 1965 and was stopped due to a separatist movement in the area. In 1974, the Transmigration Program in Prafi was revived in Dindey (currently part of Warmare District in Prafi plain), and then the government expanded the program to Satuan Pemukiman (Settlement Unit), SP1 and SP2 in 1981 (Imbiri, 2010).

As stated in the previous paragraph, before the 1970s, the Prafi area was a forest used for food gathering, hunting and farming by the Arfak community, but the area was than nominated by the government as a transmigration location. Transmigration is an Indonesian government program in which people from high density areas (e.g. Java) in Indonesia relocate to low density areas, such as Sumatera, Kalimantan and Papua. The transmigration program in Papua was implemented through programs, such as *Pola Tanaman Pangan* (Food Crops System), *Pola Perkebunan Inti Rakyat* (Nucleus Estate Smallholder Scheme), *Pola Nelayan* (Fisherman System), *Pola Hutan Tanaman Industri* (Industry Plant Forest System), *Pola Jasa dan Industri* (Service and Industry System) and *Transmigrasi Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Differences Transmigration) (Mampioper. D. A, 2008).

There are two types of people who participated in the program; national and local transmigrants. National transmigrants are those who have been relocated by the Indonesian Government from their place of origin outside Papua, such as Java, Nusa Tenggara Barat and Nusa Tenggara Timur. The local transmigrants are of two types. They are members of the Arfak Community, who are usually the traditional owners of the land used for the program, and those who have migrated from other areas of Papua (Sumule, 1994).

Relocation of the Indigenous Papuans from more remote areas of the highlands to Prafi was done for two reasons. The first was in order to induce economic development in the area. The second reason sought by government for the involvement of the Arfak people was to modernize their agricultural system by learning better farming practices from their Javanese counterparts. Their active involvement in the program was also a form of compensation, because their traditional land had been surrendered for development of the transmigration sites. This was a top-down program; therefore, the relocation of the community from the highlands was just part of the government’s development relocation program and imposed on the community.
Another program in which the majority of the Papuans in the area were involved in is the Oil Palm Nucleus Smallholders Scheme (Oil Palm NESS) Project. The Oil-Palm NESS of Prafi is run by PT Perkebunan Nusantara II (PTPN II), which is a branch of PT Tanjung Morawa II in Medan (North Sumatera). It has been operating in the area for more than 25 years. The Oil-Palm NESS Estates are administratively located in Warmare, Prafi and Masni Districts. The area of oil palm plantation in Prafi has reached 10,206.99 ha. Of this 3,000 ha is smallholder crop land (Estate Crops Smallholder Scheme Enterprise (PIR-BUN) Primary Member Credit’ Cooperative (KKPA)), and 7,208.99 ha forms the nucleus, which consists of 2,806.99 ha nucleus plantations and 4,400 ha plasma plantations PIR-BUN oil palm (Kapet Biak, 2009). In this scheme, there are 7,200 farmers who are involved as the smallholders, and 800 to 900 people who work as the laborers for the oil palm NESS Project (Imbiri, 2010).

The majority of the local transmigrants who are involved as the smallholder farmers of the Oil Palm Nucleus Smallholders Scheme (Oil Palm NESS) are from the indigenous Manokwari community, who come from highland areas such as Minyambouw, Anggi, Catubouw and Testega. Indeed, the Arfak community was given priority as the smallholders of the Oil-Palm NESS because Prafi is their traditional land (Sumule, 1994).

The Prafi District Government is based in SP3. Further, infrastructure like a good road, education facilities, including primary to high school levels, communication facilities, including a Post office and a TELKOM Office, land line and mobile phone facilities, banks and markets, extension officers, an Agricultural Training Centre, and health facilities, in the form of a public clinic and its branches, are available in Prafi District. There is public transportation from Prafi to urban areas and other nearby transmigration sites (Warmare and Masni Districts) with regular schedules. There are four formal markets in the district namely SP1 Market (market days on Monday and Friday), SP2 Market (market days on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday), SP3 Market (market days on Wednesday and Saturday), and SP4 Market (market days on Thursday and Sunday). These markets open two or three days each week from 07.00 am to 12.00 pm, although the market in SP 2 remains open until 02.00 pm. The markets are also used as the informal terminals for public transport.
6.3 Characteristics and Activities of Papuan Women Trader From Prafi District (Transmigration Site)

In order to get some indication of the characteristics of Papuan women traders from this transmigration site, simple descriptive statistics are now presented. This allows a representative trader to be selected for further case study.

6.3.1 Personal Characteristics of Respondents in Transmigration Sites

6.3.1.1 Ethnicity

The Papuan community in the transmigration sites are mostly the indigenous Manokwari people, such as the Hatam, Sough and Meyakh, who were resettled from their villages to the transmigration sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group in the District</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hatam</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meyakh</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 Ethnicity of Transmigration Sites Trader Respondents

Based on my interviews, I found that the Arfak communities, who live in particular villages of the transmigration site, such as in Mebji, Lismaungu and Ingkwoisi Villages, come from the same tribe and are relatives.

The trader respondents live and conduct their economic activities in Prafi District areas. All of the respondents are from the indigenous Manokwari (Arfak Big Tribe), and belong to the Hatam and Meyakh sub-tribes (Table 6.1).

6.3.1.2 Age

There is variation in the age of the Papuan women respondent traders in the suburban area or transmigration sites (Table 6.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (Year)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 Age Range of Transmigration Sites Trader Respondents
Most of the respondents are in the age range of 25 to 44 years old (7), though three respondents are older than this age range. Their ages show that these traders are in their productive age life.

6.3.1.3 Education

There is very little variation of education of the respondents traders in the area. The detail can be seen in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Formal Education of Transmigration Sites Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Formal Education</th>
<th>Numbers of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nine of the ten respondents had no formal education, with only one respondent having attended primary education. Most of them do not have formal education because of the lack of education infrastructure in their home village in the highland where they lived, before joining the Transmigration Program. Families in those villages would also have lacked the resources and motivation to support their children’s education, especially for female members of the family.

6.3.1.4 Family members

Family members are the farming labour resource of the households. The number of family members of the respondents in Prafi is shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Family members of Transmigration Sites Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Member</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 - 4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of family members is almost equally split between smaller families of three to four members, and larger families of five to nine members. However, this shows the nuclear family member, and does not include relatives who might also stay in the same houses. In the Arfak community, one house can made up of two or three families who are relatives.

Family members have important roles in agriculture, as many of these respondents are involved in various agricultural activities, such as their traditional farming, and work on cocoa and oil palm plantations.
6.3.2 Marketing Characteristics

6.3.2.1 Market Location

Markets in Prafi District are dominated by Javanese farmers/traders who live and conduct their farming activities in the area. However, the Papuan women traders are also involved in marketing activities of agricultural produce in those markets. As noted previously, the markets where the Papuan traders do their marketing are SP1, SP2, SP3 and SP4 Markets. These Papuan traders sell their farm produce in the nearby markets. For example, traders who live in SP1 prefer to sell in SP1 Market and SP2 Market, which are both close to their homes.

All respondents, both regular and casual traders, sell their produce only in these transmigration site markets, and none of the trader respondents sell in the urban markets such as Wosi and Sanggeng. However, there are some traders, mainly Javanese, from the area and surrounding districts, who market their agricultural products in the urban market regularly.

6.3.2.2 Trading Experience

Papuan women trader respondents in the transmigration sites market agricultural produce from their traditional farms. Because they live in the transmigration site, they have easier access to the markets. As a result, almost all respondents are very experienced, and have been traditionally trading for 10 years or more (Table 6.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Experience (Year)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2.3 Sources and Use of Capital

All of respondents support their marketing activities financially through self-funding. No cash is used to purchase products for resale, and cash is used only for return transportation from their homes to the market. Further, they do not spend money on their traditional farming activity, which supports their marketing, as seeds are saved from the previous season, while the equipment used for their farming activities is not expensive, being axes, bush knives, crowbars and shovels. They are aware of the use of fertiliser and pesticides to produce high-yielding crops, as they involved in the Transmigration Program and Oil-Palm NESS Project, and there are some extension officers who work with the farmers in the area. However, they
do not use any chemicals in their traditional farming activities. The reason is that they are not used to this intensive agricultural technology, and it does not appear to them to be suitable for their type of traditional farming.

As there is very little capital involved in increasing the quality or quantity of produce marketed by these subsistence farmers/traders, there is no necessity for cash for these activities.

6.3.2.4 Types of Produce Grown and Marketed

The produce that are marketed in transmigration sites (Prafi District) markets come from the local farms of both non Papuan and Papuan farmers.

Oil palm was introduced in the 1980s, and most of the nucleus plantations were planted in 1981 in Prafi. The Arfak community, who are involved as Oil-Palm NESS smallholders, were given two hectares of the oil palm plantation, a house and a yard of 0.25 hectare, and an area for food crop gardens of 0.75 hectare. They also got assistance support from the company through the field officers. Fertiliser and pesticides were also distributed to the farmers for their oil palm by the company through a credit scheme. The company would then deduct the payment from the farmers’ income when they sold the oil palm fresh fruit bunches to the company. However, this scheme was stopped in 1995 due to management problems.

The fresh fruit bunches are sold by the farmers to the PTP II Nusantara, which is the nucleus plantation. However, in recent years, many of the Arfak farmers have not been motivated to manage their oil palm plantations, due to the trees low productivity, and the cost and labour intensive nature of managing them.

In their house yard, the community members plant fruit, such as mango, avocado, rambutan, and other perennial plants, including cocoa. As stated in the previous section, cocoa has been planted by the community since early 1960s. After that, there were various sponsorship activities in order to expand the cocoa plantations, such as programs ran by the Irian Jaya Joint Development Foundation (IJJDF) and Sustainable Agriculture Development Project (SADP). But, support from these institutions was no longer available for these farmers.

Currently, much of the cocoa is grown by the Arfak community themselves. However, as a result of the decline of the cocoa price, and the nature of their traditional farming system,
which is not intensive, they made little effort to manage their cocoa plantations. They did not weed the plantation area or prune the cocoa trees, and the branches of the cover crops. But they still collect the cocoa in the harvest time. Many of them sell the cocoa to a collector if they have an urgent need for cash.

Although they have been introduced to aspects of modern farming systems, such as settled food crop farming, cocoa and oil palm plantations, they still apply shifting cultivation, or slash and burn activity, in surrounding areas in order to open new farms. The traditional farms are mainly as their sources of food, but they also sell the farms’ produce for cash. The way this community will open up a new farm can be seen in Figure 6.1.

![An area just open for a new farm and a farm in Prafi by Arfak farmers](image)

**Figure 6.1 An area just open for a new farm and a farm in Prafi by Arfak farmers**

This figure visually illustrates that, even they have live in the transmigration sites and live side by side with the intensive farmers (national transmigrants), they still undertake their traditional farming system.

All of Papuan respondents interviewed in this study, both regular and casual, get their produce from their own farms. In addition to the garden around their homes, the other traditional farms of these traders are around 0.5 to two ha, and are located approximately 500 meters to 11 kilometres from their homes. They will use empty land beside the oil palm estate, hilly areas and secondary forest for their multi crop farms, and the farms are planted by using a rotation system in which these farmers cultivate different produce for each season. They have more than one farm with different times of planting.
The agricultural produce planted in their traditional farms and sold by these traders in the local markets are fresh vegetables, such as *kangkung* (water spinach), cassava leaves, pawpaw leaves, pumpkin, pawpaw flowers, water cress, spinach, *genemo* (Gnetum gnemon L.), fern leaves, and *gedi* leaves. They also grow bitter gourd, chilli, tomatoes, sweet potato, banana, cucumber, coconut, corn, sugar cane, peanut and durian. Some of them also sell broom made from the ripped palm leaves, as they plant coconut trees in their house yards or farms. The regular traders usually go to the local market to sell their produce 2-5 days in a week (around 96 to 240 times a year), while casual traders will sell less frequently.

### 6.3.2.5 Trading Place and Time

The Majority of the Papuan traders interviewed are casual. That is, they only sell if there is cash need to be met or if they have produce to sell. However, two of the traders are permanent with more regular marketing schedules. The regular traders sell twice or three times a week, based on the opening days of the markets.

On the day I interviewed them; five respondents were selling on the concrete table, three on the concrete floor, and two on the ground by using plaited mats or rice sacks. Places to sell in SP1 and SP2 Markets are easier to get as large places are available. However, the spaces are not permanent, so if one trader gets a space on the concrete table one day, she may have to sell on the concrete floor or on the ground outside the market on another day. Further, if they sell in SP4 Market, it is difficult to find a concrete table or place inside the market, as there are a lot of traders selling in this market, so they have to sell on the ground outside the market. These facilities are illustrated in Figure 6.6 in Section 6.4, which is the detailed qualitative case study.

The head of Economic Section of Prafi District Office said that Papuan women traders were given a permanent place in the market by the local government, but he claims that they have sold the places to other traders. This assertion was supported by my observation that many of these Papuan traders sell their produce on the ground at the market or in the front side of the market particularly in SP4 Market. The reason why they prefer to sell at the front end of the market would is because they thought the buyers would prefer to buy produce from the front end of the market.
All respondents trade in the market until they sell all of their produce or the markets are closed. Therefore, the trading time of the respondents is around 5 to 8 hours per market day. If they do not manage to sell all their produce, and do not have a space to keep their unsold produce, they will bring them home for their own consumption or give the produce away to any relative who they met in the market. But if they have permanent spaces in the market, they will keep the less perishable produce in the drawers. For example, two of the respondents keep their unsold produce, such as coconut and broom from ripped palm leaves, in the drawer under the concrete table provided at the market.

6.3.2.6 Cost of Trading Activities

There is very little variation in the cost of trading activities by respondents in the transmigration site. All respondents spend little on their marketing activities. The minimum cost of trading activities for the transmigration site traders is Rp 5,000, the average is Rp 7,600, and maximum cost is Rp 10,000. These costs are mainly for local transportation, such as public vehicles or ojek (motorcycle used for public transport), and to buy rubber bands to tie the produce into bunches, and plastic bags to put the produce in (e.g. chilli and tomato). For those who sell inside the market building, they pay one thousand rupiahs for market retribution each time they sell.

6.3.2.7 Revenue from Trading Activity

The revenue from the trading activities of Papuan women respondents in Prafi also varies very little, and is relatively low. The detail can be seen in Table 6.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Revenue/day (Rp)</th>
<th>Transmigration Sites</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;50,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000-&lt;100,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000-&lt;200,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of these trader respondents (6) get revenue of less than Rp 50,000 per day, and three get revenue between Rp 50,000 to Rp 100,000. The average revenue of Papuan women trader respondents in the transmigration sites from their agricultural marketing activities is Rp 64,100 per day of trading. The maximum of Rp 200,000 comes from a respondent who is casual but sells a variety of produce including peanut, and sugar cane in two markets (SP 1 and SP 2 Markets).
6.3.2.8 Profit

The profit (revenue less expenses) per day of trading of the respondents from their marketing activities can be seen in Table 6.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Profit/day (Rp)</th>
<th>Transmigration Sites Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;50,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000-&lt;100,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 -&lt; 200,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of respondents (6) in the areas get only a small profit of less than Rp 50,000 from their daily trading, while another three receive around Rp 50,000 to Rp 100,000, and only one trader receives more than Rp 100,000, but less than 200,000. The average profit is Rp 59,500 per day of trading, and the maximum profit of Rp 195,000, is received by a causal respondent who gets the highest revenue. This is because she sells peanuts, which receives a higher price than other farm produce. For example one small plastic bag of around 1 kg peeled peanuts is Rp 20,000 and one small plastic bag of around ½ kg for unpeeled peanuts is Rp 5,000.

6.3.2.9 Use of Income

The net income from marketing activities of all the respondent traders is used mainly for consumption and cultural obligations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of Income</th>
<th>Number of Respondents Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Capital</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/Sibling education</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural/Social Obligation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immediate consumption needs are salt, sugar and frying oil. Papuan women traders are also use the money to buy food items such as rice and dry goods from Javanese and Sulawesi traders in those markets. They also buy meat and fish from traders who sell at the market or go around villages peddling their products. Based on my observation, some of them use some of their income for immediate consumption even before they finish selling; for example, to buy ready to-eat food such as meatballs and fresh cakes that are sold mainly by Javanese traders.
Other cash needs, such as for children’s or sibling’s education, will be met by using other incomes; for example, from selling cocoa to collector traders, rent payments from their oil palm plantations if these are rented by other farmers, or work as freelance labour by the male members of the family. Cultural and social obligations are also met by using these various sources of income, including income from marketing activities if needed. All of the women trader respondents have obligations to make contributions for these cultural and social obligations; for example bride price in terms of money, and items such as Timor cloth (fabric), sarong and pigs. The women’s trading money can also use for customary fine contributions.

None of the respondents mentioned using income as a source of capital funding for their future marketing activities.

**6.3.2.10 Business Evolution**

Before the Transmigration Program, these people were subsistence and nomadic farmers, but now they are involved in more commercial and settled farming through the Transmigration and Oil-Palm NESS Projects. In addition to the oil palm, some of them also plant cocoa around their homes. They have cash income from their involvement in these projects. Some of them also have other sources of income which come from family members’ involvement in nonfarm activities, such as working as labourers at the nuclear plantation of PTP II Nusantara, harvesting and carrying the oil palm fresh fruit bunches. They also do freelance work on bridge, road and house construction, or as an ojek driver. However, they still conduct their subsistence way of farming and spend a lot of time on their traditional farms. These farmers still use the slash and burn system to open their traditional farms and plant crops for their own consumption, and sale for cash to buy their immediate needs.

All of them state that their trading activities and produce sold fluctuates over time. Their selling is based on the availability of the produce from their traditional farms and the season. Selling also depends on the family immediate needs. Overall, many of them do not spend a lot of time on their marketing activities, and this is not done on a regular basis.

If they are not selling produce in the market, these women work on their farms to produce food crops such as taro, sweet potato and vegetables and they also do domestic work. Hence, the women spend most of their time and labour on their traditional farms rather than on the commercial farms (oil palm and cocoa), which tends to be done by the men.
6.3.3 A Summary of Women Trader Respondent from Transmigration Sites (Suburban Area)

Based on the above descriptive information, it is concluded that a representative women trader from the transmigration site would from the Arfak Big Tribe, such as the Hatam and Meyakh sub-tribe. She would be 25-54 years old with no formal education, and have 1-4 family members. She would be a casual trader, have been trading for 10-14 years in transmigration site markets, and she would sell at the market 24 to 48 times in a year, and spend 5-10 hours there on the day she sells. She is self-funding with no bank account or saving. Her marketing costs are small, being less than 50,000 rupiahs per day of trading, which is mainly for the transportation cost, and packaging. She would get profit of less than 100,000 rupiahs per day trading, and uses this for her family’s immediate food needs and to meet her social and cultural obligations.

6.4 A Key Story of ‘Mama Norce’ from Prafi (Transmigration Sites)

On the basis of the above characteristics, a trader who is representative of this group,’ Mama Norce’, has been selected for more in-depth qualitative study.

6.4.1 Family and Social Context

Mama Norce is a woman who lives in a village in Prafi District of the Transmigration sites in Manokwari, and she comes from the Hatam Community. As noted in Section 6.2, the majority of people who live in Prafi District are those who involved in the Transmigration Program.

Mama Norce and some of the other traders in the area live in concrete or semi-permanent houses, while others still live in the wooden houses that were provided through the Transmigration Program. The houses have two and more rooms with a concrete floor. Many of them use income from their oil palm plantations to build permanent houses. Electricity is available in the sites, and many of them already have TV and a parabola receiver that allows them to get various TV programs from different channels. However, they do not have a fridge as they are not used to this type of household appliance and they do not store food at home. Instead, Mama Norce will collect or gather produce from her garden and farms, or buy fresh produce at the markets for daily consumption. Mama Norce’s family, and many of the Arfak community members, have motorcycles, which makes it convenient for them to buy any food they require and also to go to their farms.
Mama Norce has an obligation to look after her family, doing tasks such as cooking, taking care of children, washing dishes and laundry as part of her household roles, and conducting farming and marketing activities. Mama Norce cooks her food in a simple way, such as boiling or baking and sometimes frying, and the food sources are her farms, though sometimes, she buys food items at the markets or ready to eat food from warung (the food shop). Mama Norce and other families eat rice, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, banana and vegetables. They also consume tofu, fish and meat fortnightly or monthly by buying from the markets or peddlers. Although she has a kerosene stove, she rarely uses it as she has to buy the kerosene. Instead, she uses fire wood to cook because she gets it for free by collecting the wood daily from around her traditional farms or the secondary forest.

She gets water for cooking from the well or collection tank using a plastic bucket. The well and tanks are provided through the government program, with one well available for four families. However, for washing dishes or doing laundry, Mama Norce and others use water from the irrigation or river in the nearby area. She usually bathes at the river and irrigation channel. Mama Norce has a squat toilet which is separated from her house, but many of the community also use the river and irrigation channel for defecating.
Figure 6.3 The well and the irrigation canal in Prafi as the source of water

Mama Norce has 3 children who go to the local school in Prafi, where education facilities from kindergarten to high school level are available. Her older daughter helps with the household tasks, such as washing the laundry and dishes at the irrigation channel or river. Mama Norce and most of the older people in the community do not have a mobile phone, but some, such as teenagers, those who have ojek businesses, and those who work as freelance labour, do have mobile phones. Mama Norce and other Arfak community members in Prafi have access to medical facilities, such as community medical clinics that have professional medical staff. The Arfak community treat their illnesses by going to the medical clinics and by using traditional medicines. The traditional medicines are still used because of a belief that illnesses are caused by the suanggi (Section 5.4.1). These traditional treatments are taken to oppose the magic power of the suanggi and are taken for two to five days. Then, if they cannot cure the sick person by using traditional medicines, they will go to the medical centre as they then think the suanggi might not responsible for the sickness, thus treatment from a nurse or doctor is needed.

Mama Norce and other women usually socialise when they get water for cooking and doing the washing. Further, at their houses, Mama Norce and many of her neighbours have parapara (a bamboo or wood seat) that is placed under a tree. It is used to sit on or sleep, or to socialise with others in the community. As most of the community in a village come from the same tribe and are relatives, they frequently visit each other. Mama Norce says that if her
relatives come, she usually makes tea in a big teapot, and she can use sugar that she bought from the market to sweeten it. However, she does not socialise well with the non-Papuan transmigrants. Even though, the government purposely located the local and non-Papuan transmigrants villages side by side in the sites, socialisation between the groups is difficult because of their differences in cultural and social background.

She also has cultural and social obligations to meet. Cultural tradition is embedded in the Arfak community, and includes treasure collection for bride price and customary fines. Mama Norce has to contribute to cultural activities such as bride price in terms of money, Timor Cloth, shop’s fabric, cows, goats, pigs and passeda (sea shell bracelets). However, for customary fines, money is commonly used. As Arfak Tribal members, their contribution to cultural and social obligations will affect their social status in the community and also their social security if they need support from others, as this is a reciprocal relationship. Because of these cultural traditions, the Arfak community in Prafi plain, including Mama Norce, raise pigs, cows and goats, and they also use money from farming and other activities, such as rent from their oil plantation lands, or may even pawn their land certificates, in order to meet cultural obligations.

6.4.2 Farming, Plantation, Hunting and Other Activities

Mama Norce’s family had to change from their shifting cultivation farming system to more settled agriculture when they became involved in the transmigration programs. Mama Norce’s family is involved as smallholder farmers in the Nucleus Estate Smallholder Scheme (oil palm NESS), and her family has two hectares of oil palm plantation. Only the Arfak men have a main role in the management and work in the oil palm plantation, while women work in their traditional farms, providing the households’ food sources.
The produce of their plantations was intended to be sold by the smallholder farmers to PTP II Nusantara II, which is the nucleus of the oil palm plantation project. However the plantation estate which belongs to Mama Norce’s family, and many of the other Arfak farmers, is being rented to non-Papuan farmers, who come from Java, Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT), Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) or Celebes. The rent is set at Rp 200,000 to 300,000 per month. The plantation is rented by Papuans to non-Papuans, because actively managing the oil palm itself results in low income for the Papuan households due to the low productivity of the oil palm trees, which are old. There is also low labour productivity, and a high cost for nurturing, harvesting and marketing the oil palm fruits, and other related costs. As a result of this low return, the Papuan farmers are not motivated to manage their own oil palm plantation. On the other hand, the non-Papuan can get a better return because they are fully adopting the technology in the oil palm sector, apply the intensive farming system by using fertiliser and pesticides, and regularly weed the plantations.

Mama Norce’s family and other Arfak community members, who individually plant cocoa, get the seedlings from the government through the extension officers. For example, in Lismaungu Village, the community plants cocoa at around their homes. The extension officer will give them assistance on how to plant and nurture the cocoa. Thus, Mama Norce and others learn plant cultivation techniques and use the fertiliser and pest and disease management from the extension officers, who visit the farmers’ group regularly once to twice a month. However, many of them do not follow all of the techniques explained by the officer,
as they do not prune leaves and branches on the cocoa plants and the cover crops, and do not weed the plantation area. Their harvesting and post harvesting techniques are simple and traditional. They pick the cocoa pods by hand and then split them open by using bush knives. The wet beans are then removed and the cocoa seeds are sold in either this wet condition or after they have been dried. Many people prefer to sell the wet beans rather than take the time to dry the cocoa beans. As a result, they receive the lower wet bean price. Some, including Mama Norce, dry the cocoa beans on the asphalted road that runs from Manokwari city to Prafi, and others dry their beans on a plastic sheet in front of their houses. The cocoa seeds are sold to the collector traders who are based in Prafi, and also to urban area collector traders who came to their villages. The price of the cocoa beans will be decided by bargaining process between the farmers and the collector traders.

As stated before, the Arfak women are responsible for doing traditional farming. Mama Norce has some farms, which are located in the empty land beside her oil palm plantation and secondary forest. The area of each farm varies from 0.5 to 2 ha. She and her family, and other Arfak farmers can manage to open up to four farms within five years. The members of the family, both men and women, are responsible for opening up a new farm. This process begins by cutting down trees and bushes, which is mainly done by the male members of the family, while the women help to pull out the weeds. Then, the wood from the trees is used for fencing. Fences are needed to keep out pigs, which would destroy the crops, since pigs are usually left run free. After they have been cut down, trees and bushes are left to dry, and then burnt. During the time the farm is being opened, the women prepare food at the farm for all of them who work by making a fire on the ground to bake banana, taro and cassava.

After the farm is opened, Mama Norce and the other Arfak women do the rest of the farming activity, such as planting, raising and harvesting. The farms are planted with different kinds of crops such as long bean, peanut, taro, sweet potato, vegetables such as spinach and kangkung (water spinach), cassava, corn, pawpaw and chilli. She usually plants two to three times in a year in each farm. Although they have already been introduced to the use of fertiliser and pesticides and use them in their oil palm and cocoa plantations, Mama Norce and most of the Arfak community do not use fertilisers or chemicals in their traditional farms. They depend on the natural soil nutrients and their traditional systems to keep up the soil fertility. In one farm, Mama Norce usually rotates the crops; for example, first tomato, spinach and chilli are planted, but after these crops are harvested, she will plant peanuts.
Before the produce of this farm is harvested, Mama Norce and her family will prepare a new farm. After harvesting, the produce is divided in two, of which a small part is for consumption and seed, and a larger part is for selling at the market. However, it is becoming more difficult to get land for farming, as most of the land in the area is changing its land use to oil palm plantation. For instance, the community who lived in Wasegi Indah (SP3) now have farms in secondary forest in the back of SP 4 area, which is a long distance away, as most of the land in and close to the village is used for the oil palm estates.

Beside pigs, she rears chickens in her house yard. The chickens are free range and are not put in a pen. At night, the chickens perch on the branches of the trees around her house. Also, her family were given some cows as part of a government grant through the Sustainable Development Program (SADP). In this roll-on program, if the cows have calves, then they will be given to another family in the community and so on. Although a few of the community members attended training on how to make dry feed for the cattle, which was conducted by the Animal Husbandry Office and The State University of Papua in 2009, most of them do not apply the training, and they let the cattle forage for themselves to find feed. Community members usually tether the cows around their homes, near the river, or the farming areas. Livestock is rarely sold commercially or slaughtered for everyday domestic foods, and neither are they used as draft animals.

Figure 6.5 Papuan farmers and their live stocks in Prafi
The community, including Mama Norce’s family, only sell the livestock for urgent needs. In some cases, the cows are sold because they need urgent cash, for children’s education and cultural obligations, such as customary fines and bride price. This practice is contrary to the purpose of the program, which requires the cows to be used for productive activity. Like cattle, pigs are only kept for cultural matters, and ownership of pigs is used as the measurement of family’s social status in the Arfak Community.

The majority of the community get their meat or fish sources from other traders. Hunting is rarely done by the Arfak Community who live in the Transmigration sites. This is because wild animals such as wild pigs, deer, cuscus, snakes, bandicoots, and many kinds of birds, are no longer easy to find and hunt in the area. Furthermore, it is easier to buy the meats from the local markets and peddlers and families have the cash to do this. There are only one or two families who still hunt in the secondary forest, and there is some trapping of bandicoots in the oil palm plantations.

Some of the households in Mama Norce’s community also work outside their own farms. They work as labourers on oil palm plantations, on freelance projects, or have ojek businesses or truck businesses (used to load oil palm fresh fruit bunches, sand, and river stone, onto trucks for transport), and so on. These people with non-farm work are mostly those who have high social or economic status in the community, including those who have customary right over the land in Prafi areas, and also the tribal chief. However, in general, most of the community depend on their farms and plantations for their income. Mama Norce’s family income from farming activities is higher than the income from renting their oil palm plantation. This observation is consistent with that of Imbiri (2010), who reports that the contribution of traditional farming to total Arfak farmers families’ incomes is 39 percent, compared to secondary income from ojek and freelance labour, which is 31 percent, and income from oil palm which contributes 30 percent.

6.4.3 Marketing Activity

Mama Norce sells her produce in SP2 and SP4 Markets. She sells sweet potato, sweet potato leaves, pumpkin, peanut, spinach, cassava, cassava leaves, corn, pawpaw, pawpaw leaves, and banana. Some of her neighbour traders sell kangkung, water cress, genemo and other similar produce. Although many kinds of produce are sold by Mama Norce, the number and types she sells is different each time and the volume of produce is small. For example in one day
she may sell 2 to 5 piles of sweet potato, 5 bundles of spinach, and 1 pawpaw, and on another
day she will sell 4 pumpkin and 10 piles of corn. This is because she depends on her farms’
produce that are ready to harvest, and is very close to her market.

She harvests the produce to sell a day before, and puts the produce in the rice sacks or cloths
to be carried to the market (Figure 6.6). To go to the markets, she uses ojek (motorcycle taxi
driver), which is the most common public transport used by traders in Prafi District. Mama
Norce prefers to use ojek because it is relatively cheap, and costs approximately five thousand
rupiahs one way, and drops off and picks up the passenger wherever he/she wants. She will
carry some of the produce on the back of the motorcycle behind her or on her lap, and the rest
of her produce will be put on the front of the motorcycle between the legs of the driver. Some
women traders who walk to the market carry the produce on their backs. It takes 5 to 10
minutes by ojek from her home to SP2 and SP4 Markets. Mama Norce arrives at the market
early in the morning at 5.30 to 6 am, and sells by herself in the market for around 6 hours.
When she arrives at the market, she will prepare her produce to sell; for example, putting the
produce in small lots, such as in bundles and piles. One day, I saw a buyer want to buy up the
whole produce, in this case kangkung that Mama Norce’s neighbour trader was selling.
However the produce was still unprepared inside her cloth bundle, as she had just arrived at
the market. So, the buyer had to wait for her to tie the kangkung into bundles in order to
determine how much it will cost.

Mama Norce gets a permanent space in SP2 Market, and has a place to keep her produce. The
permanent spaces were distributed to Papuan and non-Papuan traders who live in Prafi by the
local government. They did not pay for the space in the open building (as shown in Figure
6.6). However, she and those who sell inside the market building pay Rp 1,000 market
retribution fee every time they sell, while those who sell outside might not be obligated to
pay. Many of Papuan women traders do not have permanent space inside market building,
but in SP1 and SP2 Markets, they can still get space inside the building. Even though she sells
on a concrete table in SP2 Market, in SP4 Market, Mama Norce and other Papuan women
traders have to sell on the ground and do not get a space inside the market building. This is
because there are a large number of traders selling in this market, and most of them are non-
Papuan traders, who are mostly Javanese. Mama Norce prefers to sell at SP2 Market because
it is close to her home, while SP4 is chosen because there is a large numbers of buyers. SP2
Market open three days on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday from 7 am to 2 pm, while SP4 Market on Thursday and Sunday from 6 to 12 am.

Figure 6.6 Papuan women traders sell inside the market’s building in Prafi

Figure 6.7 Papuan women traders sell outside the market’s building in Prafi

Mama Norce sells regularly depending on the market days in SP2 Market, and occasionally in SP4 Market. That is, she sells sell one to two times in a week or sometimes three times. In general, she always tries to sell every week. But many of the women traders from her community are more casual sellers, who do not sell at all regularly in the markets. Sometimes, they sell their produce once a month, but at other times they might sell eight
times in a month as their selling activities depend on the availability of the produce from their farms, and their households’ needs.

At the markets, Mama Norce also socialises with other traders from the Arfak community, and they usually sit together chatting while selling their produce, as can be seen in Figure 6.6. I saw some of Arfak women who only come to buy something at the market also join in and have a chat with the traders.

There are some Javanese farmer traders who sell in the urban market, but Mama Norce and most of Papuan women traders in Prafi do not sell their produce in there. This is because the volume of their farm produce is relatively small compared to that of the Javanese farmers, and there is a high transportation cost to go to urban markets.

The Javanese farmers in Prafi District conduct intensive farming (using fertiliser, pesticides and so on), and many of them are also involved in the oil palm industry. They plant more produce than Papuan farmers, and this includes vegetables, and cash crops such as soybean and paddy rice. Some of these Javanese farmer traders sell much larger volumes of produce in the urban markets than Papuan women traders in the urban area; for example, if the Papuan traders in the urban area on average sell 6-10 bundles of \textit{kangkung} each day, the Javanese sell more than 70 bundles each day. Taking another example, Papuan traders might sell only 1-5 kilograms of tomatoes and then break these tomatoes down into piles of 4 to 6 to sell, whereas the Javanese might sell 350 kilograms per week, and sell these in kilogram lots. These Javanese traders not only get their produce from their own farms, but also from other farmers who bring and sell their produce to these traders. So, besides acting as the producer, the Javanese traders also become the collector or middle men/women traders. However, these Javanese traders from Prafi only go to urban market regularly three times a week to sell their produce and most of them do not have permanent space in the market.

After selling in the market, Mama Norce usually gets income of around 50 thousand rupiahs per day. She uses the money to pay her transportation cost of five thousand rupiahs. Then she uses most of her marketing income for consumption. She buys food such as rice, noodle, salt, sugar, tea and coffee. Sometimes she buys ready-to-eat food, such as meat balls and fried banana in the markets. In fact, often produce in the market is unattended as the traders go to buy some meal or snacks at the market. However, when this happens, nearby traders will help to sell the produce, if a buyer comes while the owner is away. Many times, Mama
Norce uses all of her income on the day sale. If she has many heavy food items to take home, she will hire an ojek, who usually stand in front of the market, but if not, she will walk with other women traders, who live in the same village. While they are walking, they talk and eat the snacks that they bought from the market.

She does not use her marketing income for other needs, such as education of her children. For this purpose she uses income from cocoa sales or oil palm plantation rent, and also from the male family member’s involvement in freelance labour work. Mama Norce’s family also makes a contribution to cultural and social obligations, and they use their various sources of the household income, including marketing income, to meet this obligation.

Although the government provides space for Papuan women at the physical markets in SP1 and SP2, Mama Norce and the Arfak women traders do not get any financial support and assistance from the local government for the marketing activities. They do not access the financial institutions. Their lack of knowledge may have an impact on their ability to access information on the available credit schemes and how to get it. Further, they are also excluded as a target of the local bank and micro finance institutions, such as cooperatives, due to their casual marketing activities and lack of access to collateral, such as land which own by the male member of the family.

6.5 Case Analysis: Women Traders from the Transmigration Sites (Prafi)

6.5.1 Introduction

This Section presents the analysis of the women traders from the Transmigration Sites of Prafi. It begins with summarizing the marketing activities of the Papuan women traders in Transmigration Site (Prafi). Then, their motivation and personal attributes are analysed, as well as the impact of these factors on their marketing activities. This is followed by an analysis of their physical and social resources, social and cultural values, and how these resources and values affect their marketing activities. The environmental factors, such as financial institutions, government policy, and programs and infrastructure, will then be analysed. Finally, the section is concluded in a case synthesis.
6.5.2 Activities, Motivation and Personal Attributes, and Resources

6.5.2.1 Activities

The majority of respondents from the transmigration sites are categorised as casual traders because they do not have a regular schedule to market their produce at the local market. However, a few are regular traders who sell, on average, one to two days each week depending on the market days in the nearby area.

Even though they live in the transmigration site in Prafi District with good access to infrastructure, including road and the local markets, the majority of these traders are not fully engaged with the market. Their marketing activities depend on the availability of produce from their traditional farms and when that is ready to be harvested, and also on their household needs. However, many of them allocate a large part of their traditional farms’ produce for selling. Each family has two to five traditional farms, and so they have regular and continuous cultivation (Section 6.4.2). This ensures that produce is available, when it is needed to consume or sell.

The women play significant roles in the traditional farms, but the men help to open new farms. They still apply the slash and burn system to their traditional farms, even though they have been introduced to more settled agricultural practices through the Transmigration Program and Oil Palm NESS Project. Men have the dominant role in managing the family’s small oil palm plantation. However, they make little effort to manage their plantations due to problems such as low tree productivity, low labour productivity, and high cost (Section 6.4.2). The traders also plant perennial cash crops such as cocoa. However, many of them make little effort to manage the cocoa estate, which might be due to the labour intensity required, and the low price of the cocoa beans (Section 6.3.2.4). Some of the family members are also involved in nonfarm activities, such as freelance labour and ojek business. Therefore, the women traders in the transmigration sites have various sources of household income. The role that their marketing activities play is to contribute frequent cash to the household.

At the market, these traders sell their produce and socialize with other traders and their community. It appears that there is little effort to actively sell their produce to the buyers. Selling activity depends on what can be collected from the farms. So, the produce volume is usually small, and the type of produce may differ each time they sell (Section 6.4.3). They harvest a day before selling, and prepare the produce at the markets. They seek to add some
value as they clean the produce, peel produce such as peanut, and sell them in small lots. They do not apply any marketing techniques other than this to increase their sales, and do not allocate part of their marketing income to finance the next marketing activities.

6.5.2.2 Motivation and Personal Attributes

The marketing activities of these women are driven by their motivation to meet their family’s immediate needs, and also their personal attributes. As the women are responsible for providing food for the family, they have an important role in managing the traditional farm to meet their family consumption needs, and to provide cash, which they then use mainly to buy food items.

These women are in the middle-age group, which allows them to productively work on their farms. They lack formal education, and also have not had any formal training with regards to their marketing activities. This might impact on the type of businesses that they conduct, which is semi-subsistence, though it is not clear how much impact this factor has.

Modern settled agricultural farming methods have not been adopted on their traditional farms. Although agricultural tools and inputs, such as fertilisers and pesticides were introduced and distributed through the development programs, and are used in their oil palm plantation and cocoa estate, the women still apply their traditional ways of farming in their traditional farms through crop rotation, and planting diversified crops in any one farm. One farm is cultivated before they harvest from another in order to provide a continuous flow of produce for their consumption and cash needs. It was observed that introduced systems, that require more intensive use of inputs (e.g. fertiliser and pesticides) and more intensive land management are practiced by the non-Papuan transmigrants (mostly Javanese).

Income from marketing is used mainly for food, because other immediate needs such as children’s school fees and social/cultural obligations are met by their other sources of incomes. They do not put aside any of the income for the next marketing activities. In fact, their open access to the local markets and public transportation do not motivate them to plan their market activities. Availability of other income sources might result in their irregular marketing activities and lack of customer focus. Their other income sources, such oil palm, cocoa and nonfarm activities, gives assurance that they still have cash for their immediate needs, even if they are not selling fresh produce at the local market. The few traders who are
regular might have more farms to be harvested than others, and may have more needs to be met, such as larger family size.

6.5.2.3 Resources

The oil palm plantation and cocoa estate areas are individually owned by each family through their involvement in the Transmigration Program and the Oil Palm NESS Project. Their house yard, empty areas around the plantation, and communal land, such as secondary forest, is used for traditional farming. However, the area for traditional farming is becoming more limited as more of it gets used for oil palm plantations. The Prafi area is the customary land of the Arfak Tribe from Minyambouw and its surrounding areas, and was surrendered for the Transmigration Program and Oil Palm NESS Project (Section 6.2).

The tools used for farming activities do not appear to be a constraint. Tools such as axes, hoes, bush knives and shovels are used to do their traditional farming. In the first years of their involvement in the Transmigration Program, these tools were distributed to them by the government. Fertiliser and pesticides for their oil palm plantation were also provided by PTP II Nusantara through the credit scheme. However, farmers now have to buy the tools and chemicals themselves, as it is no longer provided by the government or the company, and these agricultural inputs can be bought from the local markets in Prafi.

Although the traders and their families have experience of using chemicals in their cocoa estate and oil palm plantation, none of them use any chemicals in their traditional farming. This does not fit with their agricultural tradition or economic situation. Seeds necessary for traditional farming are saved from the previous season. Although some families own cows, they do not use them to support their farming activities.

The labour for farming comes mainly from the father and mother, while the other members help. This is because the children usually go to school and older family members may have other activities outside the farm. Although they have strong social values, which is shown from their contribution to cultural and social obligations (Section 6.4.1), it appears that families individually conduct their productive activities, including managing their traditional farm. That is, communal labour practice is rarely used in this community, because each household is focused on their own agricultural activities.
These traders have little finance to support their businesses. They are self-funding, and any required funding comes from their other income sources. There is no financial support from the local government. They do not access financial institutions such as BRI bank and Eklesia Cooperative (microfinance), which are available in Prafi District (Section 6.2). This may be due to their lack of knowledge on how to gain information about the credit schemes and how to apply for them, and also because they are unlikely to be targeted by the financial institutions due to their more casual trading activities. Although these women have access to land for farming, they do not have ownership over the land which can be used as collateral. Finally, they may not seek external sources of finance because they can self-fund their activities from other income sources.

At the market, they prefer to sit close to traders that they know, who are mostly come from the same village or nearby areas. While they help to sell unattended produce of other traders. It is appears that they prepare and sell their produce individually.

In summary, they have adequate physical resources, such as land and other inputs. Labour does not appear to be a constraint and although they do not access credit, this does not appear to constrain them.

6.5.3 Social/Cultural Values

Despite being relocated, the Arfak community in this transmigration site, their traditional social and cultural values are still embedded in their everyday activities, and so they have obligation to meet. Sharing is still part of their social and cultural lives. They collect money and items for social and cultural obligations, and they meet these social and cultural obligations from different sources of family’s income. There is no clear boundary for each use of the income, so how much their marketing contributes to these obligations is unclear, although it appears to make only very a minor contribution. Their contributions, and their level, may affect their social status in the community, and also their social relationships. This social relationship is a reciprocal system, and is part of their investment in the future.

They socialise with each other regularly when they are selling at the market, getting water or visiting relatives or neighbours. If visiting, the host usually serves the visitors with drinks, such as tea and coffee (Section 6.4.1), and the sugar, coffee and tea that they bought from the markets is used for this occasion.
In short, even they work individually on their agricultural activities, and are involved in various development programs, but their culture and social values dictate the conduct of the non-business part of their lives.

6.5.4 Environment

These traders have good access to physical infrastructure, such as road, public transport and markets, and government and financial institutions.

Many of these traders use the public transport, such as the minibuses and *ojek*, while others walk to the nearby market. Permanent spaces were allocated at the markets for these Papuan traders by Prafi District Government. However, many of these Papuan traders sold these spaces to other traders. Many who sell in the SP4 Market sell on the ground, which is outside the market building. These women have a belief that location in front of the market offers them more potential to sell their produce. In SP1 and SP2 markets, spaces on the concrete tables and floor are available for them. Many of these spaces are not permanent, and anyone who comes early can occupy them. A few women have their own permanent table spaces with a cabinet. This means they have a place to keep any of their unsold produce.

Financial institutions are available in the area, such as the BRI Bank branch and Eklesia Cooperative (microfinance), but none of these traders access them. Their lack of formal education might be the cause of their lack of knowledge on loan services and how to get them, but they do not seem to have a need for finance. Although they have access to land, they do not have ownership, so cannot use it as collateral. The casual nature of their marketing activities might also exclude them as loan targets by financial institutions.

The government provides permanent spaces for Papuan women traders in some of Prafi markets, but beyond this, there is no direct government support for their marketing activities. Such support is focused on the agricultural sector; for example distribution of tools, fertilisers and pesticides, the livestock rolling program, cocoa seedlings, and extension officers’ support. However, through involvement in these development programs through their relocation, they have been driven to engage with the cash economy. They are also open to new ideas, with the relocation program leading to the adoption of cash crop farming that they were previously unfamiliar with. Thus, these programs may have an indirect role in stimulating the marketing activities of these women traders.
Their involvement in development programs that have certain standard rules means each family has external responsibilities to be met. These programs are designed to hasten their assimilation with Indonesian society, and as a result children’s education becomes more valued. This created pressure for cash and so engagement with the cash economy. These forces in turn, impact on their social and cultural values, which are becoming more individualistic with respect to the conduct of their business activities.

6.5.5 Case Synthesis and Conclusion

This case analysis is now captured in Figure 6.8. This diagram visually illustrates their marketing activities, their personal attributes, the type of resources they can access, and then consider these factors in the context of their culture and social values, and their external environment.
Figure 6.8 Indigenous Entrepreneurship of Papuan Women in Transmigration Site (Prafi)
The majority of Papuan women traders in the transmigration site are categorised as casual, although a few do have a regular schedule to market their produce.

They are engaged with the cash economy and settled agriculture through their involvement in the development programs such as Transmigration and Oil Palm NESS. However, they are not fully engaged with the markets for food produce. Their traditional farms are used to provide their food needs, and produce to be sold in the market. Their marketing is driven by immediate needs mainly for foods, while other needs, including social and cultural obligations, can be met by their other sources of incomes.

They have adequate resources for their traditional type of farming and marketing, and are self-funded. They have collective values through sharing the burden for bride price and customary fines, which is a reciprocal process and part of their future social investment. However, this social capital is rarely used for production and marketing activities.

Their access to physical infrastructure, such as roads and physical markets are good. They do not have difficulty getting space at the markets, and in SP1 and SP2, spaces such as concrete tables and concrete floor, are available for them to use.

They lack access of the financial institutions or they may not have a need of finance, and are excluded as the target for credit schemes, which might be due to their type of marketing activities and lack of collateral. Many development programs and policies conducted in the area have an indirect impact on their marketing activities. Environmental factors, i.e. relocation have contributed to their engagement in the cash economy. Further, these external factors have also caused a shift in their cultural and social values.
Chapter 7
MANOKWARI CITY AND SURROUNDING SUBURBAN AREAS: RESULTS AND CASE ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Papuan women traders in Manokwari City and the surrounding urban areas. The chapter begins with the context for the urban market, in this case, Manokwari City and its surrounding areas. This followed by a discussion of characteristics and activities of Papuan Women traders from the area, which includes their personal and marketing characteristics, and case studies of traders. The case studies component of this chapter is different from the other two case studies (the remote area and transmigration site), as there are a large variation of traders in Manokwari City and surrounding areas. As a result, three focussed case studies of different women traders are presented. Once this material has been presented, the case is analysed. Then, the chapter is concluded with a synthesis.

7.2 Context for the Urban Area: Manokwari City and Surrounding Suburban Areas

The urban area in this case refers to Manokwari City and its surrounding suburban areas. Manokwari City is the capital city of the West Papua Province. The city is included in the West Manokwari District that also has 10 villages, known locally as Kelurahan which is a Political district administered by a lurah (village chief). Several main villages with high densities of population in this district are Padarni, Wosi, Sanggeng and West Manokwari. The suburban areas that are very close to the City are South Manokwari, East Manokwari and North Manokwari Districts (BPS Manokwari, 2008).

Manokwari urban and suburban areas have a diverse population. The population consists of the indigenous Manokwari (Arfak Big Tribe) community, other Papuans from regions such as Biak Numfor, Sorong, Yapen Waropen, Nabire, Jayapura, Merauke, Fakfak, Wamena, and non-Papuans, who originally come from Java, Sumatera, Sulawesi, Maluku and so on. There are a lot of social interactions in this city and surrounding areas.

The community in the urban and suburban areas of Manokwari have good access to two levels of governments, the West Papua Provincial and Manokwari Regency. There are a wide range of education facilities in the area, including one state University, The State University
of Papua, locally known as UNIPA, and several private tertiary education institutions, such as the Jurisprudence Institution (STIH) and the Economic Institution (STIE). The physical and economic infrastructure, such as roads, public transport, market infrastructure and financial institutions, such as commercial banks and financial institutions, are also widely available.

The road access in the area is very good, and public transportation is continuously available from around 6 am to 10 pm. There are two main public transport terminals in Manokwari, which are Sanggeng and Wosi Terminals. Sanggeng Terminal is mainly used for the urban/suburban routes, while Wosi is also used for the inter-district/village routes. Minibuses locally known as ‘taxis’, are the common public transport in the main urban/suburban area, and they charge a flat fare of 3,000 rupiahs. In addition to taxis, ojek (a motorcycle taxi, where the driver is identified by a yellow helmet) is a type of public transport used in the area. An average fare for an ojek is 4,000 rupiahs for a short distance and 6,000 to 10,000 rupiahs for long distance travel around the urban/suburban areas during normal service hours.

Figure 7.1  Manokwari Harbour and Wosi Terminal

There is also a Harbour at Manokwari with a regular water transportation schedules. The public ships that go through Manokwari Harbour are PELNI\textsuperscript{20} ships, such as KM Nggapulu, KM Sinabung, KM Labobar, and KM Dorolonda. They dock in the main Papua Island cities, such as Sorong, Manokwari, Biak, Nabire and Jayapura. Pioneer boats\textsuperscript{21}, such as Papua I and Papua II, connect the main Papua Island to the small islands or regions (e.g. Wondama.

\textsuperscript{20} PELNI is the national shipping company of Indonesia
\textsuperscript{21} Boats that are subsidised by Indonesian Government to serve routes to coastal remote areas
Numfor and Sarmi). Rendani National Airport is also a part of the transportation system in this area. Several Aeroplane companies operate at Rendani Airport, such as Merpati Airline, Express Air, Lion Air and Batavia Air. These airlines connect Manokwari to other Papua areas, as well as to remote areas, and other Indonesian regions.

A number of financial institutions operate in the area. These include Mandiri Bank, Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI), Bank Tabungan Negara (BTN), Papua Bank, Bank Nasional Indonesia (BNI) and PERUM Pegadaian (Pawn General Company), which are all owned by the Indonesian government, and Danamon Bank, which is a private bank, and microfinance institutions, such as Arfak Jaya Cooperative and Sumber Rezeki Cooperative.

Further, there are two main physical public markets in the area, Wosi and Sanggeng Markets. Sanggeng Market is located at the beach side (Dorery Bay), in the central part of Manokwari City, and is close to the government administrative offices, shopping areas and hotels. The main fishery market in the region is also located in this market. The number of Papuan and non-Papuan traders selling in this market is similar, but the proportion of traders selling agricultural produce is overwhelmingly Papuan. The majority of non-Papuan traders (mostly traders from Java and Sulawesi) have permanent space in the market, such as concrete or semi-permanent stores or kiosks, and they sell various products; for example, foods, clothing and shoes, kitchenware, DVD’s and VCD’s, groceries and golden jewellery. Many of them also have tailor, barber and salon businesses in the market.

On the other hand, Wosi Market is located in a suburban area. It is also located on the beach side, and is bigger than Sanggeng Market in terms of physical size. There are a number of kiosks, and peddlers and traders who operate here come from inside and outside the Manokwari urban areas. About three-quarters of the traders in this market appear to be non-Papuan. The clothing, kitchenware, grocery stores or kiosks available in this market are dominated by non-Papuan traders from Java and Sulawesi. Based on my observation, the proportion of Papuan women and non-Papuan traders selling agricultural produce in the market are approximately similar. Some grated coconut, beef and chicken kiosks owned by non-Papuan traders are also located in this market (fresh beef is not available in Sanggeng Market). There is no permanent space for selling fish, so traders sell fish by using wheel barrows or wooden tables.
In addition to these two markets, there are also some other places where agricultural produce is traded, such as around Misi and Opsi. Opsi Market building is located behind the Opsi shopping complex, but many traders, especially those who sell smoked fish and cooked food, prefer to sell in front of the complex at the side road. Traders who sell at Opsi, which is an evening market, start at 6 pm and finish at around 9 pm daily. Misi Market is located close to the Catholic Public Clinic and Schools. Only a few traders sell in the market, from around 8 am to late afternoon.

Besides these wet markets, there are many motorbike vegetable peddlers, known as ‘mas sayur’, who travel around some neighbourhoods to sell their produce. In addition, Hadi Mall and Orchid Supermarket also sell agricultural produce, but this is mainly imported from other regions.

7.3 Characteristics and Activities of Papuan Women Traders from the Urban Area (Manokwari City and Surrounding Suburban Areas)

In order to get an indication of the characteristics of Papuan women traders from the urban areas, some simple descriptive characteristics are presented. This information is then used to select respondents for more detailed qualitative analysis.

7.3.1 Personal Characteristics of Respondents

7.3.1.1 Ethnicity

Urban Papuan women respondents come from various Papuan ethnic groups and came from different regions in Papua. Forty two Papuan women traders were interviewed in this research and they come from Biak, Serui, Ayamaru (Sorong), Mee and Moni (Nabire), Merauke and Jayapura and Meyakh (Manokwari).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group or Regions</th>
<th>Numbers of Traders</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serui</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biak</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayamaru (Sorong)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mee + Moni (Nabire)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merauke</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayapura</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meyakh (Manokwari)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 *Mas* is a term used for Javanese male
Almost all of the Papuan women respondents who live and conduct their marketing activities in urban markets are regular traders (39) and only three are casual traders.

7.3.1.2 Age

There is a large variation in the age of Papuan women trader respondents in urban markets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range (Year)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of this group of respondents, are in age range of 35 to 44 (15), and the age range 25 to 34 (15), only two respondents are less than 24 years old and ten are older than 45 years. Age does not appear to limit their abilities to conduct their marketing activities. This may be because they are selling in local and neighbouring areas, and they have good access to roads and transport. For example, one respondent is 71 years old and she sells on the side road in front of her house.

7.3.1.3 Education

The education levels of these trader respondents are varied (Table 7.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Formal Education</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of them have some education, with 20 having attended primary school and 15 junior high school. Four Papuan women traders have higher education at senior high school, and there is a woman trader who received tertiary education, but did not finish her study. At the opposite extreme are two traders who never had any formal education. These two traders said their educational background is related to their age (53 and 71 years old), as there was very little access to education in Papua when they were younger. However, the young generation in Papua have much better access to education, especially in urban areas, as education facilities from kindergarten to tertiary levels are available.
The marketing skills and experience of all these women are learned from their families and communities, and they have never attended any training that is related to their marketing businesses.

7.3.1.4 Family members

The basic needs of the family are the key reason for Papuan women to become involved in informal marketing. The number of family members of the respondents can be seen in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Family members of Urban Traders Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Family Members</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 &gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these respondents (25) have relatively large families (5 to 9 family members) with four having more than 9 members in the households. Only 13 respondents have smaller families. Many of the respondents were involved in marketing activities to meet their immediate consumption needs and their children’s education fees or education related costs, such as cash for transportation for the children to go to school. Family members, such as older children, help traders with the household tasks.

7.3.2 Marketing Characteristics

7.3.2.1 Market Location

All of these Papuan traders sell in urban public markets such as Sanggeng and Wosi Markets, side roads and Manokwari Harbour. The detail can be seen in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Market Location of Urban Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Market Location</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side Roads</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Manokwari Harbour</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than one Location (Side road, Sanggeng Market and the Harbour)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the respondents sell at the bigger markets, Sanggeng and Wosi. Wosi and Sanggeng Market are the main markets in the area, and where many of the Papuan traders sell their produce. The reason Manokwari has two main wet markets is that, in the 1990s, the
Manokwari government reallocated the public market from the city centre (Sanggeng) to the suburban area (Wosi), in order to create a better and cleaner environment for the city centre. Therefore, the public (wet) market in Sanggeng was closed, and only food stalls, stores which sell clothing, household wares and kitchenware, shoes, jewellerys, and services such as tailors, barbers and beauty salons were allowed to keep their businesses in there. Other traders, including those who sell agricultural produce, were reallocated to the new public market in Wosi. The traders pay one-off 2.5 million rupiahs for a permanent space in this market, and can pay by instalment. The space was allocated through a lottery draw. If the traders no longer sell in the market, then they return the space to the government, and it is given to another trader. On one of my group discussions, one trader says that this arrangement has not benefitted her business. Her selling location was not getting much attention from the buyers, because it was located beside the groceries and clothing traders. On one side, her space is covered by hanging clothing and on the other side by piles of wood boxes.

Just over a decade ago, the Ayamaru traders who come from Sorong, had conflict with the Mandacan traders who are the Arfak community (indigenous Manokwari), and the Ayamaru traders were chased away from the Wosi Market by the Mandacans. These Ayamaru traders returned and built small selling huts in Sanggeng Market instead. The government banned them from selling in Sanggeng, but they continued to insist on selling there. Then, the Ayamaru community chief faced the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR), the People’s Council Representative, to ask permission for his community to sell in this market, and it was granted. As a continuation of this agreement, the government developed a physical building behind the market, and the fresh produce traders were allow to sell in there. The permanent space, which includes concrete tables, was distributed to the traders, who attended the distribution day that was set up by the government. These traders did not have to pay for the space. In yet another scheme, permanent spots were distributed by the government through a lottery drawn for Papuan market traders, and they have to provide their own selling tables.

Other traders, who sell in more than one location, are using opportunity of other markets to sell out their produce. For example, a trader who usually sells at the Harbour, will sell unsold produce at Sanggeng or Wosi Market.

Some traders sell produce to other areas of Papua, such as Nabire, Serui and Jayapura, which they travel to by ship. However, these respondent traders interviewed sell only in the local
urban areas. None of them sell at the transmigration site or in the more remote areas that were covered in previous cases.

7.3.2.2 Trading Experience

The Papuan women urban trader respondents have a relatively high degree of trading experience (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6 Trading Experience of Urban Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Experience (Years)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 &gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of them (27) have been trading for over six years, with 19 of them with more than six years experience. However, some (11) are more recent entrants to trading and others (4) are long-term traders.

7.3.2.3 Sources and Uses of Capital

7.3.2.3.1 Sources of Capital

Sources of capital used by Papuan women trader respondents to finance their trading activities are shown in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7 Capital’s Sources of Urban Traders Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-funding</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan from Cooperative</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-funding + Loan from Cooperative</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-funding + other sources</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-funding + loan from Cooperative + other sources</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan from cooperative + other sources</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.7 shows that 16 of the 42 traders are self-funding their marketing activities, which includes the three casual traders. Their capital comes from their husband’s salaries, other sources of income (e.g. selling traditional bags), or savings. Ten women support their trading activities by getting a loan from microfinance institutions, such as the Arfak Jaya Cooperative, which is a savings-loan, cooperative. There are eleven traders who combine
their own funds and a loan from a cooperative to support their trading businesses. Two are self-funding as well as using other sources, with another two self-funding, getting a loan from a cooperative, and using other sources. There is one respondent who only borrows, this being from the cooperative and other sources.

The traders who got a loan from the cooperative are those with a regular trading schedule. However, discussion revealed that some traders are not only using the loan for productive use, but also for consumption needs, such as children’s education fees and supplies, or buying household wares such as a fridge.

When applying for a loan from the cooperative, the traders have to attach their identity card to show their names and addresses, and must be registered as the cooperative member. The cooperative will take out 10 percent of the loan to put in their saving accounts in that cooperative. Then, the trader will be given one bundle of coupons, where the number on the coupons represents the days on which they should pay a particular loan repayment and interest.

When applying for a loan from the cooperative, a trader is only allowed to borrow 200 thousand rupiahs for a first loan. After this has been repaid, she can get bigger amounts of money, such as 300 thousand rupiahs, 500 thousands rupiahs, one million rupiahs, and so on.

Some of them state that, on the one hand, the loan gives them benefit, but on the other hand, it also creates burdens for them. If they get a loan from the cooperative, they are required to pay daily or every three days, based on their arrangement with the cooperative collector staff. For example, if they borrow one million rupiahs from the cooperative, they will pay 40 thousand rupiahs daily. Alternatively, they will pay 20 thousand daily for 500 thousand rupiahs loan. Based on the calculation of those who experienced borrowing money from the cooperative, the interest rate for the loan is 20% per month (see Table 7.8).

### Table 7.8 Loan and Interest rate of credit from in Informal Financial Institution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loan (Rp)</th>
<th>Daily Payment (Rp)</th>
<th>Estimated payment in 1 month (Rp)</th>
<th>± Interest rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>360,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a fixed arrangement, and there is no consideration given to uncertain daily income. Many traders find hard to pay back daily, and they feel that their hard work are only results in
giving give money to the cooperatives, as a result of the high interest rate. Consequently, many do not want to continue getting loans from the cooperative. What is more, the Government Cooperative Office has knowledge of the high interest rate charged by this private cooperative, but claims it could not do anything, because the traders keep borrowing money from the private cooperative.

In short, the majority of the traders depend on their own funding and the private cooperative (microfinance) to support their marketing activities.

7.3.2.3.2 Use of Capital

The majority of respondents use some of their working capital to buy agricultural produce from other farmers/traders, and to pay for market retribution, packaging (rubber bands and plastic bags) and transportation. Most of the traders get their produce by buying from farmer traders. These women traders go early (around 5 to 7 am) to the market, which is mostly in Wosi, to buy their produce. Some are able to bargain to get much cheaper produce.

Seven respondents who sell produce from their own farms also use working capital to buy seed, fertiliser, such as Gandasil and Baifolan, and pesticides, such as Tiodan. They also use paid labour for some stages of the farming, such as opening the farms. However, casual traders depend mainly on their natural resources and family to conduct their farming.

7.3.2.4 Types of Produce Grown and Marketed

7.3.2.4.1 Sources of Produce

Produce that is marketed in urban markets in Manokwari comes from the local farms and also by ship from other areas in Indonesia such as Bitung and Surabaya. However, all Papuan women traders interviewed get their produce locally from their own farms or from other traders in Manokwari areas. This is broken down in Table 7.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources of Produce</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other farmers/traders</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Farms and other farmers/traders</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own farms</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows that, in general, Papuan women who are selling in urban area are both the producers and middle-women traders. This finding was supported by my two group
interviews in urban areas; some of them are producers and some are intermediate women traders. Of those who do not buy from other traders, one regular trader, who gets the produce from her farm, sells scraped coconut from the coconut estate owned by her family. Another regular trader, who gets the produce from her farm, sells continually in small amounts. The two casual traders sell produce from their farms, and if produce from their farms is not available, they are not trading, while the other casual trader gets produce from other traders.

### 7.3.2.4.2 Type of Produce Sold

The varied types of produce sold by respondents in urban markets, side roads and Manokwari Harbour are shown in Table 7.10.

**Table 7.10 Location and Type of Produce Sold by Urban Trader Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sell Location</th>
<th>Type of Produce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanggeng and Wosi Markets</td>
<td><strong>Fresh Vegetables:</strong> long bean, <em>kangkung</em>, egg plants, spinach, fern leaves, pawpaw leaves, <em>genemo</em>, sprout, <em>gedi</em> leaves, string bean, bamboo shoots, mustard greens, cassava leaves, spring onions, grated squash, <em>garnisun</em> (mixed of pawpaw and sweet potato leaves).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Fruits:</strong> cucumber, tomato, scraped coconut, grated young pawpaw, sliced young jackfruit, big and small lemon, durian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Herbs and spices:</strong> chilli, galangal, turmeric, lemon grass, basil, ginger, bay leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tuber:</strong> sweet potato, taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sago</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side Roads</td>
<td><strong>Fresh vegetables:</strong> green mustard, long bean, <em>kangkung</em>, pawpaw leaves and flowers, spinach, <em>garnisun</em> (mixed of pawpaw and sweet potato leaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Fruit:</strong> tomato, <em>rambutan</em>, durian, mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Herbs and spices:</strong> garlic, onion, chilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Beetle nuts with lime and mustard</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Semi processed agricultural produce:</strong> tofu and tempe (fermented soybean cake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Processed/cooked food:</strong> fried banana, fried fish, bread, cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Other non-agricultural produce:</strong> snacks and fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manokwari Harbour (public places)</td>
<td><strong>Fruits:</strong> banana, avocado, <em>rambutan</em>, <em>langsat</em>, <em>matoa</em> and mango</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fresh vegetables are the main products sold by most of the respondents in urban areas. However, some respondents also sell many herbs and spice ingredients such as lemon grass, basil, galangal, turmeric, ginger and chilli, and some trade sago, which is the traditional food of Papuans from the coastal areas. Some traders also offer mixed ingredients for fish and
vegetable soups and some offer ready to cook produce, such as jack fruit and bamboo shoot slices, and grated pawpaw. Each of the respondents sells around three to eleven different kinds of produce each day.

Many of the respondents on the side-road sell fresh vegetables, and fresh and dried betel nut together with mustard and lime. Some of them also sell semi-processed food and cooked food and a few of these respondents also sell non-agricultural products, such as snacks and fuel. In the fruit season (October to February), these traders will also sell fruits such as rambutan, mango, langsat and durian. The products sold by side-road traders are not consistently available because it will depend on what they have or are buying from the markets.

Fruits are the main products sold by respondents in Manokwari Harbour. This is because the ships’ passengers are looking for fresh and ready-to-eat food. In addition, there are also other Papuan women traders who sell cooked food such as cooked fish, beef, pork and vegetables together with rice, boiled or baked sweet potatoes or taro to the ships’ passengers.

Wosi Market is the main supply sources of the majority of Papuan women traders because there are a lot of producers from suburban and transmigration sites, who are trading their produce there. Produce, such as vegetables, are sold in larger bunches, and other produce is sold at a relatively lower price compared to Sanggeng Market. The traders that these intermediate traders buy their produce from come from different places. Some are farmers from the Transmigration site at Prafi, and most of these are Javanese, some from more remote areas, such as Minyambouw and Anggi Districts, from suburban areas close to Manokwari city (such as Maripi Village), and also from the outskirts of Manokwari city (such as Wosi and Sowi). Based on observation, the majority of the agricultural trader producers are female.

In short, the produce sold in the urban area is highly varied in terms of the range of produce, and value adding activities. Value is added through transportation to different outlets, packaging produce, semi-processing (ready to cook) and processing.

7.3.2.5 Trading Place and Time

As stated in the previous section, these traders sell in Wosi Market, Sanggeng Market, side roads and Manokwari Harbour. There are a lot of traders in the two main formal wet markets, Sanggeng and Wosi. There are some Papuan women who are able to get permanent spaces provided by the government, and many of them have drawers under the permanent table to put their unsold produce. Besides the permanent spaces with concrete tables, which are
provided by the government, there are some women traders who get permanent spaces, but have to provide their own selling tables at the market.

Figure 7.2 Papuan traders in Sanggeng Market with permanent spaces

Figure 7.3 Papuan traders in Sanggeng Market with no permanent space and selling on the ground

Many traders sell in their permanent spaces at the market, whether inside or outside the buildings. As the spaces inside the market building are densely occupied, selling places with sheeting roof are provided in both Wosi and Sanggeng Markets by the government to be used by the permanent traders. Many others sell on the ground outside the market building by using plaited mats, rice sacks or box papers. There are a few Papuan women traders who rent their
permanent spaces to non-Papuan traders, who are mostly Javanese. Their income from renting this space to other traders is around three to five million rupiahs over one or two years. The actual cost of rent will depend on the negotiation between the traders who own the permanent spaces and the other traders who want to rent. For example, one trader gets five million rupiahs by renting her permanent space for two a year period. The Papuan traders then ask for another payment to extend the contract period after the initial contract time is finished. Even though they rent their own space; they still sell in the market on the ground. They usually do this if they need a lot of money for urgent needs. For example, one trader rented her permanent space because she needed an amount of cash to pay for her husband medical treatment in Jakarta (the Indonesia’s Capital City).

When the traders who do not have permanent spaces at the markets, come to the market, they will search for an available space to sell. Some of the permanent traders share their space with others. The traders with no permanent space do not have space to keep their unsold produce at the end of the day. They usually bring the produce back home or entrust it to permanent traders who have a place to keep the produce in the market or they will give away the unsold produce to other traders or families who are passing by.

Most of the side road traders sell on wooden tables in their huts made from wood with a tin or thatch roof. Some sell on small wood tables in front of their houses. All of the respondents selling at the Harbour sell on the ground by using plaited mates or rice sacks.

On average, marketing activities in urban markets such as Sanggeng and Wosi markets start at 07.00 am and finish at 08.00 pm seven days a week. Actual time spent on trading activities varied by trader (Table 7.11).

**Table 7.11 Trading Time Per Day of Urban Trader Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Time Per Day (Hours)</th>
<th>Number of Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- 14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14&gt;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A half of the urban respondents (20) spend 11 to 14 hours each day on their trading activities and they operate the whole time the market is open, while five respondents spend more than 14 hours each day. All of the respondents who spent longer time in trading activities are side-
road traders. They are selling their produce around their houses or neighbourhoods, and are supported by family members, so they can do other tasks between sales.

The remaining 15 traders conduct their marketing for 5 to 10 hours a day. Many of the respondents in this group sell in Manokwari Harbour, as they only sell within the time when PT PELNI ships are docked in the Harbour. There are 4 Ships operated by PT Pelayaran Nasional Indonesia (The National Indonesian Shipping Company) namely KM Labobar, KM Doloronda, KM Nggapulu and KM Sinabung that are dock in Manokwari Harbour every two weeks.

Many of the urban market trader respondents sell seven days a week, but their trading time on Sunday is shorter than the other days as they go to church in the morning and start to sell in the afternoon. Other traders prefer not to sell on Sundays at all.

### 7.3.2.6 Cost of Trading Activities

There are some variations in costs incurred by urban trader respondents in their trading activities. The costs are associated mainly with buying produce in the market. The traders also spend money for transportation (one way trip on public transport for individual and produce costs Rp 5,000) and market retribution (Rp 1,000 to 3,000/day).

#### Table 7.12 Trading Cost Per Day of Urban Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Cost/day</th>
<th>Number of Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;50,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000-&lt;100,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 - &lt;200,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 – &lt;300,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000 – &lt;400,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400,000 – &lt;500,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000 – &lt;600,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600,000-&lt;700,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1 NZ = Rp. 6255.8 (Indonesian Rupiah)

The majority of urban trader respondents (33) spend Rp 50,000 up to Rp 300,000 on produce and transport with over half this group spending around Rp 10,000-Rp 200,000. There are four urban respondents who need less than Rp 50,000 to get their produce, and two of these are causal traders. The casual trader respondents have low costs for their businesses because two of them get their produce from their own farms, and one gets the produce from her farm.
and buys a relatively small amount of produce from other traders. On the other hand, there is one respondent who spends between Rp 600,000 to Rp 700,000 daily for her business.

There is a side-road trader who does not spend any money for her marketing activity as she depends on her own farm produce. The next lowest cost of Rp 15,000 is incurred by a respondent who is a regular trader, and who has her own coconut estate. Coconuts are harvested and sold regularly, and she spends money to buy one or two litres of fuel for the scraping machine each day. The maximum marketing cost of Rp 675,000 is incurred by a respondent, who is also a regular trader. Her cost is high because she buys higher price produce such as string bean, tomatoes and chilli in bulk, then breaks them down and sells them in kilogram lots, unlike the majority of Papuan women traders sell the produce in small piles or bunches. On average the marketing cost of all these respondents is Rp 176,825.

7.3.2.6.1 Revenue from Trading Activity

Revenue from marketing activities of Papuan women traders who were the research respondents is likewise varied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenue/day</th>
<th>Number of Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;50,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000-&lt;100,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000-&lt;200,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000-&lt;300,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000-&lt;400,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400,000-&lt;500,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000-&lt;600,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600,000-&lt;700,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700,000-&lt;800,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800,000-&lt;900,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900,000-&lt;1000,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000,000&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.13 shows that the majority of respondents (13) received around Rp 200,000 to Rp 300,000, followed by respondents who get revenue from Rp 100,000 to Rp 200,000 (9). Only one respondent received revenue of more than 1 million rupiahs, and only five received greater than Rp 700,000. The average revenue of Papuan women traders from their agricultural marketing activities is Rp 405,625 per selling day. The maximum of Rp 1,400,000 was received by a respondent who is a regular trader and sells at the Harbour, while
the minimum is received by a respondent who is a casual trader and gets the produce from her own farm.

7.3.2.6.2 Profit
The profit of the respondents from their marketing activities can be seen in Table 7.14.

Table 7.14 Trading Profit Per Day of Urban Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Profit/day</th>
<th>Number of Respondent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;50,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000–&lt;100,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000–&lt;200,000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000–&lt;300,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000–&lt;400,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400,000–&lt;500,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000–&lt;600,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600,000–&lt;700,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700,000–&lt;800,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800,000–&lt;900,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900,000+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dominant number of respondents in urban areas (32) receives profit between Rp 50,000 to Rp 200,000; there are no respondent traders who get profit below Rp 50,000 and only one respondent who receives profit greater than Rp 800,000 but less than Rp 900,000.

The average profit is Rp 194,500. The minimum profit of Rp 60,000 is received by a respondent who is a seasonal trader. At the time of the research, she was only selling durian that was in season at the time, and she depends only on her farm for produce to sell, so if there is no produce that is ready to harvest, she will not sell anything. However, she said that by selling durian she can get around five million to seven million rupiah a year. The maximum profit of Rp 850,000 is gained from the marketing activity of a respondent who is a regular trader and regularly sells fruits, mainly in Manokwari Harbour, around four times a week when PT PELNI Motor Ships dock in the Harbour.

7.3.2.7 Use of Income
These marketers use income for working capital, consumption, children’s and sibling’s education and cultural/social obligations. The detail can be seen in Table 7.15.
Table 7.15 The Use of Marketing Income of Urban Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of Income</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Capital and Loan Repayment</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/Sibling education</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural/Social Obligation</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all respondents use some of their income to buy produce for the next days’ marketing activities (working capital). Only one respondent, who gets the produce from her farm, did not spend money to buy produce. Further, those who have loans at the cooperative use their cash income to pay the loans, which are collected by the cooperative’s field collector either every day or every three days, depending on the repayment condition attached to the loan.

Based on the interviews, all respondents use their income from marketing for consumption; for example, buying food and clothing. The majority of the respondents (25) also use the income for children’s education. Some report that the needs of their children’s education, and other related costs, such as transportation to school and photocopying school’s materials, have driven them to do these marketing activities.

Almost all traders use some part of their income from marketing activities for cultural and social obligations to close relatives. The average amount of money contributed to these obligations is around 100 thousand to 500 thousand rupiahs for each occasion, but can vary according to their financial condition. They also contribute items, such as large and small ceramic (stone) plates, bowls and jars (for Biak and Serui communities), and Timor Cloth (for Sorong and Manokwari communities). One Ayamaru (Sorong) trader states that these cultural obligations have driven them to work hard and collect money for that purposes. So even if they already work as civil servants with well-paid positions, they still have to do farming activities to increase their income in order to contribute to their social and cultural obligations. However, two respondents did not put money towards cultural and social obligations, and just used their income for their own family’s basic needs. Another respondent also does not use her income from marketing for cultural and social obligations, but uses other sources of income for this purpose, while one further respondent does not contribute to cultural and social obligation (except to contribute to family consumption and her siblings’ education), as she is single and not expected to meet these obligations.

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23 The cooperative has staff who go to the market every day to collect money from the traders.
The social obligations involve supporting their family, extended family and community from the same ethnic group, and such support can be in terms of money, goods and services (for example, supporting a relative’s or community children’s education), and giving their time and labour to help for some occasions (e.g. mourning). A few traders have formed social groups that will collect money to support their community members who have urgent needs; for example mourning.

Many traders do not save their income because they use it all for their selling activities, consumption and children’s education cost. Sometimes, a trader will use her income only for consumption uses, and therefore, she runs out working capital, and must get a loan to be able to sell again. Some use their income in social gatherings, such as ‘arisan’, which is a regular social gathering where members contribute to and take turns at winning an aggregate sum of money (Echols & Shadily, 1989). The arisan members are not based on ethnicity or groups, so any traders who want to join are welcome, and it is part of their saving system. Other traders are able to save a little part of their income as their reserve fund at homes. Only a few traders have savings at the banks. They put their money in their bank account at fixed periods of time, such as every four days, weekly or monthly. However, one trader stated that the money that she saves in her bank account came from her loan from the cooperative. In this case, when she got 500 thousand rupiahs loan, she used 100 thousand to add to her marketing capital, and saved the rest in her bank account. Another respondent has savings at the cooperative. The savings are usually used for their future plans, such as children’s further education. Although most of the traders did not say whether they have saving account at the cooperative, they are supposed to have a savings account at the cooperative as a condition of their membership.

### 7.3.2.8 Business Evolution

Most of the permanent trader respondents have experienced changes in the way of doing their marketing business since they have begun trading. Changes have occurred in terms of type of trading (seasonal or permanent), type of produce and quantity sold, and the amount of capital used and income generated. The detail can be seen in Table 7.16.
Table 7.16 Change in Business Activity of Urban Trader Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased activity over time</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant activity over time</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluctuating activity over time</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual trading behaviour of these women has changed over time, which is not surprising, given the length of time that they have been trading. Some of them have moved from farmers/traders to only traders, some of them from side roads marketers to permanent traders in Sanggeng and Wosi markets, and some of them have changed their produce to more profitable produce. These are some example of changes to these traders’ businesses:

- One trader, who in the past occasionally sold her coconuts with the coconut husk already remove, shifted to scraping coconut, and becoming a trader in this.
- One trader, who previously sold homemade taro, cassava and banana crackers in several schools in her neighbourhood, has changed her business to sell processed agricultural produce and drinks at Wosi Market.
- Some traders have been shifted from just selling agricultural produce to offering convenient produce to buyers in the form of ready-to-cook produce, such as grape squash and pawpaw, jack fruit slices, bamboo shoot slices, mixed ingredients and pre-prepared vegetables for some food recipes (e.g. fish soup and vegetable soup);
- Some traders have changed their selling produce from fresh vegetables to more durable produce, such as string bean, potato, tomato and chilli and so on.
- One trader, who grew her produce for more than 20 years, now gets her produce from other traders, as this arrangement is more efficient and convenient for her.

Further, only six respondents in urban areas stated that they have not experienced any change in their agricultural trading businesses since they started trading, and there was one respondent who experienced fluctuation in her marketing activity, as she depends only on produce from her farm. In addition to changes in marketing activity identified by the respondents, the group interviews in the urban area revealed that there are many Papuan women traders who cease trading because of family obligations and lack of capital.
7.3.3 Summary of Women Trader Respondents from Urban Area

Papuan women traders from Manokwari’s urban and surrounding suburban areas come from various regions of Papua such as Serui, Biak, Sorong and also Manokwari (Arfak Big Tribe). Most would be 25-44 years old with some, but relatively low level education and would have 5-9 family members. They are varied in their trading experience, with most trading for 5-20 years with regular schedules to market their produce. They also spend a variable time selling their produce. They also spend a variable time selling their produce, from 5-14 hours. They are self-funding and also get loans from microfinance. Their marketing costs vary from 50 thousand to 200 thousand rupiahs as they have different scales of businesses, sell different types of produce and sell at different locations. The marketing costs are mostly incurred in buying produce to sell. They get varied income from around 100 thousand to 300 thousand rupiahs, and keep some part of this income for working capital to fund their next purchase. The rest of the income would be used for consumption needs and children’s education, and occasionally, for cultural contributions for close relatives.

7.4 Key Stories of Papuan Women Traders from Manokwari City and Surrounding Areas

The Papuan Women trader respondents in Manokwari City and surrounding areas live mostly in Sanggeng, Amban, Wosi, Swapen and North Coastal areas. They come from various Papua regions with different cultural and economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, they share some common attributes. Immediate family needs such as consumption and children’s education are the main reason why these women are involved in this informal marketing activity. However, these traders are highly varied in terms of type of marketing activities, scale of business, type of produce sold, sources of produce and selling locations. As a result in this Chapter, one illustrative case is not considered representative. Instead, three smaller and more focussed cases of women traders who sell at a public market, harbour and the side road were developed to illustrate the variation of these traders.

7.4.1 Mama Ester: A Papuan Woman Who Sells at Sanggeng Market

Mama Ester is a Papuan woman who comes from Ambai (Serui). She is 59 years old and has attended primary education in her home village. When her husband passed away in 1994, she had to look after her five children and meet the household’s immediate needs. Therefore, she was driven to the marketing of agricultural produce in order to support her family.
Mama Ester is fortunate because her house is located inside the Sanggeng Market area. Therefore, she has used this opportunity to sell in front of her house. She and her family have built a permanent hut in front of her house, which is on the side of the entry road to Sanggeng Market from the fish market, which has a distance of 100 meters between them. She uses the hut together with her family members. Mama Ester provides her own space, but many other regular traders have got permanent spaces that were distributed by the government, inside and outside the market building. However, many traders, especially those who are casual, do not have permanent spaces, and they have to sell on the ground.

Mama Ester conducts her business using her own finance. She knows about loans from the private cooperative, but prefers not to borrow money from this source as she has knowledge of the high interest rate that applies for this type of microfinance. She has not got any government financial support either, and does want not to apply for government support. This is because the administrative process is too complicated for her. In order to get support, a trader has to make a proposal, and submit it to the District Office. Then, the District Office will forward the proposal to the Bupati Office or the Government Technical Institutions, such as the Industry and Trade Department, the Cooperative Office, and the Women and Empowerment Board. For example, the Cooperative Office has a list of traders (majority are Papuans) who will be given table and chair to sell their produce. However, the institution does not have knowledge on the process of selection; the list of traders was directly come from the Bupati Office. She knows of a few traders who did try to apply for the support, but they did not get any feedback from the District Office.

She sells on Monday to Saturday from 6 am to 8 pm. On Sunday, she goes to church, and spends time with her family and friends. She starts her selling day by going to Wosi Market at around 5 am to buy produce from producers. The majority of intermediate traders, including Mama Ester, buy their produce at Wosi Market. Wosi Market is preferred as there are a large number of producers from both the suburban areas (e.g. Prafi, Warmare, Maruni and Warkapi) and remote areas (e.g. Minyambouw and Anggi).

Mama Ester buys tomatoes, shallot, garlic, chilli, ginger and basil from the Javanese traders from the transmigration sites such as Prafi, but buys turmeric and lemongrass from the Papuan traders, who come from areas such as Mubi, Warkapi and Maruni. Mama Ester buys tomatoes and chilli in plastic baskets, garlic and shallot in kilograms and basil in bunches. In
addition, she usually buys 10 tumang of sago. In addition to agricultural produce, she also sells homemade breads in her hut. She uses one sack of flour to make bread for two or three days.

Mama Ester buys and sells the same produce every day. In her hut she sells spices for fish soup, sago and breads. However, this practice not varying and produce for sale is not common, and produce bought and sold by many other intermediate traders will depend on the produce that is available at the market and its price on any particular day. This means that their produce sold varies day to day.

Mama Ester does not have any regular supplier at the market, but she buys her produce from the producers. She prefers to buy from the Javanese because they sell much cheaper produce than the Papuan traders, and the produce price can be bargained. For example, for the same produce, the Papuan traders might sell for three thousand rupiahs, while the Javanese sell for two thousand rupiahs. Although she does not have regular suppliers for other produce, she does for sago, buying it only from Ansus traders (Serui). This is because the sago from that area is claimed to be whiter and tastes better than the local Manokwari sago. However, this sago is not available at all times, so Mama Ester has to wait for the Ansus traders to come to Manokwari by pioneer boats, Papua 1 and Papua 2 (Section 7.2). She and her daughter usually buy ten tumang of sago which usually lasts for two to three months. One tumang of sago usually costs 200 thousand rupiahs, but because Mama Esther buys a large number, she only pays 150 thousand rupiahs each. Mama Ester’s daughter is also involved in trading. She sells betel nuts at Sanggeng Terminal, which is located behind Mama Ester’s home.

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24 tumang is a sago bag made from sago leaves
After getting the produce from Wosi Market or the Ansus traders, Mama Ester goes back to her selling location, and prepares her produce for selling. She puts the spices, basil and tomatoes into piles for the fish soup, while the sago is sold in moulds. She uses a plastic container as the mould. Her sago mould is bigger than other traders in order to attract people to buy her sago. She takes turns to sell the sago with her daughter. For example, if one of Mama Ester sago tumang is sold out, the next sago to be sold in the hut is from her daughter’s tumang. She always tries to make sure that the wooden tables in her hut are filled with produce. If the spices have almost finished selling by midday, she will go back to Wosi Market to buy more produce. While she is away at Wosi Market, her children will sell her produce. At around 3 pm, Mama Ester bakes sweet breads in her hut, and sells the breads in there. She has some regular buyers for her breads.

In addition to this produce, Mama Ester had sold ceramic plates in the past, since these are used for cultural obligations for the Papuan community. She bought the plates from PT. PELNI Ship’s officers (e.g. Sinabung Ship). However, she faced difficulties competing with the non-Papuan traders, who sell ceramic plates at small shops in Sanggeng Market building. These traders sell the plates cheaper and have various options for people who buy. Therefore, Mama Ester stopped selling the ceramic plates, and now just buys the plates for her own personal use in cultural obligations.

Other traders have often wanted to rent the space in front of Mama Ester’s house, and build their permanent huts there, but she refused the offers because she thought that another
business beside her hut will detract from her own business and so her sales. Thus, she has refused all offers of money to rent this space.

Her marketing income is used for working capital and the immediate needs of her family, including her children’s education. She paid for the education of her elder daughter until she graduated from a nursing school in Manokwari, and this daughter currently works as a nurse in a remote district. In addition, Mama Ester still supports her youngest daughter’s tertiary education at the State University of Papua in Manokwari. Furthermore, as a Papuan, she uses her income for cultural obligations such as paying bride price and other cultural events such as *Aira*, which is conducted by the Serui community for someone who has just come back from a new area. She usually contributes ceramic plates for these obligations. Mama Ester also makes contributions to social activities, such as contributing money for urgent needs, the education of relative children or mourning.

### 7.4.2 Mama Eta: A Papuan Woman Trader who sells at Manokwari Harbour Trader

Mama Eta is a woman from Biak who sells produce at Manokwari Harbour. She is 36 years old and has primary education. She has three children and has been trading for around 15 years.

She started her business by getting a 200 thousand rupiahs loan from a private microfinance cooperative. She paid back 20 thousand rupiahs daily within one month. However, she found it hard to pay back each day, when the collector from the cooperative come to collect the payment. Now, she prefers not to get any loan from the cooperative.

Although in the past she never received any government financial support, she just recently got a government grant, which was given to the women traders who are selling at the Harbour. This grant was distributed by the National Family Planning Board (BKKBN) of West Papua Province. In this program, one group of ten traders received five million rupiahs, and this was distributed to each member, who each received 500 thousand rupiahs. Even though these traders do not have an obligation to pay back the grant, the BKKBN will check whether the grant is used productively or not.

Mama Eta gets her produce from her own garden and also from other traders. In the fruit season, she sells mangoes and rambutan, which are mostly collected from her own garden. She buys produce such as banana and avocado at the market in the urban area or from her
neighbours. However, she buys produce such as *matoa*\(^{25}\) (crystal fruits) directly from SP1 in Prafi (transmigration site). She usually buys banana from her regular supplier at the market. Mama Eta and many traders who sell at the harbour usually buy fruits such as rambutan, mango and lanzon on the trees from their community or neighbourhood. In this situation, she chooses one or more trees that are ready to be harvested and negotiates the price with the owner. She is then responsible for harvesting the fruit.

Mama Eta sells fruit at the Harbour when PT.PELNI Ships dock in the area. Based on the ships’ docking schedules, she usually sells four times a week at the Harbour. She sells for 5 to 6 hours each time. However, the docking time is uncertain. Often, the ships dock at midnight or very early in the morning (e.g. 1 am or 3 am). Mama Eta and many other traders use *ojek* to transport their produce to the harbour when the ship docks in the daylight, which costs them 15 thousand rupiahs. They do this because the *ojek* drivers drop them directly to the harbour, while if they using the regular minibuses, they have to change transport twice. If she sells at midnight or early morning, she will arrange with the public minibus driver to pick her and some traders who live nearby up. The minibus driver will pick them up two hours before the ships’ docking time, and each trader pays 20 thousand rupiahs. These transportation rates are higher than the normal fare (Section 7.2), since they do not operate on the normal routes and hours for public transport in the area.

In the past, Mama Eta sold her produce at the side road in front of the KP3 *Laut* Office near the Harbour. Then she moved to sell at the side road in front of the Post Office, which is just across the Harbour. Currently, she is able to sell inside the Harbour fenced area and pays Rp 3,000 for the entrance fee. The majority of traders, including Mama Eta, sell fruits on the ground at the Harbour using plaited mats or rice sacks to display their fruit.

The kinds of fruits that she and many other traders sell depend on the fruit seasons. October to February is the rambutan, lanzon, mangoes and durian seasons. Each time Mama Eta harvests produce from her farm for selling, she can get two to three plastic baskets of mangoes and two to three big bags of rambutan. However, produce such as avocado and banana are always available to sell. Beside the fruits, there are also many Papuan women who sell betel nuts (together with the lime powder and mustard used to prepare them), and cooked food at the Harbour. These traders bring their own tables and put their cooked food on them. There are also many non-Papuan traders who sell inside and outside the Harbour area. These non-

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\(^{25}\) belongs to the same family as rambutan
Papuan traders sell bottle and canned drinks, groceries, snacks, processed food (e.g. crispy chips made from banana, bread fruit, and taro) and cooked foods (e.g. meat balls, satays and chicken noodles). All traders, including Mama Eta, who sell at the harbour, have to clean up their marketing places after selling. If her produce is not sold out at the Harbour, Mama Eta sells her produce at the market. Likewise, other harbour traders will sell unsold produce to non-Papuans traders who usually sell fruits in front of the shopping complex in Manokwari City.

As she sells at the Harbour, Mama Eta gets a relatively higher income compared to those traders who sell in the traditional markets and on side roads. The reason for this is that the price of fruit at the Harbour is double the price of produce sold at the wet markets and side roads. For instance, if Mama Eta buys one single bunch of banana for 2,000 rupiahs, she sells it at the harbour for 5,000 rupiahs. Another example is that if she buys one pile of five big avocados for 10 thousand rupiahs, she sells four of them at the harbour for 20 thousand rupiahs. The reason for this is that the traders can use the opportunity to capitalise on passengers’ willingness to pay for produce that are not available on the ships for their own consumption or as a gift for family. This situation arises because the ship’s passengers have only limited time as the ship transits at the harbour for around two hours and, most of the time, the docking occurs early in the morning or late at night when shops and markets are closed. Although there some competition between traders at the harbour, they are essentially unified. They all sell produce at the same price. Mama Eta explained it by saying that ‘if my produce sold out that means that it is my blessing day, but if not, it becomes somebody else’s blessing day’.

Mama Eta uses her marketing income for her family’s immediate needs. She also contributes to cultural obligations for relatives and close neighbours. Items and money are gathered to meet this obligation.

There is no standard on how much she should contribute, but for those in her extended family who are working, contributions for cultural obligation are necessary.
7.4.3 Mama Yosepha, A Papuan Woman Who Sells at the Side road

Mama Yosepha is a woman trader from Ayamaru (Sorong). She is 32 years old and has some education. She has three biological children and five adopted children. She is driven to do marketing, which she has been conducting since 1999, by her family needs.

Her capital for marketing activities came from a private microfinance cooperative. She has got loans from the cooperative several times. She has borrowed 500 thousand and 1 million rupiahs for at different times. She wants to borrow from the cooperative in the future if needed. The amount of the loan she requests will depend on her needs. Although she does not have any government support, she has a hope that the government will fulfil their promise to give grants for the side road traders. Such a grant can be used to support their marketing activities. One of Mama Yosepha’s neighbour traders says that they know that the Special Autonomy Fund is available for the Indigenous Papuans, but she and many other Papuan traders do not gain the benefit of this fund.

She started her marketing activities by selling in her hut. Many of the side road traders, including Mama Yosepha, build their huts near their homes, which are mostly located at the side of the roads. Most of these side road traders sell produce such as vegetables, fruits and also betel nuts, while some also sell retail gasoline in bottles. However, there are also a lot of casual traders who sell at the side roads during the fruit seasons (Figure 7.5).
Mama Yosepha sells mostly betel nuts and cigarettes in her hut. One kilogram of dried betel nut costs her forty-five thousand to forty-eight thousand rupiahs to buy, and green betel nut costs her thirty thousand to fifty thousand rupiahs per bunch. The dried betel nuts are imported from other areas of Indonesia and sold by non-Papuan traders to Papuan traders like Mama Yosepha, while the green betel nut is grown locally. Mama Yosepha usually sells these betel nuts within two to three days, and will then go back to the market to buy more. Selling betel nut is not very profitable due to its high buying price. However, there are always people who will buy betel nuts, and the betel nut traders and their families also consume it. This steady demand is because chewing betel nut is part of everyday life and social occasions for the Papuans. Betel nuts are sold for between three thousand and five thousand rupiahs per pile, together with the mustard and lime powder that are used with them when they are consumed. Side road traders, including Mama Yosepha, also facilitate buyers who do not enough money to buy larger quantities. For example, there is a term ‘pinang ojek’ which means ojek’s betel nut. This is a package of one betel nut and one mustard, and the traders provide a jar or a bowl of lime powder that to be used at no cost. The ‘pinang ojek’ term arises because many Papuan ojeks usually drop by and wait for passenger in the traders’ huts. Often, these ojeks want to buy betel nuts, which are priced for sale between three thousand to five thousand, or sometimes ten thousand rupiahs, but they do not have enough money to pay for these larger quantities, as they have not got any passengers on that day or only a few. Therefore, the traders adjust to the buyers’ condition, and the ojeks can buy ‘pinang ojek’ for only one thousand rupiah.

In addition to sell betel nuts and cigarette, Mama Yosepha sometimes sells fruits from her farm. Her neighbour traders sell fresh vegetable and also sell cooked food (e.g. bread, donut and fried bananas), processed food such as tofu and tempe (soy bean cake), snacks and retail gasoline in bottles.

Selling in her hut usually starts from 8 am to 9 pm. While doing this, Mama Yosepha also does her domestic work. For example, she prepares vegetables to cook or looks after her younger children while she sits and waits for buyers in her hut. Sometimes, some of her neighbours drop by and have a chat in her hut.

Although many side road traders only sell in their huts or on a table near their homes, Mama Yosepha also sells in Manokwari Harbour regularly, and sometimes at Sanggeng Market. This is because her family needs are large due to her larger family size. The produce that she sells
at the harbour comes from her farm and the market. She spends 50 thousand rupiahs to charter a minibus to transport produce such as durian, rambutan and lanzon from her farm, which is located far away to her home. She buys produce such as avocado from the public market. The produce she sells at the Harbour will depend on the fruit season. As a result, her produce sold at the harbour usually varies each time she sells there.

Her starting and end time to sell at the harbour is uncertain. This is because her marketing at the harbour depends on the schedule of the PT. PELNI Ships (Section 7.4.2), which sometimes dock in early morning or at midnight. She usually spends five to six hours selling her produce at the harbour. She pays three thousand rupiahs for the entry fee to sell inside the Harbour. If her produce is not sold out at the Harbour, she will bring them back to sell at Sanggeng Market.

She does not have any explicit strategy to increase her sales. She says that she just prays for a ‘blessing selling day’. However, she always tries to sell fresh produce. For example, if the mustard in the betel nut pile is withered, she will replace it with a fresh one, and she always keeps her selling place tidy and clean.

She uses her marketing income from selling at the side road for food, and for buying betel nuts and mustard, while income from marketing at the harbour is used to pay her children’s education and other family needs, and saving at a bank for future investment. Some of her neighbours say that the needs for their children’s education, such as transportation costs and photocopying school material, have driven them to marketing activities. Mama Yosepha also uses her income for cultural obligations, such as bride price. She contributes in terms of money (e.g. minimum 100 thousand rupiahs), items (e.g. Timor Cloth) and labour. She fulfils this cultural obligation because this is her family tradition that she must follow.

7.5 Case Analysis: Women Traders from Manokwari City and Surrounding Areas

This section presents the analysis of the women traders from Manokwari City and surrounding suburban areas. It uses the same structure as the case study analysis in Chapter 5 and 6, but because of the diversity of the marketing activities that occur, it aims to capture this variation.
7.5.1 Activities, Motivation and Personal Attributes, and Resources

7.5.1.1 Activities

As observed in earlier sections, there is large variation between respondents in Manokwari City and surrounding areas (urban area) in terms of their marketing activities. Their interaction with other communities seems to be associated with changing their lifestyles and consumption patterns, and they engage in a range of marketing activities.

The majority of these trader respondents are regular traders. However, a few are casual and do not sell regularly and their trading activities depend mainly on the quantity and timing of harvest from their farm. Based on how they procure their produce, these traders can be categorised into intermediate traders (who get their produce from producers or other traders), producer traders (who only depend on their farms) or a combination of both.

These traders sell in a wide variety of locations, such as Sanggeng and Wosi Markets, side roads and public places, such as Manokwari Harbour. A few traders are selling in two or more locations; for example in the Harbour and the wet market; or in a hut, the harbour and wet market (Section 7.4.2 and Section 7.4.3). The produce sold by these traders is also highly varied, ranging from fresh vegetables and spices, fruits, processed food and cooked food. Some women regular traders sell similar produce each day. However, the type of produce sold by other traders varies, depending on the availability of produce at the market and at its price.

The majority of these women traders can be categorised as commercial traders. They are fully engaged with the markets, and use their marketing income for productive use. They use recognised marketing techniques to improve profit and volume sold by buying in bulk and bargaining down the price they pay, selling in small lots, selling convenience produce and so on. Some traders have changed their type of business, the scale of their business, their selling location and the type of produce they sell. These changes were made in order to get higher profit, to adjust to the market demand and because they were more convenient for these traders. These women’s marketing income makes a significant contribution to their households’ income, even if, in some cases, it is not the main source of household income. A few have savings for future investment (Section 7.3.2.7).
7.5.1.2 **Motivation and Personal Attributes**

These women traders come from different regions of Papua, and have variations in their cultural, social and economic backgrounds. However, their involvement in informal marketing activities is driven by the same factor, which is satisfying their immediate needs, such as food and children’s education. Most of them also use their marketing income to contribute to cultural obligations.

The majority of these traders are in the middle-age group range although once again, age is quite variable, and they have some education. Their marketing knowledge and skills are gathered from their families and also learned from other traders in their community. Although they are geographically close to the provincial and regional governments, none had attended any formal marketing or entrepreneurship training. This appears to be because the types of training related to their activities are not yet available, or alternatively they have not been targeted for such training.

Wosi Market is preferred by intermediate traders to buy their produce. This is because of the availability of a large number of producers from suburban and more remote areas who sell produce in bulk and because produce is much cheaper in this market. These traders do not have regular suppliers, and they buy from different suppliers. However, they prefer to buy from producers, and not from other middle women traders. Many of these traders bargain and negotiate with producers in order to get a lower price. They buy in bulk such as in sacks, plastic baskets and wheel barrow, in big bundles and also on tree. After purchase, they break down the produce into smaller lots to sell.

Many traders clean their selling places and organise the produce well. A few traders offer convenient produce for buyers, such as ready-to-cook produce (e.g. scraped papaya, sliced jack fruit) and a package of produce (e.g. vegetable soup ingredients and fish soup spices). Other traders maintain the produce quality by spraying water frequently to keep them fresh. Another way of attracting buyers is by providing colourful and varied produce options on their selling tables and spaces. Some women are able to facilitate buyers who do not have enough money by selling smaller bundles or offering certain arrangements to accommodate them, such as ‘pinang ojek’, which is done mostly by the side road traders (Section 7.4.3). Some traders reduce their risk by selling produce that can last longer or by selling in more than one location.
The business activities of some traders have evolved over time. Some have evolved from farmer to intermediate trader, others have changed the produce they sell or selling location and the scale of their activities have changed (e.g. coconut farmers to scraped coconut traders). This evolution is to adjust to market demand and to increase their business income. These traders have the knowledge and skills to meet market demand, to get themselves a profit, and to manage their risk.

Although these women do not keep records of transactions, they recognise when they receive higher income. They allocate part of their daily income to the next days’ marketing activities. A few have savings at the bank for future investment, including their children’s further education plan.

Any conflicts between the traders from different areas do not result from individual competition between traders, but reflect group conflict where each group feels more entitled to the space at the market, and also from social jealousy if another group is more successful (Section 7.4.2). In general, these Papuan women traders do not focus on competition. Instead, they focus on what they can do to sell, rather than what others do.

7.5.1.3 Resources

The majority of these traders buy their produce from producers or other traders, although some get the produce from their farms. The farming conducted by such farmer-traders is traditional. However, a few use paid labour for some farming activities, and use fertiliser and pesticides to increase their production (Section 7.3.2.3.2). On the other hand, others do not use chemicals or paid labour, because they depend mainly on their families and natural resources to do their farming.

Most of these women have adequate resources to do their marketing, such as cash capital and assets (e.g. push carts, selling huts, wooden tables, coconut scraping machine and wheel barrows). Many of them have permanent spots in which to sell their produce at the markets and the side roads. Some women have got permanent concrete tables provided by the government at the markets, while many have got spaces allocated by the government and have provided their wooden tables themselves. Likewise, the side road traders have made their own huts to sell their produce near their homes. On the other hand, others with no permanent spaces are selling on the ground, such as most of the casual traders and those who are selling at the Harbour. In these situations, rice sacks and plaited mats are commonly used
to display produce, but produce such as tubers (e.g. taro, sweet potato and casava) are usually arranged in piles on the ground.

The majority of these traders are self-funding, get loans from a private cooperative, or use both their own funds and loans from the cooperative to support their businesses. The women who got loans from the cooperative were regular traders. Their regular trading activities opened an opportunity for them to be targeted for microfinance. One trader has got credit from the commercial bank because she was able to meet the bank’s credit requirements, such as having assets and a permanent business location. A few regular traders have an opportunity to get government financial support through government technical institutions, even though they sell in different locations. However, the majority of traders do not have access to government financial supports.

It appears that, although they are selling individually, some traders share their selling places with other traders, especially their relatives and people they know. They also help to sell unattended produce of their neighbour traders, and have trust in each other, which is shown by their access to the neighbour trader’s money, which they can use if they help to sell unattended produce or if they do not have change for big notes.

7.5.2 Social and Cultural Values

These Papuan traders interact with the cash economy and modern Indonesian society, but cultural obligations must still be met by many of these traders. Most of them use some of their marketing income for contributing to such obligations. However, most of these traders only contribute to their close relatives, and only use a small part of their marketing income for this purpose. This is because they give priority to their immediate family needs. On the other hand, a few prefer not use their marketing income to contribute to cultural obligations.

It appears that the majority of these Papuan women traders prepare and sell their produce individually. But, some women share their selling tables with other traders who are their relatives or traders that they know. Some traders have established an informal group to contribute (e.g. food items and labour) to members of their community who need help; for example a family who is mourning. Others give away unsold produce to family and friends who are passing by because they do not have space to keep the produce at the market, and rather than bring it home and pay extra for the transportation, they prefer to give it away.
These traders also socialise with other through activities, such as *Arisan*, which is a social gathering, and is a part of their saving system (Section 7.3.2.7).

7.5.3 Environment

These traders have good access to infrastructure such as roads, transportation and physical markets. Furthermore, there are two levels of government in the area, West Papua Province and Manokwari Regency. There are five commercial banks and a pawn company, and two registered active microfinance cooperatives (Arfak Jaya Cooperative and Sumber Rezeki Cooperative) in this urban area.

Even though these women have good access to road and public transport, the routes to some suburban areas, such as several villages in North Coastal Area, are less frequent and uncertain. As a result, some traders from the area may arrive late afternoon at the market, when finding spaces to sell are more difficult.

The local government has shown awareness of the importance of the Papuan women marketing activities, as it is stated in the Special Autonomy Law (OTSUS) on the community based economic activities by indigenous people (Chapter 2). However there are no policies that specifically propose to support the marketing activities of these Papuan women traders. It was claimed that the government gave financial support to the street vendors, but there is no written document available to be checked. The Industry and Trade Department gives information on their recent programs, but the women traders are not the program’s target. The Cooperative Office mentions one proposed program to distribute tables and chairs for the side road traders in some urban districts, which is a top down program from the *Bupati* (Head of Regency) Office. However, detailed information on that program is not provided. In summary, several related programs to market traders were not well administered and recorded, so there is no definite and detailed information on government support on the Papuan women marketing activities. Therefore, it is hard to determine the government’s role in supporting Papuan women traders in this part of informal sector.

However, a few traders did report that they got financial support from various government institutions. Such support seemed to only target a particular individual trader or groups. In general, most of these women have limited access to government support, and lack information on what government support is available, and how to get it. Further, the administrative process impedes these traders in applying for government support.
OTSUS has been proposed to give benefit for indigenous Papuans, and to increase indigenous community base economic activities. Some of these women have heard about OTSUS and its purposed empowering the indigenous Papuans. But most of these traders do not get any benefit from the fund, since the OTSUS fund appears not to have reached the grassroots level of the Papuan community, who are the main focus of the regulation.

Microfinance can play a significant role in providing capital for women traders. Many women depend on a loan from the microfinance institutions, such as the Arfak Jaya cooperative, for their cash capital. They have easier access to the cooperative as it offers simple requirements and easy procedures in order to get the loan. However, the interest rate of 20 percent applied by the cooperative creates problems for many of these traders, as they found it difficult to pay back in a short time period (e.g one day or three days).

These traders engagement with the cash economy, and their interaction with other communities and their cultures, might lead to the change in the cultural and social values of the Papuan community in these urban areas.

7.5.4 Case Synthesis and Conclusion

The case analysis is captured in Figure 7.3. The diagram illustrates the following features.
Figure 7.6 Indigenous Entrepreneurship of Papuan Women Traders in Manokwari City and Surrounding Suburban Areas

**EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT**
- Good access to road and public transport
- Good access to market infrastructure (permanent space and on the ground) and other selling locations (e.g. Harbour)
- The existence of two level governments in the area (West Papua Province and Manokwari Regency)
- Government support
  - A little government financial support for particular groups or individual traders
  - Financial support are not well administered, and a long administrative process
  - No policy to support Papuan market traders or local produce
- Financial Institutions Support
  - Easy access to micro finance loans, but high interest rate
  - Lack of access to commercial banks (constrained by their requirements)
- High assimilation with other Indonesian communities

**Culture and Social Values**
- Contribution to cultural obligations only for close relative, and less contribution to social obligations
- Give priority to nuclear family immediate needs
- Mostly work individually at the market
- Some share their selling spaces
- A few formed social groups to help their community
- Many involved in *Arisan* (social gathering), which is also part of their saving system

**Personal attributes**
- Motivated by immediate needs and children education
- Middle age ranges, though age is varied
- Have some education, and lack of marketing training
- Have basic marketing knowledge and skill, which is gathered from families and community
- Have been engaged with the cash economy
- Have market awareness (e.g. market demand)
- Have awareness of competition, but just focus on selling their own produce
- Seek to add value at the market
- Profit oriented

**Marketing Activities**
- Majority are regular traders, and majority are intermediate traders
- Variety in marketing activities, and selling locations
- Very engaged with the market
- Implement marketing techniques (e.g. buy in bulk, buy from producers, sell in small lots, sell convenience produce etc)
- Use and specify marketing income for productive use
- Make significant contribution to the household income
- A few save their income for future investment

**Resources**
- Adequate resources for marketing (e.g. assets and cash capital)
- Self funding and gets loans from microfinance institutions
- A few have got government financial support
- Depend on themselves for their marketing activities
- Help other traders only for some occasions, such as sell unattended produce (some social capital)
These urban traders are driven by their families’ immediate needs, including their children’s education. Their marketing activities are diverse in terms of the type of marketing, scale of business, the produce they sell, their sources of produce, and their selling locations. The majority of these women are regular traders with regular marketing activities, while a few are casual and mainly depend on their farm’s produce. These women’s trading activities might not be their only sources of income, but it makes a significant contribution to their household’s economy.

The majority of these traders have adequate resources to do their marketing. Besides their own funding, microfinance has had an impact in supporting these women’s marketing activities. However, the very high interest rate is making it difficult for many traders to pay the loan back. Only a few traders have got access to government financial support, and this support appears to only targeting particular individual or group traders. Many programs were not well documented and administered, thus the impact of these government programs on these Papuan women’s marketing activities is not clear.

The availability of permanent spaces for traders is limited, but many of these women still have physical access to the markets. Many traders were distributed permanent spaces by the government, though some are able to provide their own selling table, and a lot of them are selling on the ground.

Their produce comes from different sources, such as farmers or other traders, their own farms, or a combination of these. They do not have a regular supplier, but prefer to buy from producers rather than other intermediate traders.

At the market, these women work individually on their own business, but they do help each other occasionally. They are very engaged with the commercial economy. They use marketing income for productive uses, and implement basic marketing techniques to increase their sales and to get a profit from their produce. They do not record trading transactions, but do recognise when their profits are increasing or decreasing.

Further, it seems that there is no individual competition between them as they just focus on selling their produce. However, group conflicts do occur due to space entitlement at the market, and social jealousy between community groups.
The majority of these traders prepare and sell their produce individually. However, a few traders share their marketing resources with relatives or people they know. These traders are helping each other on some occasions and are socialising through informal group establishment and social gatherings at the market.

Their family’s immediate needs and children education are their main priority. But, the majority are still contributing to cultural and social obligations for their close relatives by allocating a small part of their marketing income for those proposes.
Chapter 8
CROSS CASE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

The analysis of each case (Minyambouw and surrounding areas (more remote area), Prafi (transmigration sites) and Manokwari City and surrounding suburban areas (urban areas)) traders was done in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. This analysis was based on the five research objectives, which were elaborated in subsidiary research questions and the conceptual framework.

The first part of this chapter examines similarities and differences across cases. In Section 8.2, social and cultural values are examined. In Section 8.3, the issue to be addressed is who these traders are; that is, what their personal attributes are. The question of what motivates them is addressed and discussed. In Section 8.4, the comparison of their resources is laid out. Section 8.5 examines how they are involved in this informal marketing activity, such as their type of marketing activities and frequency of their participation and Section 8.6 looks at the external environment. In Section 8.7, the cross-case comparisons are summarised. A key part of the Chapter, the synthesis, is then done in Section 8.8. After these cross case analyses, the second part of the Chapter focuses on the discussion (Section 8.9), where the results and analysis are associated with the context (Chapter 2) and literature review (Chapter 3). Section 8.10 then addresses the constraint, opportunities and policy implications.

8.2 Social and Cultural Values

The literature based theoretical framework suggested that motivation to become involved in marketing activities is influenced by social and cultural obligations. These Papuan women are obliged to meet these obligations, so therefore, this may provide a motivation to them to engage in marketing activities. On the other hand, their social and cultural values may place boundaries around these activities. The results show that the strength of the social and cultural values embedded in their lives are varied.

The social and cultural values of the Papuan women from more remote areas are very embedded in their social and economic activities. The construction of the road and their subsequent participation in marketing activities led to some shift in their cultural and social values, but this is very marginal. This study found that the more remote area traders have
strong communal and collective values, and they share resources when doing their productive work. For these traders, their kinship relationship has an important role in supporting their productive work and the decisions they make with regard to their selling locations.

On the other hand, the transmigration site traders appear to work individually in their agricultural activities, and are involved in various development programs. However, their social and cultural values are still a key part of their social lives. Likewise, the urban traders appear to work individually at the market. Socialisation of these urban traders is done through social gathering at the market, such as arisan, and establishment of informal trader groups to gather support from (or for) their community, such as collecting money for a mourning family.

The contribution to social and cultural obligations for the more remote area and transmigration site traders will affect their status in the community and their reciprocal relationships. These contributions are part of their investment and social security in the future. On the other hand, the urban traders’ interaction with the cash economy, and with other Indonesian communities, might be thought to bring many changes to their social and cultural values. It was found that they may have less contribution to social and cultural obligations, but these obligations must still be met by many of these traders, as this is a tradition that they feel obligated to follow.

In short, the influence of the social and cultural values on the traders from the three cases is similar, and it is still necessary for them to fulfil their contribution to social and cultural obligations as part of their membership of the Papuan community.

8.3 Personal Attributes and Motivation of Papuan Women Traders

The cases of Papuan women traders from all areas - Minyambouw and surrounding areas (more remote area), Prafi (transmigration site) and Manokwari City and suburban areas (urban areas) - shows that they are in the middle age range, at which period of their life they can most productively be engaged in farming and marketing activities. In this age range, they have greater mobility, which allows them to travel to the city and transmigration sites to sell their produce. They can also be more flexible in allocating their time to their farming activities. Even though the traders from urban and surrounding suburban areas have more access to education facilities and the government, their level of education is not very different from that of the more remote area and transmigration site traders. In all three cases, these
Papuan women traders who are involved in informal marketing activities are lacking formal education and formal marketing training. In general, their marketing knowledge and skills are gathered from informal knowledge, which comes from their community and family, and their own experience.

A striking feature to emerge from all cases is that these Papuan women are open to innovation. While this might be expected for the urban area traders who have greater access, it is interesting to note that this is also an attribute of traders from other areas. Even though their activities may be considered as subsistence (traditional), the more remote area and transmigration site traders are adjusting their farming and marketing activities by utilising knowledge they have learnt from development programs and their own observations of what the market wants.

There is variation in these women’s engagement with the cash economy as a result of geographical distance to the market, the degree of government assistance, the degree of their involvement in development programs, and their assimilation with other Indonesian communities. The urban traders are well engaged with the cash economy as they have the benefit of living in the urban and suburban areas, where economic growth has occurred rapidly and where they have good access to physical economic infrastructure. The transmigration site traders have been engaged with the cash economy for a lesser period, since they have become involved the Transmigration Program and Oil Palm NESS Project. On the other hand, meaningful engagement of the more remote area women traders with the cash economy is only a recent phenomenon, which is mainly driven by their direct access to the markets since the road was constructed in 2003. This road now connects their villages to urban, suburban and transmigration site areas. Thus, the road has had a significant impact on the marketing activities of the more remote areas traders.

Comparison of these three groups of women traders shows that they are driven by similar motivation, which is to meet family immediate needs, and cultural and social obligations. However, children’s education is another reason for the urban women’s involvement in informal marketing activity. The urban and suburban traders’ contribution to cultural and social obligations could be less than the other two groups because they give greater priority to their family needs. But, these cultural obligations are still necessary for them to meet. For the more remote area and transmigration site traders, which originally come from the same tribe root (the Arfak Big Tribe), their contribution to the cultural and social obligations and
active participation in these activities is important. Their contribution will affect their social status, and is form of social investment in their future.

All three groups of women are outward looking and have market awareness. However, expression of their market awareness differs between groups. It was observed that the urban area traders have higher market awareness than the other two groups. Many of these urban traders are very experienced in their marketing activities, and many of them have changed their marketing activities in order to meet market demand and to increase their sales. On the other hand, the more remote area and transmigration site traders sell if they have produce from their farms ready to be harvested, or if they have a need for cash. Therefore, they do not put into same attention to the market when they are selling. As well, they market their produce on a less frequent basis and so do not interact with buyers as often. These three groups of traders appear to have awareness of competition at the market, especially those who sell in urban areas, but in general, these Papuan traders just focus on selling their own produce rather than developing strategies to outcompete other sellers.

Even though all of these traders have limited marketing knowledge and few formal skills, they actively seek to add value to their produce. They have different ways of doing this, such as cleaning, packaging, selling in small lots and transporting the produce. They also apply basic marketing techniques to increase their sales. Their implementation of marketing techniques varies, and this is done in simple ways. The more remote area traders apply basic marketing techniques, such as growing produce require by the market, cleaning their produce, and offering the produce to potential buyers by mentioning their produce price to anyone passing. On the other hand, the transmigration site traders appear to make less effort in marketing their produce. This may be because they have other sources of cash income, and so their trading activities are not so important, whereas the remote area traders rely on their trading activities as their key source of cash. While, the urban traders demonstrate more effort in implementing marketing techniques, such as selling convenience produce for the customer, ready to cook produce (e.g. fish soup spices ingredient, scraped papaya, sliced jackfruit or bamboo shoots), and durable produce, selling in more than one location, buying in bulk and bargaining, or giving discount options to buyers with not enough money. Their greater attention to marketing techniques might arise because trading is their key source of income and their proximity to the markets may mean they are more alert to potential market opportunities.
It appears that the urban traders are more profit oriented. They specify part of their income for productive use, which is allocated for their next marketing activities. The other two groups do not allocate any income for productive use, and they mainly use it immediately for consumption, such as buying food items, and contributing to cultural and social obligations.

8.4 Resources

The women traders from the more remote areas and the transmigration site depend mainly on their farms for their marketing activities. Although their farming activities are semi-subsistence, the produce from their farms is enough to generate their cash requirements for immediate needs. Land and labour are their main resources in conducting their farming activities. The land use for their traditional farms is communal. However, the area used for farming by the women traders in the transmigration site is becoming limited, since most of the land is now used for the oil palm plantations and the Transmigration Program. Household members are their main labour source for farming. It is important to note that, for these traders, who are part of the Arfak community, family members are not only limited to the nuclear family, but also this includes the extended family. Besides sharing the land, the more remote areas traders also share their labour resources, through which they support each other in their farming activities. On the other hand, the transmigration site traders behave more individually in doing their farming activities. The traders from the more remote areas and the transmigration site still apply shifting cultivation by using the slash and burn system. As a result, they are unlikely to spend their income for more intensive production use, and fertilisers or pesticides are not commonly used by either group in their traditional farms.

By contrast, the resources that are important to the traders in the urban areas are marketing resources. The marketing resources of most of these traders are adequate. They include cash capital and assets, such as push carts, selling huts, wooden tables, coconut scraping machine and wheel barrows. The majority of the urban traders are intermediate traders, so cash is needed to buy produce from other producers. Some of these urban traders have permanent spaces at the market, either with permanent concrete tables provided by the government or wooden tables provided by themselves. The side road traders provide their own selling huts, which includes wooden tables to display their produce. However, a lot of urban traders do not have permanent spots at the market. Thus, rice sacks and plaited mats are used to display their produce on the ground.
The more remote area and transmigration site traders are self-funded. Both of these trader groups appear to lack access to financial institutions, although there are one or two financial institutions available in the transmigration site. However, these transmigration site traders might not need more cash capital to do their marketing due to the casual nature of their trading and small scale of their activities. The urban traders are partly self-funded. Many of them also get loans from the microfinance organisation (private cooperative). Further, a few urban traders get financial support from the government. However, the majority of urban traders do not have access to government financial support. Moreover, although commercial banks are available in Manokwari City and suburban areas, their credit schemes are difficult to access for these urban traders. This is because they are lacking in collateral and have an irregular income. Not surprisingly, access to these commercial banks, which are mostly located in urban areas, is far more difficult for the more remote area traders as well as the transmigration site traders, due to their casual marketing activities and their home locations.

The transmigration site traders and their family appear to behave more individually when conducting their productive activities, which includes managing their traditional farm. On the contrary, access to social capital is much more highly relied upon in the more remote areas when conducting their productive activities. As stated previously, they share resources such as land and labour. Further, they have strong social networks, which are illustrated by their decisions on where to sell, and the support given by their community members who provide free accommodation in the urban areas and the transmigration site. The more remote areas traders also foster good relationships with the public vehicle (four wheel drive) driver who they rely on heavily for their access to market. In contrast, the urban traders do not appear to access social capital to the same degree when doing their marketing activities. However, they do help each other on some occasions and will share their selling spaces with others who they know.

8.5 Marketing Activities

The types of marketing activities engaged in by these Papuan women depend on their resources and how they manage those resources. The more remote area and transmigration site traders are the producers of the fresh produce that they are selling. The farming activities of the more remote area traders are semi-subsistence, but they also plant highland crops, such as potatoes, celery, spring onion and carrot, mainly for selling. This is a step beyond selling what is surplus to consumption. However, they do not carry out their marketing activities on
a regular basis. Instead, they only sell their produce if they need cash to meet their immediate needs and cultural obligations, and if they have money to travel to the market. This casual nature of their activities appears to be exacerbated by the poor road access and expensive transportation cost.

Likewise, the transmigration site traders marketing activities are also driven by their immediate needs, which are mainly food and cultural obligations. Although this group benefits from good access to roads, transportation and local markets, these forces do not stimulate the traders in the transmigration site to be more active in their marketing activities. In contrast, their selling activity depends on what can be harvested from their farms or if they have a need for cash to buy food items. Thus, in some respects, they are less engaged with the market than more remote traders, despite their better access. The possible reason for the casual nature of these transmigration site traders’ marketing activity might be due to the fact that they have various sources of income. These traders’ households get income, not only from their traditional farms, but also from their activities at the oil palm plantation, cocoa estate, and nonfarm activities (e.g. owning an ojek or truck business, or working as freelance labour in the oil palm industry or construction sites).

In contrast with the two previous cases, the urban traders are engaged in a range of marketing activities. Based on how they get their produce, the urban traders can be classified as intermediate traders or producers farmers. While the produce of the more remote area and transmigration site traders does not vary greatly, the produce sold by these urban traders is highly varied (e.g. fresh vegetables and spices, fruits, processed food and cooked food). Furthermore, they sell in various locations, such as the public traditional markets, side roads, and public places. The majority of urban traders can be categorised as commercial traders, as they are fully engaged with the markets, and specify income for productive use.

The urban traders’ more frequent marketing activities might also be driven by their daily needs for cash for their immediate needs, such as food and children’s education. In their community, lifestyles and consumption patterns have changed over time as they have become more assimilated with other communities. In addition, many of these traders are intermediate traders who buy their produce from other producers. As a result, they need frequent cash for working capital for that purpose.

The urban traders have recognised marketing techniques to improve profit and volume sold. Some change their business in terms of type, scale, selling location and type of produce sold.
in order to get higher profit, adjust to market demand, and for greater convenience for them. On the contrary, the two other groups seem to not have made any significant changes to improve their business since they started, as their marketing activities are semi-subsistence. In spite of their different ways of conducting their marketing activities, it was clear that the trading activity of all Papuan women traders from these three different groups has made a significant contribution to their families’ income.

8.6 External Environment

As this study focuses on women traders from three different areas; the remote area, the transmigration site and the urban area, it is not surprising that the impact of the external environment on each of these groups of traders is varied.

With respect to government support, there is little assistance for these Papuan women’s marketing activities, and even the majority of women traders in the urban areas do not have access to government support for their marketing activities. However, a few of them did get financial support from various government institutions. Government support procedures seem to be complicated for these traders, who are limited by their lack of education. As such, these procedures create barriers for them when applying for financial support. In addition, there is poor information flow on available government support, with only particular traders or groups of traders being targeted.

By contrast, the government programs in the transmigration site are focusing on farming activities. Many of the programs are focused on increasing the agricultural production and the introduction of new crop varieties. Thus, these programs have an indirect impact in stimulating marketing activities of these transmigration site women. However, government assistance is far more difficult to access by the more remote area traders and the results show that the more remote area traders did not get government financial support for their semi-subsistence marketing activities. Furthermore, although the government plans to make this area the centre of highland crops production, it has not yet set up any policy to assist the competitiveness of this local produce. As a result, the government support for these remote area traders is minor and very indirect.

Although there are some differences between the women traders from the urban area and the transmigration site, in general, both groups have good access to physical infrastructure, such
as roads and transportation, and physical markets. Both these groups of traders have no issue in finding spaces to sell at the physical markets, either in the building itself or on the ground outside the market, or in other places, such as public facilities and side roads. The government has supported them by distributing permanent spaces for these two groups of traders. In contrast, the more remote area traders have poor access to market infrastructure, which is in the urban area are where most of them usually sell their produce. The difficulty of getting spaces for selling in the urban market is because they are claimed to have less unofficial right to selling spaces than the traders who come from the urban area. For example, urban traders are thought to be more entitled to the spaces at the urban market, such as Sowi traders in Wosi Market and Meyakh traders in Sanggeng Market.

In addition to their difficulties in getting space to sell in the urban markets, problems with road access which connects the more remote areas to urban and suburban markets has a more significant impact on their marketing activities. Despite the fact that the road access is still poor, and the transportation cost is relatively high, these traders remain willing to sell in the urban area or transmigration site.

With respect to the financial environment, there are similarities in these three cases of women traders. They all lack access to the formal financial institutions, such BRI, Mandiri Bank and Papua Bank, which are actually owned by the Indonesian and Papuan Governments. In addition, the women traders from the more remote areas and the transmigration site have no access to microfinance. The lack of knowledge of the credit schemes of the institutions and how to get loans hinders remote area women from borrowing money from both banks and microfinance institutions. In addition, they may not be targeted by lenders due to their lack of collateral, long distance home locations and casual marketing activities. However, these traders self-finance, and it is not entirely clear whether they do so because they cannot access microfinance or whether they do not access microfinance because they self-funded.

The urban traders, who would be expected to have direct access to commercial banks due to their locational advantages, are in fact lacking in access to these banks credit schemes. Although they are willing to get loans from the commercial banks, their lack of collateral and non-permanent selling locations become impediments to accessing bank lending schemes. However, unlike the other two groups of traders, these urban traders do have an opportunity to access microfinance loan schemes. Regular traders appear to be the main target of this
microfinance. But, the microfinance schemes have high interest rates, which makes it difficult to repay the loan.

These urban traders engagement with the cash economy, and their interaction with other communities and their cultures, might lead to a change in the cultural and social values of urban Papuan communities. These women contribute to cultural obligations mainly to their close relatives. Likewise, the transmigration traders’ relocation from their previous home villages and their involvement in development programs leads to an awareness of other communities and practices, and this may have increased to their engagement in the cash economy. Even though they still have strong cultural and social values, they are more individual in their outlook and more focused on their productive work, as they have more responsibilities in this regard, due to their engagement in agricultural programs. In their case, the external factors have caused a shift in their cultural and social values. In contrast, the more remote area traders still retain strong traditional cultural and social values. However, they are beginning to engage with the cash economy. As a result, the external environment is beginning to impact on the social and cultural values of these more remote area traders, but this is very minor relative to the impact of the external environment on the other two groups of traders.

8.7 Summary of Cross-Case Comparison

The cross case analysis is captured in Figure 8.1. This diagram illustrates the comparison of marketing activities, personal attributes and motivation, the type of resources and their culture and social values of the three cases of Papuan women traders in more remote areas, urban and suburban areas and the transmigration sites, and the impact of the external environment to these women activities.

In short, I have answered the Research Question 1 with this cross-case analysis, and its subsidiary questions relating to the nature of entrepreneurial activity by Papuan women in the informal sector.
Figure 8.1 Indigenous Entrepreneurship of Papuan Women Traders in Manokwari, West Papua

**Culture and Social Values**
- There is a shift in cultural and social values, but this is very marginal for the more remote areas traders
- The urban and suburban traders might have less contribution to cultural and social obligations than the other two groups
- Contribution to cultural and social obligations for more remote areas and transmigration site traders is part of their investment and social security in the future

**Personal attributes and Motivation**
- Driven by similar motivation, which is mainly to meet immediate needs of their family
- Similar middle age ranges, when they are more economically productive
- All women lack formal education and formal marketing training
- Their marketing knowledge and skill are gathered from informal knowledge (their own experience, families and community)
- Their level of engagement with the market and cash economy is varied: urban traders are fully engaged
- They tend to open to innovation which is adjusted to suit their social and economic conditions
- Have different degrees of market awareness
- Seek to add value and have different ways to add value to their produce
- Implement various marketing techniques, which is done in simple ways
- Different goals from the market participation: urban traders are more profit oriented

**Marketing Activities**
- Type of activities engaged in depends on their resources and how they manage these resources
- Casual nature of activity by the more remote area and transmigration site traders, while urban traders are more regular
- Urban traders appear to be fully engaged with the market, while the other two groups not fully engaged.
- Use of different marketing techniques: urban traders use recognised techniques to improve profit and volume sold, while the other just want to sell all their produce

**Resources**
- In general, adequate resources for their semi-subsistence farming activity and marketing activity
- They all are self-funded, but many urban traders also depend on microfinance institution loans and government support
- The use of social capital is more significant in the more remote area; the urban and transmigration site traders appear more individualistic, and no not use social capital in productive activities

**EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT**
- Impact of external environment is varied between cases
- Poor access to road and public transport, and physical markets for more remote traders, while urban and trans-site traders have good and better access to those in.
- There is little government assistance for all of these Papuan women traders
- Available support for more remote areas and transmigration site traders is very indirect.
- Banks requirements impede all these Papuan women traders limiting access to their credit schemes
- Micro finance has simple requirements, but the interest rate is high: more regular traders in urban areas are its potential target
- Their engagement with the cash economy, development programs and assimilation with Indonesian communities have an impact on their cultural and social values with impact being greater for the urban traders

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8.8 Synthesis

If the cross-case analysis had revealed many similarities and few differences, then I could draw conclusions about the nature of entrepreneurship by Papuan women. However, the results yielded many differences and few similarities between the three case study groups. This means that these differences must now be synthesised in order to get a higher-level of understanding of what this means for the nature of entrepreneurship by Papuan women.

In chapter 3, indigenous entrepreneurship was discussed and the features of indigenous entrepreneurship were identified. It must be noted that there were differences between authors on what features constituted indigenous entrepreneurship, such as being strongly affected by culture, being more communal in nature, having economic and non-economic goals, and engaging in activity that will benefit the indigenous community. The features of more western-style entrepreneurship were also identified, and some of these features are individual endeavour, being primarily motivated by economic consideration or profit, and a focus on commercialisation of innovation.

In order to gain a higher level understanding of the nature of entrepreneurship by Papuan women, I will propose that indigenous and western entrepreneurship are not completely separate phenomena, but are two ends of a pole along which entrepreneurship occurs. So, at one end of the pole, there is highly indigenous entrepreneurship, which has the following features: more communal in nature, a focus on the community, activity based on their indigenous knowledge, economic and non-economic goals, involved in small scale business, dependent on immediately available resources or natural resources, and activities being conducted for the benefit of the indigenous community. At the other end of the pole, there is western-style entrepreneurship, which has these features: based on individualism, focus on profit and growth, innovative, and depends primarily on the capability of the individual entrepreneur. This concept is illustrated visually in Figure 8.3.
Figure 8.2 Pole of Entrepreneurship Continuum

The entrepreneurship of the Papuan women traders from Minyambouw and surrounding areas or the more remote area sits near the indigenous entrepreneurship pole, and is shown as number 1 in Figure 8.2. This is because their culture and social values are embedded in their entrepreneurial activities. They have strong communal and collective values that are showed from their sharing resources and communal labour practices, and they have very strong social capital, which is illustrated by their strong social networks. Further, they are dependent on immediate natural resources, such as their land. Even though they have strong connections to the culture, these traders have begun to engage with the cash economy. So, their activities are becoming semi-subsistence as they grow highland produce mainly for selling at the urban and transmigration site markets. However, they are not fully engaged with the market. Their marketing activities are casual and are dictated by their needs (family and cultural needs that must be met) or money for transportation.

The transmigration site traders share most of the same entrepreneurship characteristics with the more remote area traders. Because they come from the same Tribe (Arfak Big Tribe), they share the same cultural and social values. Their contribution to these cultural obligations is important as part of their reciprocal relationships. However, these Papuan traders in the transmigration site appear to be more individualistic with respect to their productive activities. They have been involved in some development programs, such as the Transmigration Program and Oil Palm NESS Project. Because of their responsibilities in these development programs, each family focuses only on their own agricultural activities. They are open to innovation through the resettlement programs, and adjust development programs to their agricultural practices and economic condition. These traders have been more engaged with the cash economy. Their traditional farms are their resource from which they can base their
marketing activities. Although they have good access to the infrastructure and transmigration site markets, their marketing activities are casual. This is likely to be due to their dependency on farm produce being ready to be harvested, but more so, on the availability of other income sources. They do not apply marketing techniques to increase sales. Because of their more individualistic characteristics, these traders are placed further along the continuum towards western entrepreneurship. However, they have been positioned below the line at number 2. This has been done to visually signify that, in some respects, the more remote area traders are more entrepreneurial because they grow crops to meet the needs of the market.

The entrepreneurship of urban traders sits at number 3 in the entrepreneurship continuum. This is because the traders from Manokwari City and suburban areas (urban area) are very engaged with the cash economy. The majority are regular traders and intermediate traders. Mostly, they work individually in the market, but on some occasions, they help each other and share their resources (e.g. selling space). These traders seek to add value at the market, are profit oriented and specify part of their income for productive use. They have market awareness and have basic marketing knowledge and skills, and implement marketing techniques at the markets. Thus, their activities can be categorised as commercial trading. However, as Papuans, their contribution to cultural obligations is necessary, and so they are depicted as sitting mid-way between indigenous and western entrepreneurship.

I have now reconciled what appear to be differences between the three cases through this higher level insight on the nature of entrepreneurship between indigenous and western style entrepreneurship, where I argue that entrepreneurship can be observed at points along a continuum.

8.9 Discussion

In this section, the results from this study are discussed with reference to the literature. This is done by examining particular aspects of entrepreneurship, and also by discussing the entrepreneurship continuum in the context of the literature.

This study has found that the Papuan women traders’ engagement with the market is driven by their immediate family needs, and cultural and social obligations. This finding is consistent with that of other authors who state that indigenous entrepreneurship is not only for the benefit of the individual, but also the community (Cahn, 2008; Curry, 2007; Hindle &
In Papua, this is done through their contribution to cultural and social obligations. Thus, this supports the conclusion by previous researchers that indigenous entrepreneurs have economic and non-economic goals (P. L Dana, 2007; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007; Lindsay, 2005).

Fairnbairn (2006) mentions that indigenous businesses operate at the margin and, generally, indigenous entrepreneurs are involved in small scale business. This is supported in this study by the fact that these Papuan women traders are involved in small scale marketing activities in the informal sector. These Papuan women traders’ productive activities range between semi-subsistence and commercial. Curry (1999) and Lasimbang (2008) claim that most indigenous peoples are involved in subsistence productive activities. The findings in this study refine this conclusion. The more remote area traders farming activities are still done in a traditional way by using slash and burn techniques to open new farms, but their willingness to grow crops that meet the needs of the urban market suggests that they are more semi-subsistence, rather than wholly subsistence farmers.

The study showed that the women traders in urban and surrounding suburban areas are fully engaged with the market. They have a profit orientation and specify income for productive use, and can be categorised as commercial traders. The literature has not acknowledged that indigenous traders such as these can be engaged in entrepreneurship activity that is a blend.

With respect to resources, the Papuan traders from more remote areas and the transmigration site depend on the land and natural resources or immediately available resources for farming and marketing, which are features that have been noted by other writers (P. L Dana, 2007). However, many urban traders are not growing their own produce. These traders act as intermediate traders at the urban markets. So, they depend on their cash capital to get their produce to sell from other traders, such as farmers from more remote areas. Once again, this illustrates that the pattern of entrepreneurship of these women does not fit what has been identified previously in the literature.

Social capital, such as sharing labour and social networks, has a significant impact on the marketing activities for women traders from the more remote areas. The more remote area traders have strong collective and communal values, and they have strong kinship relationships, which they utilize for their marketing activities. This finding confirms that of
other authors (Ballard, 2001; Dennis Foley, 2008; Nafziger, 1969), who note that social capital is a substantial resource for entrepreneurial activities of indigenous people.

On the other hand, social capital does not appear to be used so much by the transmigration site and urban area traders in their productive work, since these traders appear to work individually. Thus, this study found that these indigenous traders from the transmigration site and urban area depend on their own and their families competences and resources. This is consistent with the key features of western entrepreneurship (Bolton & Thomson, 2004; Carland & Carland, 1990; Cuervo, et al., 2007; de Bruin & Dupuis, 2003; Hougaard, 2005; Massey, 2005; Pfeifer, et al., 2003). However, these Papuan traders’ activities also focus on communal benefits rather than purely individual benefit, which is not consistent with western entrepreneurship.

The study found that these Papuan women have different marketing knowledge and skills. Their marketing knowledge and skills are shaped by their informal education, which comes from their community and relatives, and from their own experience. The more remote area and transmigration site traders appear to have less marketing knowledge and skills than the urban traders. Many of these women seem unable to set a competitive price for their produce. For example, the more remote area traders use the season as their standard to establish their selling price, which can be very different from prevailing market price, which will be established by supply and demand.

With respect to innovation, indigenous entrepreneurs were stated by Ritterbush and Pearson (1988) as “poor innovators but good imitators” in the type of business they established (Fairbairn, 2006, p. 357). This study found that the Papuan women were very open to innovation and new ideas. The more remote area traders actively tried to meet market needs despite their poor access to resources, while urban traders identified and exploited many market niches. Hence, they adjust their productive activities by adopting innovations consistent with their social and economic conditions.

The external environment, such as infrastructure, financial institutions, and the government, can provide the opportunity and a motivational environment for creating and developing entrepreneurial businesses (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007). These three cases of Papuan women traders in the informal sector show that external factors can bring changes in their business activities. The traders in each case have different access to infrastructure (e.g road
and physical markets), different degrees of involvement in development initiatives, different access to government assistance or support, and different degree of assimilation with other Indonesian communities. These differences in the external environment then shape the different nature of their entrepreneurial activity.

Although western entrepreneurship literature (Reynolds, et al., 2000) suggests culture and social norms are part of the external environment, this study does not incorporate them in this way. This is because culture and social norms are integral to their identity, and so the meaning of entrepreneurship for these Papuan women is closer to the indigenous entrepreneurship meaning of the term. Culture and social values are embedded in indigenous businesses (Curry, 2007), and so, in this study, these factors are an integrated part of their activities.

My findings support some aspects of the literature but not others. In particular, I have confirmed that the entrepreneurial activity that I have identified has features of both indigenous and western entrepreneurship. I have also confirmed that features of entrepreneurship vary between groups, with more remote area traders exhibiting features closest to indigenous entrepreneurship characteristics, while the urban traders seem to be midway between indigenous and western entrepreneurship, exhibiting features of both. I have made a contribution to the entrepreneurship literature by suggesting that entrepreneurship does not have to be either indigenous or western, but it is a continuum, with different entrepreneurial endeavour sitting at different points along this continuum.

Different authors do not seem to agree on what the features of indigenous entrepreneurship are. There is general agreement on the strong influence of culture (Curry, 1999; P. L Dana, 2007; Fairbairn, 2006; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007; Lindsay, 2005; Maphosa, 1998; Peredo, et al., 2004), but much less agreement on dependence on natural resources (P. L Dana, 2007; Paulin, 2007; Peredo, et al., 2004). There is reasonable agreement on benefit to the community (Curry, 1999, 2007; P. L Dana, 2007; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007; Lindsay, 2005; Peredo, et al., 2004), but less agreement on whether it is based on indigenous knowledge (P. L Dana, 2007; Peredo, et al., 2004).

I suggest that these different authors may have developed different perspectives on what factors constitute indigenous entrepreneurship based on their different observations. My conclusion on an entrepreneurship continuum suggests that these authors might be positioning
their definitions of indigenous entrepreneurship at different points on the entrepreneurship continuum, though all of them would be reasonably close to the indigenous end of the pole.

Through this discussion and my synthesis, I have made a contribution to models of indigenous entrepreneurship and so have now answered Research Question 5.

8.10 Constraints, and Opportunities and Policy Implication

I will now focus my attention to Research Questions two, three and four which relate to opportunities for, and constraints faced by, these women and the implications of the study for policy purposes. In particular, Research Question 2 asks: What factors create opportunities for improving their entrepreneurial marketing activity in the informal sector; and Research Question 3 asks: What constraints are faced by these women in undertaking their entrepreneurial marketing activity in the informal sector? Finally, Research Question 4 states: What are the implications of these findings for the Papuan government?

8.10.1 Constraints

Compared to the Papuan women traders in the urban area and transmigration site, more remote area traders have more constraints to access the markets. The transmigration site traders and urban traders have good access to the markets. However, for more remote area traders, as there are no buyers in their villages, and so they have to sell in urban or transmigration site markets, which are a relatively long distance from their villages. In addition, the road access from their villages to the markets is poor, and the transportation costs them a lot. Many of these more remote area traders face difficulties in selling their produce to urban or transmigration site markets as they may not have cash to pay for the transportation. As a result, some women traders would be entrusted by their community members who do not have money to travel, to sell their produce and buy their needs at the urban market. The public transport to and from some villages in more remote areas is not very regular, thus getting to the urban and transmigration markets are far more difficult for these more remote traders.

In addition, the more remote area traders are impeded by their lack of access to the physical markets, especially in the urban area. This is because many of the urban traders are thought to be more entitled to the spaces at the urban market. On the other hand, the urban and transmigration site traders have better access to the physical markets, and some of them have permanent spaces at the markets.
Papuan women traders from more remote areas and transmigration sites exhibit less marketing knowledge and skills than urban traders. These two groups of traders appear to make little effort to increase their produce sold at the market. The more remote area traders use the season as their standard to establish their selling prices not what the market dictates. This can result in price differences with better quality produce imported from other Indonesia areas selling at a relatively cheaper price. Thus, people often prefer to buy the imported produce rather than these remote area traders’ produce. On the other hand, the urban traders have applied key basic marketing techniques to increase the produce sold and increase their profit.

The more remote area and transmigration site traders have poor access to financial institutions’ credit schemes, both commercial banks and microfinance. The reasons for this are that they may not have a need of finance, they are not familiar with bank services, and they might be excluded as potential borrowers due to their lack of collateral, long distance home locations and casual marketing activities. Even so, the commercial banks are available in Manokwari City and surrounding suburban areas, but still the Papuan women traders cannot access their loan services. The lack of collateral and non-permanent selling locations becomes an impediment to accessing bank credit schemes. Instead, these urban women can access microfinance, in this case, the private cooperative. It was observed that it was mostly the regular traders who are getting loans and being targeted by the microfinance organisation. In addition, the high interest rate applied by the cooperative can become an obstacle to paying back the loan or to applying for another loan. Even though the government, through the Cooperative Office, has knowledge on this high interest rate, there is no effort to investigate the interest rate applied by the cooperative.

In terms of government support, there is a lack of assistance for these Papuan women’s marketing activities. It is noticed that only a few urban traders have access to government financial support, while the majority of urban traders and the traders from the more remote area and the transmigration site do not get any government financial support for their marketing activity. The procedures seem to be complicated for these Papuan traders, who are limited by their lack of education. In short, the procedures create barriers which discourage them from seeking financial support. In addition, there is a little information on government support, with only a particular trader or group of traders being targeted.
Further, the Republic of Indonesia President’s Instruction No. 6 in 2007 on Real Sector Development Acceleration and Micro Small Medium Business Empowerment was enacted to support small and micro business development. However, it has not been well implemented at the regional level. Cooperation between the provincial and regional governments, the banks and the insurance companies to implement the regulation was not conducted. Thus, the women market traders cannot access the loan which is distributed through this regulation.

It appears that there is a lack of coordination between the government technical institutions relating to how to empower and improve Papuan women economic activities. Marketing training is not available for these women, or they might not be targeted as participants in any such training program. Many programs for the more remote area and transmigration site are indirect, and are mainly focused on their farming activities. Even though the government has planned to make the more remote area the central area for production of highland produce, there is no specific policy and program to support that plan.

Finally, although OTSUS is available for indigenous community economic activities, its implementation has failed to provide support at grassroots community level, especially for those who live in more remote areas. The local government of West Papua Province and Manokwari Regency do not have a technical regulation to implement the OTSUS. As a result, the urban Papuan women traders do not gain any benefit from the OTSUS fund, even though they are intended beneficiaries of the community based economic activities and have a market orientation, which are stated as the vision of the OTSUS.

In conclusion the constraints faced by these women vary between cases. The more remote area traders have more constraints related to poor road access and high cost transportation, and poor access to physical market. Urban traders have better access to microfinance, but all of these traders have poor access to commercial bank credit schemes. In addition, all of these traders, regardless of their location, have poor access to the government support.

8.10.2 Opportunities

Although many constraints are faced by the Papuan women, there some factors that can be used to create opportunity for supporting their entrepreneurial marketing activities.

These Papuan traders’ culture and social values can be harnessed to provide social capital that can enable their productive activity. Although one view is that culture and social values will impede these Papuan marketing activities, for particular traders, such as those from the more
remote area, their social capital has a significant impact on their marketing activities. Their decision on where to sell is affected by their access to relatives in the area. Their close social networks result in free accommodation provided for them in urban and transmigration site. Further, social support is available for those who do not have money to travel to the markets, which means that their produce can be sold by community members and purchases made on their behalf.

Another potential opportunity could arise from the organic nature of the women’s producer, especially those from the more remote area and transmigration site. However, the majority of the buyers in Papua, including Manokwari, are not aware of the potential for organic produce. If the benefit of organic produce became better known, this local produce might then compete with other agricultural produce, such as the imported produce, which has better appearance and a relatively cheaper price, but include chemicals in their production.

The road development in many part of the Province and Manokwari Regency has opened up more access for women traders to potential markets, especially those who live in more remote areas. However, improvement on the regularity of public transportation from and to some of the more remote areas is needed to increase these women’s participation at the market. In addition, better road access and transportation infrastructure might encourage collector traders to visit these traders’ villages and buy directly from them.

8.10.3 Policy Implications

Manokwari Regency and the West Papua Province Government in Manokwari could provide more assistance for the market traders, especially because the OTSUS fund was provided to empower economic activities of Papuan women. Such empowerment was meant to be done through community based economic development. However, as it was noted previously, the OTSUS has still not benefited the Papuan community, including the Papuan women market traders.

The intention of OTSUS is to enable the government to encourage the Papuan community to become more entrepreneurial. Better use of the OTSUS to improve the economic activities of the Papuan community, especially through the implementation of Perdasus No. 18 of Papua Province, which was enacted in 2010 and related to Community Based Economic Development. Furthermore, the implementation of OTSUS makes the empowerment of women one of the main targets of Papua’s government, so there could be a good future for Papuan women and their marketing activities.
My research has shown that different groups of traders have different opportunities open to them and face different constraints. The policy implications of this is that the government needs to understand what these differences are, and they can then better target assistance to the different groups, so that they can specifically address their group constraints. For example, financial assistance for urban traders is not systematically targeted, so these groups might benefit from targeted financial support. On other hand, transportation issues are key factors for the remote area, and also their lack of access to the physical urban markets. Finally, my grounded bottom-up study can give very useful insight for the policy makers on the lives of these women, and so will these policy-makers to understand how to provide effective government support.
Chapter 9
CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

Having presented the findings and shown how this study answers the research questions in the previous four chapters, the purpose of this Chapter is to summarise this thesis. The chapter is organised into four sections. The summary of this research is in Section 9.2. Limitations, Suggestion for further research, and the Research Contribution are then presented in Sections 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5 respectively.

9.2 Summary

The aim of this research was to gain a better understanding of entrepreneurial marketing activity of Papuan women in the informal agricultural sector. To reach this aim five objectives were developed. These are:

6) To understand the nature of entrepreneurial marketing activity of Papuan women in informal agricultural sector
7) To identify opportunities for improving their entrepreneurial marketing activity in the informal sector
8) To identify constraints that are impeding them in doing their entrepreneurial marketing activity in the informal Sector
9) To analyse the implications of these findings for the Papuan government
10) To contribute a greater understanding of models of indigenous entrepreneurship and the factors that influence indigenous entrepreneurs

In order to approach this task, it is necessary to understand the context of Papua. Papua is one of the richest areas in Indonesia, but it is reported as the area with the highest proportion of people living in poverty. Poverty in Papua appears to be caused by lack of infrastructure and isolation, and the fact that the majority of indigenous Papuans are involved in the agricultural sector, which is characterised mostly by subsistence agriculture. Many of agricultural development programs that have been conducted in the past using a top down system from central government to regions, and these programs have not increased Papuan community welfare as planned, and so were not successful. One possible reason for this is that they do
not understand and utilise the indigenous Papuans’ knowledge and culture. The OTSUS was proposed to increase the welfare of indigenous Papuan, through its focus such as community based economic development. However, despite its aim, the OTSUS appears to have not benefited these indigenous Papuans in the informal sector. Further, the Papuan government seems to be facing difficulty in developing community based economic development.

Cultural values are an important part of Papuan entrepreneurship. It has been suggested that Papuans are not future oriented and have low work ethos, and cannot manage finances for productive use. It is also claimed that these indigenous people lack capability in administration, accessing financial resources and in the use of technology. Regardless of the accuracy of these statements, Papuan entrepreneurs are likely to face a number of obstacles that may impede their entrepreneurial activities. Even though Papuan women have a significant role in conducting economic activities to meet their family immediate needs, their participation in development appears to be low and Papuan women are thought to face more obstacles in conducting their entrepreneurial activities in the informal sector.

The literature suggests that indigenous people are characterised by features such as their descent from the original people, they are a marginalised or disadvantaged population, they are engaged in subsistence/traditional production systems, and they depend on immediate available resources. Indigenous entrepreneurship models have been based on collectivism and reciprocity, indigenous knowledge, and their natural resources, and benefit the community. On the other hand, the standard (more western) models of entrepreneurship are based on individualism, the individual’s competence and resources available to start up an entrepreneurial business, and further that the entrepreneur is primarily focused on their own self-interest.

A framework that integrated the themes of the indigenous entrepreneurship literature and the Papuan context was developed to guide this research. This conceptual framework consisted of a number of components. These are the Papuan women’s personal attributes and motivation, their marketing activities, their resources, their social and cultural values and the external environment. The marketing context was established in order to get a framework within which to understand these Papuan women’s marketing activities. A qualitative case study strategy was used in this research. Three areas were selected as the research locations, Minyambouw and surrounding areas (which represents the more remote areas), Prafi District
(which represents a transmigration site), and Manokwari and suburban areas (which represents an urban area).

Findings for the Minyambouw and surrounding areas (more remote) areas found that these more remote areas traders are casual traders. They depend on their farming activity for their produce. They are starting to engage with the cash economy, but are not yet fully engaged with the market. Their marketing activities are driven by their immediate needs, and their social and cultural obligations. They lack formal education and training, and their business activities are shaped by their informal knowledge and experience. They have market awareness, are outward-looking, open to innovation, and seek ways to add value. They are self-funded, and have very strong social and cultural capital to support their marketing activities. They have strong communal and collective values, which show by their shared use of resources. They have strong kinship and reciprocal relationships through their contribution to social and cultural obligations. Access to a road has allowed these women to undertake marketing activities, but the condition of the road is poor. They have poor access to market infrastructure in the urban markets, and have no access to finance, and being excluded as potential borrowers. They get no government assistance for their marketing activities, although, government (and other) programs have played indirect roles in encouraging their marketing activities.

The majority of Papuan women traders in the transmigration site are categorised as casual. They are engaged with the cash economy and settled agriculture through their involvement in development programs, such as the Transmigration and Oil Palm NESS, but they are not fully engaged with the markets. These transmigration site traders marketing is driven by immediate needs mainly for foods, while other needs, including social and cultural obligations, seem to be met by their other sources of income. They have adequate resources for their traditional type of farming and marketing, and are self-funded. They lack access to financial institutions, and are excluded as the target for credit schemes, which might be due to their type of marketing activities and lack of collateral. However, they may not have a need for finance. They have collective values through sharing the burden for bride price and customary fines, which is part of their future social investment. However, this social capital is rarely used for productive activities.

These women have good access to road and market infrastructure. Many development programs and policies conducted in the area seem to have an indirect role on their marketing
activities. External factors such as relocation have contributed to their engagement in the cash economy.

The Manokwari and suburban (urban) areas traders are predominantly regular traders with regular marketing activities. They are motivated by their families’ immediate needs, including their children’s education. Their marketing activities are diverse in terms of the type of marketing, scale of business, the produce they sell, their sources of produce, and their selling locations. They have adequate resources for their marketing. These women are partly-funded and many of them get loans from a microfinance organisation. Only a few traders have access to government financial support, which appears to only targeting particular individual or group traders. These women have good physical access to road and the urban markets. Many of these traders were distributed permanent spaces by the government, though some provide their own selling table, and some are selling on the ground. Their produce comes from different sources (e.g. from farmers or other traders, their own farms, or a combination of these). At the market, these women work individually on their own business, but they do help each other occasionally. They are very engaged with the commercial economy. They use marketing income for productive uses, and implement basic marketing techniques to increase their sales and to get a profit from their produce. There seems to be no individual competition between them as they just focus on selling their produce. Social and cultural obligations are still necessary to these women. These traders help each other on some occasions, and are socialise through informal group establishment and social gatherings at the market. Although, their family’s immediate needs are their main priority, the majority are still contributing to cultural and social obligations for their close relatives.

The cross-case analysis of the three cases revealed many differences and some similarities. These differences were reconciled through higher level of synthesis. An entrepreneurship continuum was proposed with indigenous entrepreneurship at one end and western entrepreneurship at the other end. The entrepreneurship displayed by each of these three groups was then positioned a long this continuum. The entrepreneurship continuum, the entrepreneurship of the Papuan women traders from more remote area sits near the indigenous entrepreneurship pole. Transmigration site traders are placed slightly further along the continuum towards western entrepreneurship, because they are more individualistic. However, they have been positioned below the continuum to signify that, in some respects,
the more remote area traders are more entrepreneurial because they grow crops to meet market demand. Finally, the entrepreneurship of urban traders sits mid-way between indigenous and western entrepreneurship on the entrepreneurship continuum. Overall, this study supports some aspects of the literature, but not others. It is proposed that different authors may have developed different perspectives on what factors constitute indigenous entrepreneurship, which are based on different observations. It is suggested that these authors might be positioning their definitions of indigenous entrepreneurship at different points on the entrepreneurship continuum, but reasonably close to the indigenous end of the pole.

The constraints faced by these women entrepreneurs are varied. It was found that the more remote area traders have more constraints associated with the poor road access and high cost transportation and poor access to physical market. All of these Papuan traders have poor access to commercial bank credit schemes, but urban traders have better access to microfinance. In general, these women have poor access to the government support. Two level of government in Manokwari potentially could provide multiple assistances to Papuan women traders. In particular, the OTSUS could be better used to improve the entrepreneurial activities of the Papuan community, including Papuan women traders. In addition, if the government understands what these differences are between these groups, they can then target assistance to the each of them so that they can specifically address their group constraints.

9.3 Limitations of the Research

In the conduct of this study, some research limitations were faced. First, this research could only be conducted in three different areas in Manokwari Region for resourcing and safety reasons. Thus, this study did not cover Papuan women traders from different geographical regions in Papua; for example those who live in more isolated areas in the highlands, who does not have any direct road access to the urban market.

The second limitation of this research is the lack reliable secondary data. I requested the government institutions to supply me with information on government programs that targeted small scale or micro business, including the Papuan women traders. However, most of the government institutions could not provide me with any written and systematic reports on the program. Therefore, the role of the government in developing small scale business of indigenous Papuans is not clear.
A third limitation was that microfinance was found to have a significant contribution to the urban traders’ cash capital. However, there is no data gathered from the microfinance institution because of organisation’s private security issues. Thus, the data was only gathered from the respondents’ side, and so did not include the voice of the microfinance institution.

9.4 Future Research

The findings of this research suggest several future research endeavours. Firstly, as time, budget and access were limited in this research, it only focussed on three case studies in Manokwari Region. Future research is needed to focus on Papuan women from different tribes or from different geographical zones, such as from isolated areas, and also for women traders in different tribal groups in different areas; for example for women traders from Biak Tribe in Biak Regency (their home village) and Biak traders who migrate to other Papuan regions. A replication of this study to other tribes or regions of Papua might result in different characteristics of indigenous entrepreneurship or it may confirm the findings of this research.

Secondly, research is still needed on the government policy and programs to develop community based economic development, which is the focus of the OTSUS. Detailed suggestions for better improving the entrepreneurial marketing activities of Papuan women in the informal sector needs to be made and implemented.

Finally, this research uses a conceptual framework that I have set up based on the literature of indigenous entrepreneurship and the context of Papua. Future research could refine this framework and further test its applicability.

9.5 Research Contribution

This study contributes to models of indigenous entrepreneurship. It was concluded that indigenous and western entrepreneurship are not completely separate phenomena, but rather two extremes on a continuum of entrepreneurship. At one end of the pole, there is highly indigenous entrepreneurship, and at the other end of the pole, there is western-style entrepreneurship. Different combination of indigenous and western entrepreneurship can be observed at points along this continuum. This insight contributes to an understanding of the nature of entrepreneurship by indigenous people.
Furthermore, this study gives a grounded insight into the varied nature of indigenous entrepreneurship, and differences in constraints facing by different groups, which has good policy implications. Thus, the Papuan government could use these findings to better target and have better programs to develop entrepreneurial activities of its Indigenous communities.
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Appendix A

Leading Questions

Personal data

1. Age : ................................................................
2. Education : ................................................................
3. Family Status : ................................................................
4. Main job : ................................................................
5. Side job : ................................................................
6. Work experience : ............................................................
7. Households members: ...........................................................
8. Tell me about your marketing activity?
   - How long have you been doing this?
   - What produce do you sale?
     ✓ Raw produce
     ✓ Processed produce
     ✓ Diversification
   - How much do you sell in a week?
   - How many times and how long you do your marketing activity per day or per week? And Does this varies every year?
   - Do you work on your own or with others?
   - Do you do anything to your product to increase its value?
   - How do you create value for your produce?
     o distributing
     o Packing
     o Processed
     o other
9. Tell me about how you get these things that you sale?
   - How and where do you get your produce to sale?
   - Do you have a relationship of any sort with the supplier?
   - Do you have contract with them?
   - How do you make contact?
• How do you buy off them?
• How do you set up your buying price?
• Do you have a relationship of any sort with them?
• Do you have contracts with them?
• How do you storage your supply?

10. Does anyone help you with any of your marketing activity?
• Who helps you to prepare the product to sale?
• Who helps you to market the products and how they are helping?

11. How do you compete with other traders?

12. How well is the trading going?
• Is it improving or getting worse?
• How could you improve your business?
• What prevent you in improving your business?
• How confident are you of keeping your business in the future?
• What do you need to make your business work?
  ✓ Economic, physical, human, natural, social
  ✓ How are your access and control over this resources?
  ✓ How did you finance your marketing business?
  ✓ Do you have any problems to get credit for your marketing activities?
  ✓ Are there any government programs to support your financial and resources?
  ✓ Have you got fund or relevant training from regional government e.g. OTSUS?
  ✓ How these supports benefit your marketing activity?
  ✓ What other resources do you have for your marketing activities? How do you access those resources?

13. Does your marketing activity give benefit to cultural values and practices?

14. Do you share resources and assets with your extended family and community?

15. What kind of relationship do you have with other traders from the same group?

16. How easy or difficult is it to start a business here or make money here? (opportunity)

17. How risky do you think doing this marketing activity?
## Appendix B

### Table 1. Detail of Individual Respondents

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**More Remote Area Traders**

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</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix C

### Table 2. Type of Marketing Activities, Selling Location, Produce and Source of Produce and Trading Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Trading Exp (Years)</th>
<th>Current Trade location</th>
<th>Produce</th>
<th>Source of Produce</th>
<th>Type of Activity</th>
<th>Trading time (hours)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Traders</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>sago, fish soup ingredient, bread (permanent), taro and banana (not permanent)</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>vegetables: long bean, kangkung, spinach, eggplant, tomatoes, chilli</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Vegetables: fern leaves, pawpaw leaves, garnisun (mixed pawpaw leaves and sweet potatoes), spinach, <em>kangkung, genemo</em> leaves, <em>gedi</em> leaves</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>No info</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>lemon, tomatoes, chilli, onion, eggplant</td>
<td>other trader</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>ingredient, mixed ingredient, sago</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>bean sprouts, grate squash, mixed vegetables for soup (spinach, eggplant, long bean basil and lemon grass)</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Vegetables: <em>kangkung, garnisun, gedi</em> leaves, pawpaw leaves, fern leaves, <em>genemo</em>.</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>string beans, big chilli, small chilli, tomatoes</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>No.2</td>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Products</td>
<td>Supplier</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Price</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Mustard greens, <em>kangkung</em>, chilli, basil, pawpaw, sweet potatoes.</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>bamboo shoots, jackfruit slices, grate pawpaw, bean sprouts</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market, Harbour</td>
<td>taro and mango (seasonal)</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Vegetable( <em>Kangkung</em>, pawpaw leaves), basil, tomatoes, big lemon, small lemon, sago</td>
<td>Javanese farmers/traders, Biak traders for Sago</td>
<td>Regular</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>grate coconut</td>
<td>own estate</td>
<td>Regular</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Bean sprouts, grate pawpaw, bamboo shoots</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Vegetables: eggplants, cassava leaves; taro, cassava</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Vegetables: Cassava leaves, cucumber; taro, banana</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Ingredient, mixed ingredient, spring onions</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>eggplants, cucumber, cassava leaves, long bean</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wosi Market, home (help by children)</td>
<td>in the market : fried banana, sweet potatoes, breadfruit and hot drinks (coffee, tea) and cold drinks; at home betel nuts</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>eggplants, cucumber, long bean, tomatoes, durian</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>egg plants, long bean, spinach, cucumber</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>long bean, eggplant, mustard green, chilli, tomatoes, galangal, ginger, turmeric, bay leaves and lemon grass</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>lime, tomatoes, chilli, onion, banana heart, turmeric and galangal, lemon grass</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Tomatoes, chilli, lemon</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Mixed ingredients (tomatoes, chilli, basil, galangal, lemon grass, turmeric), sago</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
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<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Chilli, tomatoes, lemon, Sago</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Bean sprout, bamboo shoot, turmeric, lemon grass, galangal</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Kangkung, garnisun, pawpaw leaves, genemo, spinach</td>
<td>own farm, other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
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</tr>
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<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Taro, sweet potatoes, vegetables</td>
<td>other trader</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>Side Road-Amban</td>
<td>Vegetables (green mustard, long bean, kangkung, pawpaw leaves and flowers), ingredients (onion, garlic, chilli, tomatoes)</td>
<td>Other trader (Wosi Market)</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Side Road-Amban</td>
<td>Betel nuts, bread and fruits (durian, rambutan seasonally depend on the season)</td>
<td>own farm and other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Manokwari Harbour and market</td>
<td>Avocados, banana, matoa, mangoes, rambutan (the last three fruits depend on the season)</td>
<td>own farm, and other traders</td>
<td>Regular (4 times a week depend on the KM PELNI Schedules)</td>
<td>5 to 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Manokwari Harbour and other traders</td>
<td>Avocados, betel nuts, lanzon, rambutan (the last two are seasonally)</td>
<td>own farm and other traders</td>
<td>Regular (4 times a week depend on the KM PELNI Schedules)</td>
<td>5 to 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Side</td>
<td>Area/Markets</td>
<td>Produce and Other Products</td>
<td>Source/sellers</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Price Per Visit</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Manokwari Harbour</td>
<td>Avocados, <em>rambutan</em>, lanzon (the last two are seasonally)</td>
<td>own farm and other traders</td>
<td>Regular (2-4 times a week depend on the KM PELNI Schedules)</td>
<td>5 to 6</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Side Road-Amban</td>
<td>Betel nuts, banana, <em>kangkung</em> (the last two only if available from farm)</td>
<td>own farm and other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Side Road-Amban Pantai</td>
<td>Vegetables (pawpaw leaves, spinach, <em>kangkung</em>) and tofu and <em>tempe</em> (fermented soybean cake)</td>
<td>other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Side Road-Amban Pantai</td>
<td>Betel nuts and fried bananas</td>
<td>other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Side Road-Amban</td>
<td>Betel nuts, bread, donuts, fuel</td>
<td>other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Side road</td>
<td>Vegetables: <em>kangkung</em>, pawpaw flowers, spinach; onion, garlic, tomatoes, chilli, and tofu and <em>tempe</em></td>
<td>other traders, own farm</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Side road</td>
<td>Vegetables (<em>kangkung</em>, spinach, <em>garnisun</em>), tofu, <em>tempe</em>, onion, garlic, tomatoes, fried fish</td>
<td>other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
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<td>41</td>
<td>10 SP1 and SP2-Prafi</td>
<td>Side Road, Harbour, Sanggeng Market</td>
<td>Side road: Betel nuts with lime and mustard, and cigarettes; Harbour/Sanggeng Market: avocado, <em>rambutan</em>, lanzon, durian (depend on season)</td>
<td>own farm and other traders</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>14 SP2 market</td>
<td>Side road</td>
<td>Scraped young Pawpaw, <em>kangkung</em></td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Regular</td>
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</table>

For Transmigration Site Traders:

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<th>No.</th>
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<th>Area/Markets</th>
<th>Produce and Other Products</th>
<th>Source/sellers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>15 SP1 and SP2-Prafi Markets</td>
<td><em>Kangkung</em>, cassava leaves, sweet potatoes, broom palm-leaf rib</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>SP1 and SP2-Prafi</td>
<td>Pumpkin, sweet Potatoes, peanut, cassava, pawpaw, corn, banana, sugar cane</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
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<td>SP2 market</td>
<td>Coconut, packet of young coconut leaves for cooking rice, cassava leaves</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
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<td>SP2 market</td>
<td>Pawpaw flowers and leaves</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
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<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Products</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>SP2 market</td>
<td>Chilli, bitter gourd, pawpaw leaves</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>SP2 market</td>
<td>Coconut water cress, broom palm-leaf rib</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>SP2 market</td>
<td>peanut, <em>durian</em>, taro, pawpaw leaves and flowers</td>
<td>Own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>SP2 market</td>
<td>Pawpaw flowers and leaves, taro</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>SP2 market</td>
<td><em>Genemo</em>, Spinach, chilli</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Regular</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>SP3-SP4 market</td>
<td>sweet potatoes, taro, chilli</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
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**More Remote Area Traders**

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Products</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<td>53</td>
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<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Potatoes, carrot, spring onion</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
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<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Spring onion, squash, celery</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>7 to 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Carrot, spring onion, cabbage, squash, passion fruit, string beans, celery</td>
<td>Own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Carrot, spring onion, cabbage, squash, passion fruit, string beans, celery</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>7 to 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Spring onion, squash, celery, carrot, cabbage</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>7 to 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Spring Onion, Carrot, celery, <em>petsai</em>, cabbage, potatoes</td>
<td>Own Farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>6 to 10</td>
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<td>59</td>
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<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Spring onion, potatoes, squash, cabbage, carrot</td>
<td>Own Farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>6 to 10</td>
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<td>60</td>
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<td>Wosi Market</td>
<td>Spring onion, potatoes, squash, cabbage, carrot, <em>petsai</em></td>
<td>Own Farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>7 to 10</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Prafi SP4 market</td>
<td>corn, potatoes, spring onion</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Prafi SP4 market</td>
<td>spring onion, squash, passion fruit, celery</td>
<td>own farm</td>
<td>Casual</td>
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