

# Salasika

**INDONESIAN JOURNAL OF GENDER, WOMEN,  
CHILD, AND SOCIAL INCLUSION'S STUDIES**



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in Sedulur Sikep: Political Economy of Grobogan Farmers  
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# The Nature of Papuan Women Indigenous Entrepreneurship in Informal Agricultural Sector (A Case of Papuan Women Traders in Manokwari and Surrounding Areas of West Papua- Indonesia)

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## **ABSTRACT**

The majority of Papuan women in Manokwari, West Papua, Indonesia, are engaged in marketing activity in informal agricultural sector. However, the nature of their entrepreneurial activity and the factors that impede and enable these endeavors are not clearly understood. The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of the entrepreneurial marketing activity of these women along with constraints that impede them to identify opportunities for improving their position.

A theoretical framework, based on indigenous entrepreneurship literature and knowledge of Papuan context, 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 those Papuan women's motivation was driven by their immediate family's needs and their social and cultural obligations. The analysis also indicated that they were proven to be open to innovation. Further, they were outward looking and had market awareness. There was variation between the groups in their engagement with cash economy and the expression of their market awareness. Their implementation of marketing techniques varied, with urban traders employing a wider range of marketing strategies. Women traders from more remote areas and transmigration site depended heavily on their natural resources, whereas the majority of urban traders were more dependent on marketing resources and financial reserves in order to buy produce from other producers. Hence, more remote area and transmigration site traders were self-funded, while urban traders were partly self-funded. Traders from more remote area relied very heavily upon social capital in conducting their production and marketing activities, whereas traders in the other groups were less reliant on social capital. Traders from more remote area faced greater constraints related to poor road access, high cost transportation, and poor access to physical markets. In addition, all traders had poor access to government support.

These insights into the varied nature of indigenous entrepreneurship and the differences in constraints faced by different groups provide policy insights for Papuan government.

KEY WORDS: indigenous entrepreneurship, Papuan women, constraints, opportunities

## INTRODUCTION

Papua has potential for being one of the richest areas in Indonesia with its vast land and rich natural resources. However, it has the highest poverty percentage (BPS, 2016). Papuans themselves view poverty as lacking of material assets (Rumbewas, 2005). These people lack opportunities and support. The lack of infrastructure and isolation can be viewed as major constraints, which could contribute to the low level of welfare of Papuan community, to social and economic development in Papua (Bakti, 2008; UNDP, 2005b).

In addition to lack of facilities, another reason for the lack of cash income could be that the majority of Papuan community are involved in agricultural sector. These indigenous people are involved in farming activities, which is predominantly characterized by subsistence agriculture. 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). It is important to note that many of these development programs in Papua lack an understanding of and do not utilize traditional knowledge and culture of Papuan communities.

Law Number 21 on Special Autonomy (OTSUS) for Papua was enacted in 2001. The empowerment

of indigenous Papuans is now one of the priorities of the government since it is stated in the law. Papuan government wants Papuans to foster entrepreneurship through community based economic development, which is the focus of OTSUS, in order to improve their standard of living and welfare of their communities. The focus on community based economic activities will force the government to encourage Papuan community to undertake entrepreneurial activities that lead to greater economic independence for them. However, after more than 10 years of OTSUS implementation, there is no significant improvement on the level of indigenous Papuan community welfare.

Papuan entrepreneurs appear to face a number of constraints on their entrepreneurial activities. It has been claimed that Papuan culture is not future oriented and is characterized 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). 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. 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 or impede entrepreneurship of Papuan women, but little is known as there is no 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 to stimulate entrepreneurship in Papua.

The research aim is to gain a better understanding of entrepreneurial marketing activity of Papuan women in informal agricultural sector. Two research objectives are 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 and constraints that are impeding them in doing their entrepreneurial marketing activity.

## **INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

### **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 Labor Organization (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 colonialization 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, 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

Lasimbang (2008) adds a further dimension, mentioning that indigenous economic systems are characterized 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, concentrated in lower income groups, 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).

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). In short, encouraging entrepreneurship of indigenous people has been emphasized as a promising prospect of developing the economies of indigenous community.

### INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Entrepreneurship of indigenous people means self-sufficiency within their community setting (Furieux & Brown, 2007). Hindle and Lansdowne (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 organization formed can be work in private, public or non-profit sectors. The benefit of the activities ranges from individual profit to multiple or social and economic advantages for the whole community.

Dana (2007) emphasizes that indigenous entrepreneurship is a form of self-employment based on indigenous knowledge. This 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, factors that make up indigenous entrepreneurship can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1  
*Factor defining indigenous entrepreneurship*

| Factor   | Author/Source |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1             | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Culture has strong influence                     | x             | x | x | x | x |   | X |
| Based on indigenous knowledge                    |               | x |   |   | x |   |   |
| Has meaning as self-sufficiency in the community |               |   |   |   |   | x |   |
| Has both economic and non- economic goals        |               |   | x |   | x |   | x |
| Depend on natural resources                      |               | X |   |   | X |   |   |
| Operate at the margin                            |               |   |   | X |   |   |   |
| Involved in small scale business                 |               |   |   | X |   |   |   |
| Collectivism and reciprocal                      | X             |   | x |   | x |   |   |
| Benefit the community                            |               | x | x |   | x |   | x |

*Note.*

- |                        |                                |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Maphosa (1998)      | 5. Dana (2007)                 |
| 2. Peredo et al (2004) | 6. Furneaux and Brown (2007)   |
| 3. Lindsay (2005)      | 7. Hindle and Lansdowne (2007) |
| 4. Fairbairn (2006)    |                                |

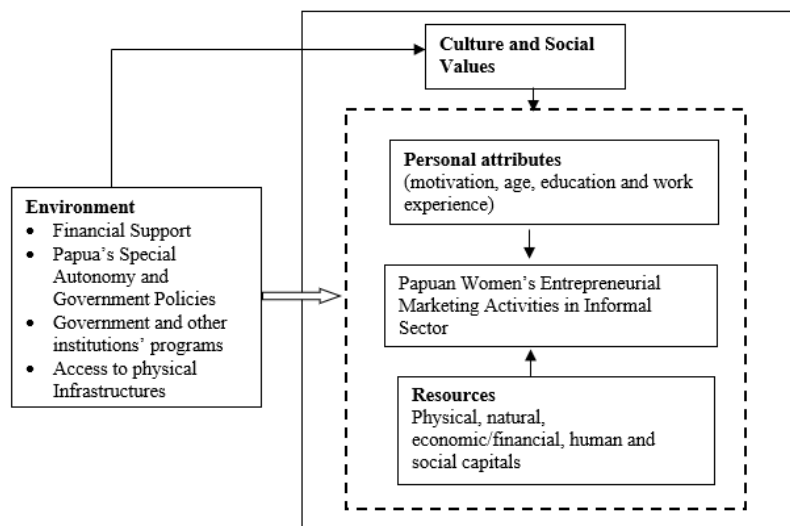


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of Indigenous Entrepreneurship by Papuan Women Traders



Table 1 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.

At this point, a framework that integrates the themes of indigenous entrepreneurship literature and the Papuan context was established to guide this research. It is described in Figure 1.

Therefore, all of the factors outlined in Figure 1 and the interrelationships between them will be considered in order to understand entrepreneurial marketing activities of Papuan women.

Case study was adopted in this research as the primary qualitative method. 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 preferred strategies 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).

The data from fieldwork were gathered through primary interviews and observations and secondary data collection. In this research, semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used. A list of key questions was prepared to guide the interviews. The key questions were aimed at getting information on Papuan women's marketing activity and focused on how and why questions in order to get in-depth and breadth of information from these traders. Further, representatives from government offices and institutions, non-government organizations, 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 informal sector.

The data gained from these interviews were supported by my observations. Masson (1996, p. 60) mentions that observation, and in particular, participant observation, is a method to generate data that involves the researcher immersing her/himself in a research setting, and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, interaction, relationships, actions, and other aspects within it. I observed Papuan women's activities at the markets in terms of how they prepared their produce, how they sold it, what they did to attract buyers, how they interacted with buyers and other traders, and what happened after they finished selling. The observation did not only focus on my respondents, but also on 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 were research reports of State University staff and students on traditional farming and marketing activities of Papuan women, and reports from university research centers, such as Women's Development Research Centre (P4A UNIPA) and Regional Economic Development and Fiscal Research Centre (P3FED).

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 to some topics.

## PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PAPUAN WOMEN TRADERS

### ETHNICITY

All respondents from Arfak Mountain and Transmigration Site (Meyakh, Hatam, Sough and Moile) were the sub-tribes of Arfak big tribe. All sub-tribes spoke different languages but shared a similar culture. Meanwhile, urban traders were more heterogenic as they came from different areas of Papua and West Papua Provinces, such as Biak, Ayamaru, Nabire, Serui, Meyakh and Merauke.

### AGE

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) - showed that they were in the middle age range as shown in Tabel 2.

TABLE 2  
*Age Range of Trader Respondents*

| No | Age     | Numbers of Respondents |       |           |
|----|---------|------------------------|-------|-----------|
|    |         | Arfak Mountain         | Prafi | Manokwari |
| 1  | 15 - 24 | -                      | -     | 2         |
| 2  | 25 - 34 | 5                      | 3     | 15        |
| 3  | 35 - 44 | 4                      | 4     | 15        |
| 4  | 45 - 54 | 1                      | 2     | 7         |
| 5  | 54<     | -                      | 1     | 3         |

Those middle-aged women could be most productively engaged in farming and marketing activities. In addition, they had greater mobility, which allowed them to travel to the city and transmigration sites to sell their produce.

### EDUCATION

There was not much variation in the education of respondents in more remote areas and transmigration sites. Most of trader respondents (80-90 percent) were not formally educated and only one to two had experienced primary

education. On the other hand, majority of urban traders were educated in primary and intermediate education (83 percent), and only a few (12 percent) experienced higher degree of education. However, 4.76 percent of them had no education.

The lack of formal education of respondents in more remote and suburban areas was because the lack of education infrastructure in the area and their parents saw no need to support their children's education.

In all three cases, Papuan women traders who were involved in informal marketing activities lacked formal education. Furthermore, they had no formal marketing training.

#### FAMILY MEMBERS

Family members supply the household labor resources for farming, but also determine the consumption needs of the family.

Most of the respondents in more remote areas had 5 to 9 family members, with 21 having less than that and 5 respondents having more than 9 family members. In general, the community has large families, as they need labor for productive activities. However, the term family in this community includes extended family, and not just nuclear family.

### **THE NATURE OF PAPUAN WOMEN ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

#### SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VALUES

Literature based theoretical framework suggested that motivation to become involved in marketing activities is influenced by

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

On the other hand, the transmigration site traders appeared to work individually in their agricultural activities, and were involved in various development programs. However, their social and cultural values were still a key part of their social lives. Likewise, the urban traders appeared to work individually at the market. Socialization of the urban traders was 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. The contributions are part of their investment and social security in the future. On the other hand, the urban traders' interaction with cash economy, and with other Indonesian communities, may be perceived to bring many changes to their social and cultural values. It

was found that they might have less contribution to social and cultural obligations, but the obligations must still be met by many of the traders as that was a tradition that they felt obligated to follow.

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

#### PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES AND MOTIVATION

The cases of Papuan women traders from all areas - Minyambouw and surrounding areas (more remote area), Prafi (transmigration site), Manokwari City and suburban areas (urban areas) - showed that they were in the middle age range, a period of their life when they could be productively engaged in farming and marketing activities. In this age range, they had greater mobility, which allowed them to travel to the city and transmigration sites to sell their produce. Even though the traders from urban and surrounding suburban areas had more access to education facilities and government, their level of education was not very different from that of the more remote area and transmigration site traders. In all three cases, Papuan women traders who were involved in informal marketing activities lacked formal education and formal marketing training. In general, their marketing knowledge and skills came from informal knowledge from their community, family and their own experience.

A striking feature to emerge from all cases was that those Papuan women were open to innovation. While this may be expected from urban area traders who have greater access, it is interesting that this can also be seen in traders from other areas. Even though their activities might be considered as subsistence (traditional), traders in more remote area and transmigration site adjusted their farming and marketing activities by utilizing knowledge they had learnt from development programs and their own observations of what the market wants.

There was variation in the women's engagement with 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. Urban traders were well engaged with the cash economy as they had the benefit of living in urban and suburban areas, where economic growth occurred rapidly and where they had good access to physical economic infrastructure. Transmigration site traders had been engaged with cash economy for a lesser period, since they had become involved in the Transmigration Program and Oil Palm NESS Project. On the other hand, meaningful engagement of women traders from more remote area with cash economy was only a recent phenomenon, which was mainly driven by their direct access to the markets since the road was constructed in 2003. This road 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 urban women's involvement in informal marketing activity.

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 had higher market awareness than the other two groups. Many of those urban traders were very experienced in their marketing activities, and many of them had changed their marketing activities in order to meet market demand and increase their sales. On the other hand, traders from more remote area and transmigration site traded only if their produce were ready to be harvested, or if they had a need for cash. These three groups of traders appear to have awareness of competition at the market, especially traders in urban areas. However, in general, these Papuan traders only focus on selling their own produce, not developing strategies to outcompete other traders.

Even though all of those traders had limited marketing knowledge and few formal skills, they actively sought to add value to their produce. They had different ways of doing this, such as cleaning, packaging, selling in small lots and transporting the produce. They also applied basic marketing techniques to increase their sales. Their implementation of

marketing techniques varied, and this was done in simple ways. Traders in more remote area applied basic marketing techniques, such as growing produce demanded 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 appeared to make less effort in marketing their produce. This might be because they had other sources of cash income, and so their trading activities were not so important, whereas the remote area traders relied on their trading activities as their key source of cash. Meanwhile, urban traders demonstrated more effort in implementing marketing techniques, such as selling convenience produce, ready to cook produce (e.g. fish soup spices ingredient, scraped papaya, sliced jackfruit or bamboo shoots), and durable produce. In addition, they also traded in more than one location, bought in bulk and bargaining, or gave discount options to buyers with not enough money. It appeared that the urban traders were more profit oriented. They specified part of their income for productive use, which was allocated for their next marketing activities. The other two groups did not allocate any income for productive use, and they used it immediately for consumption, such as buying food items, and contributing to cultural and social obligations.

## RESOURCES

Women traders from more remote areas and the transmigration site depended mainly on their farms for their marketing activities. Although their farming activities

were semi- subsistence, the produce from their farms was enough to generate their cash requirements for immediate needs. Land and labor were their main resources in conducting their farming activities. The land used for their traditional farms was communal. However, the area used for farming by women traders in transmigration site was becoming limited, since most of the land was used for oil palm plantations and Transmigration Program.

Household members were their main labor source for farming. It is important to note that, for those traders, who were part of the Arfak community, family members were not only limited to the nuclear family, but also extended family. Besides sharing the land, more remote areas traders also shared their labor resources, through which they supported each other in their farming activities. On the other hand, the transmigration site traders behaved more individually in doing their farming activities. The traders from more remote areas and the transmigration site still applied shifting cultivation by using slash and burn system. As a result, they were unlikely to spend their income for more intensive production use. Either group in their traditional farms did not commonly use fertilizers or pesticides.

By contrast, resources that were important to traders in urban areas were marketing resources. The marketing resources of most of those traders were adequate. They included cash capital and assets, such as pushcarts, selling huts, wooden tables, coconut scraping machine and wheelbarrows. The majority of urban traders were intermediate traders, so cash was needed to buy produce from other

producers. Some of those urban traders had permanent spaces at the market, either in a form of permanent concrete tables provided by the government or wooden tables provided by themselves. The side road traders provided their own selling huts, which included wooden tables to display their produce. However, a lot of urban traders did not have permanent spots at the market. Thus, rice sacks and plaited mats were used to display their produce on the ground.

Traders from more remote area and transmigration site were self-funded. Both of these trader groups appeared to lack access to financial institutions, although there were one or two financial institutions available in the transmigration site. However, those transmigration site traders might not need more cash capital to do their marketing due to the casual nature of their trading and their small-scale activities. The urban traders were partly self-funded. Many of them also got loans from microfinance organization (private cooperative). Further, a few urban traders got financial support from the government. However, the majority of urban traders did not have access to government financial support.

Transmigration site traders and their family appeared to behave more individually when conducting their productive activities, which included managing their traditional farm. On the contrary, access to social capital was much more highly relied upon in more remote areas during productive activities. As stated previously, they shared resources such as land and labor. Further, they had strong social networks, which were illustrated by their decisions on where to sell, and the support given by their

community members who provided free accommodation in urban areas and transmigration site. Traders from more remote areas also fostered good relationships with public vehicle (four-wheel drive) drivers whom they relied on heavily for their access to market. In contrast, urban traders did not appear to access social capital to the same degree when doing their marketing activities. However, they did help each other on some occasions and would share their selling spaces with others whom they knew.

### MARKETING ACTIVITIES

The types of marketing activities Papuan women engaged in depend on available resources and the way they manage them. Traders from more remote area and transmigration site traders were the producers of fresh produce that they sold. The farming activities of the more remote area traders were semi-subsistence, but they also planted highland crops, such as potatoes, celery, spring onion and carrot mainly for trading. It was the act of selling what was surplus to consumption. However, they did not carry out their marketing activities on a regular basis. Instead, they only sold their produce if they needed cash to meet their immediate needs and cultural obligations and if they had money to travel to the market.

Likewise, transmigration site traders marketing activities is also driven by their immediate needs, which are mainly food and cultural obligations. Although this group benefited from good access to roads, transportation and local markets, these forces did not stimulate the traders in the transmigration site to

be more active in their marketing activities. In contrast, their selling activity depended on what could be harvested from their farms or if they had a need for cash to buy food items. Thus, in some respects, despite their better access, they were less engaged with the market than traders from more remote areas were. The possible reason for the casual nature of these transmigration site traders' marketing activity is the fact that they have various sources of income.

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

The urban traders had recognized marketing techniques to improve profit and volume sold. Some changed 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 seemed not to have made any significant changes to improve their business since they started, as their marketing activities were 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 had made a significant contribution to their families' income.

#### 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 was little assistance for these Papuan women's marketing activities. Even though a few of women traders from urban areas did get financial support from various government institutions, the majority of them did not have access to government support for their marketing activities. Government support procedures seemed to be complicated for these traders, who were limited by their lack of education. In addition, there was poor information flow on available government support since government only targeted particular traders or groups. By contrast, government programs in transmigration site focused on farming activities. Many of the programs focused on increasing agricultural production and introducing new crop varieties. Thus, the programs had an indirect impact on stimulating marketing activities of the transmigration site women.

Although there were some differences between women traders from urban area and the

transmigration site, in general, both groups had good access to physical infrastructure, such as roads, transportation, and physical markets. In contrast, more remote area traders had poor access to market infrastructure in the urban area where most of them sold their produce.

With respect to financial environment, there are similarities in the three cases of women traders. They all lacked access to formal financial institutions, such as BRI, Mandiri Bank and Papua Bank, which were actually owned by Indonesian and Papuan government. In addition, the women traders from more remote areas and transmigration site had no access to microfinance. Lack of knowledge of institution's credit schemes and of how to get loans hindered remote area women from borrowing money from both banks and microfinance institutions. In addition, they might not be targeted by lenders due to lack of collateral, long distance home locations and casual marketing activities. However, those women traders were self-finance and it was not entirely clear whether they did so because they could not access microfinance or whether they did not access microfinance because they were self-funded.

The urban traders, who were expected to have direct access to commercial banks due to their locational advantages, were in fact lacking access to these bank credit schemes. Although they were willing to get loans from commercial banks, lack of collateral and non-permanent selling locations became impediments to accessing bank lending schemes. However, unlike the other two groups of traders, urban traders did have an



opportunity to access microfinance loan schemes. Regular traders appeared to be the main target of microfinance.

However, microfinance schemes had high interest rates, which made it difficult to repay the loan.

Urban traders' engagement with 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. Those women contributed to cultural obligations mainly to their close relatives. Likewise, transmigration traders' relocation from their previous home villages and their involvement in development programs led to an awareness of other communities and practices, and this might have increased their engagement in cash economy. Even though they had strong cultural and social values, they were more individual in their outlook and more focused on their productive work, as they had more responsibilities in this regard, due to their engagement in agricultural programs. In their case, external factors had caused a shift in their cultural and social values.

### POLE OF PAPUAN WOMEN TRADERS ENTREPRENEURSHIP CONTINUUM

In order to gain a higher-level understanding of the nature of entrepreneurship by Papuan women, I propose that indigenous and western entrepreneurship are not completely separated phenomena, but two ends of a pole along which entrepreneurship occurs. Therefore, at one end of the pole, there is highly indigenous entrepreneurship, which is more communal in nature, focuses on the community, bases its activity on their indigenous knowledge, sets economic and non-economic goals, is involved in small scale business, is dependent on immediately available resources or natural resources, and conducts activities for the benefit of indigenous community. At the other end of the pole, there is western-style entrepreneurship, which is based on individualism, focuses on profit and growth, is innovative, and depends primarily on the capability of individual entrepreneur. This concept is visually illustrated in Figure 3.

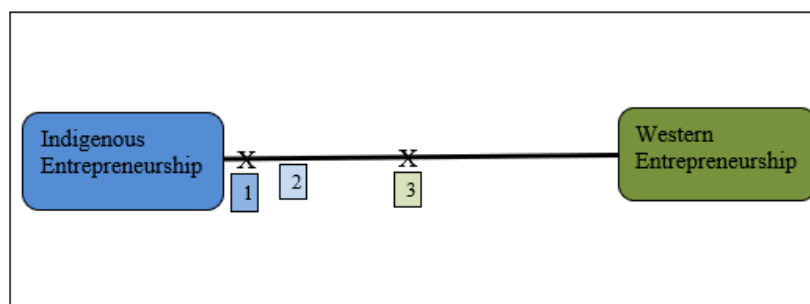


Figure 3. Pole of Entrepreneurship Continuum

The entrepreneurship style of Papuan women traders from Arfak Mountain or more remote area sits near indigenous entrepreneurship

pole, and is shown as number 1 in Figure 3. This is because their culture and social values are embedded in their entrepreneurial

activities. They have strong communal and collective values that are shown by sharing resources, communal labor practices, and having 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 cash economy. Therefore, their activities are becoming semi-subsistence as they grow highland produce mainly for trading at the urban and transmigration site markets. However, they are not fully engaged with the market. Their marketing activities are casual and are determined by their needs (family and cultural needs that must be met) or money for transportation.

Transmigration site traders share most of the same entrepreneurship characteristics with 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 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 Transmigration Program and Oil Palm NESS project. Because of their responsibilities in these development programs, each family focuses only on their own agricultural activities. These traders have been more engaged with cash economy. Their traditional farms are their resource from which they can base their marketing activities.

Although they have good access to infrastructure and transmigration site markets, their marketing activities are casual. 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, more remote area traders are more entrepreneurial because they grow crops to meet the needs of the market.

The entrepreneurship style 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 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 basic marketing knowledge and skills, and implement marketing techniques at the markets. Thus, their activities can be categorized 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 the differences between the three cases through this higher-level insight into the nature of entrepreneurship between indigenous and western style

entrepreneurship. I argue that entrepreneurship can be observed at points along a continuum.

## CONCLUSION

Cultural values are important parts of Papuan entrepreneurship. It has been suggested that Papuans are not future oriented, 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 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 informal sectors. The constraints faced by these women entrepreneurs are varied. It was found that the more remote area traders had more constraints associated with poor road access and high cost transportation as well as poor access to physical market. All of the Papuan traders had poor access to commercial bank credit schemes, but urban traders had better access to microfinance. In general, those women had poor access to government support.

They were motivated by their families' immediate needs, including their children's education. Their marketing activities were diverse in terms of the type of marketing, scale of business, the produce they sold,

sources of produce, and selling locations. They had adequate resources for their marketing. These women were partly-funded and many of them got loans from a microfinance organization.

In short, two levels of government (Provincial and Regional), education institutions, financial institutions, and private sectors in Manokwari could potentially work together to provide multiple assistance for Papuan women traders. In addition, if these stakeholders understand the differences between these groups, they can then target assistance for each of them so that they can specifically address group constraints.

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## ABOUT

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SJ is inspired by the need to put into visibility the Indonesian and South East Asian women to ensure a dissemination of knowledge to a wider general audience.

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There are other journals which address those topics, but SJ approaches the broad areas of gender, sexuality and feminism in an integrated fashion. It further addresses the issue of international collaboration and inclusion as existing gaps in the area of academic publishing by (a) crossing language boundaries and creating a space for publishing and (b) providing an opportunity for innovative emerging scholars to engage in the academic dialogue with established researchers.

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