The process of economic change of the Papuans in Jayapura

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Abstract. This paper seeks to explain the process of economic change of the Papuans in Jayapura which tends to be subsistence-oriented in the face of a market economy that came with the wave of transmigration since the 1960s. Amid market economy penetration, Papuans are included in a dual economy where a subsistence orientation to meet domestic needs is still being carried out but at the same time facing a capitalistic market economy so that what follows is only the expansion of subsistence and marginality. History shows that Papuans with a subsistence-based economy find it difficult to compete with price-based markets and a large number of migrants having complex trade networks and more established access to expanses. In addition, the relatively small scale of trade and the lack of technical aspects of trading in a market economy such as bargaining, debts and subscription systems make it difficult for Papuans to collect profits from their trading. The community and the regional or central government responded to this with strategies and policies that provided momentum for the expansion of their commercial businesses. This study then looks at how the strategies and momentum that emerged and utilized optimally by the Papuans to develop their economy and what factors would inhibit or drive it.

1. Introduction

The main problem discussed in this paper is the economic change of the native people of Papua or Papuans using market settings and trading activities. From the historical point of view, the economic change of the Papuans has actually occurred since the Dutch colonial period, even before when the West Papua peninsula associated with the Sultanate of Tidore. During the colonial period a number of plantations and mines were established in Papua, the Papuans were also employed in the colonial industry. However, the political turmoil and the composition of workers who were dominated by Indo-Dutch migrants from Java, and other eastern Indonesia regions made the economic change did not affect the Papuans evenly, especially the lower class and highland areas habitants.

Post-colonial time is an influential time on Papua. It was the 1960s when Papua broke away from the Netherlands and became a part of Indonesia, a year that marked not only a change in the country's political orientation but also its economy in Papua. At that time Papua began to be resided by migrants from Sulawesi, Java, Madura and other eastern Indonesian islands. The incoming wave of migrants consists of two types, namely those from the government through the transmigration program sponsored by the World Bank, as well as spontaneous migrants, with the intentions on economic motives which to earn a living on this land of Cenderawasih. The composition of the migrants is dominated by the military, civil servants, as well as poor farmers from Java and Sulawesi who do not
own land in their hometown. Then Bugis and Javanese migrants, with their own capital working as carpenters, fishermen and small traders, slowly began to dominate various economic sectors in Jayapura on a small and medium scale. Market and economy on a broader scale is dominated by ethnic Chinese who have been well-established as the middle class since the colonial period [1]. The migrants, especially those who trade, in addition to bringing the market economy also introduced new commodities in the market such as household appliances, electronic equipment, clothing, machinery, and so on which were not yet available in the Papuan markets.

On the other hand, Papuans in the colonial or post-colonial period were based on an exchange-oriented economy with a subsistence orientation. Hunting, gathering forest goods, pangkur sagu (gathering sago), fishing, and farming were economic activities carried out by the Papuans to meet household needs. The encounter with migrants in the 1960s made a change to the economy of the Papuans. Those who initially carried out economic activities to meet their own household needs, then began to trade in markets, in the crowds or on the roadside. However, faced with migrant traders, the position of the Papuans still cannot compete even today, which seems marginal. But what cannot be ruled out is the fact that Papuans are involved in the trade, meaning that Papuans are not passive in responding to change.

I argue that the changes that have taken place in the economy of the Papuans after nearly 60 years of joining Indonesia are an expansion of the subsistence economy. The economic activities of Papuans who previously hunted, gathered forest goods, fish and farmed increase with trade. The outcomes from these activities are used to meet domestic needs, while the surplus is sold through trade is also used to buy commodities that cannot be fulfilled from forests and nature. In this case, the position of Papuans is trapped in a “dual economy” where the subsistence orientation in their economic system is confronted with migrants and capitalistic markets [2]. To explain this, the paper is then divided into four parts. First, an explanation of the historical background of the Papuan subsistence economy; second, Papuan trading activities and encounter with migrants; third, the momentum created for the development and expansion of the subsistence economy of the Papuans; fourth, conclusion.

2. Methodology
The primary data for this paper was obtained in Jayapura through qualitative data collection: participatory observation and in-depth interviews with market participants of Papuan traders and migrants. Data collection was conducted from March to June 2019 at the Waena market, the Youtefa wholesale market, the Gelael market (the Papuan mothers or Pasar mama-mama Papua) and Papuan traders selling at the side of the road from Sentani, Waena, Abepera and Jayapura. The observation in question is as described by Pink (2008) [3] namely “urban tour ethnography”, where all the senses of the researcher are sensitively used to see, hear, feel things that are relevant during the study. The results of these observations are then contained in narrative notes, photographs and other documentation which are then used as writing material. Participation itself is the same as in ethnographic methods in general, I made visits to markets, shops and stalls; talked casually with traders at Youtefa Market, Gelael Market and other markets; talked to fishermen in Hamadi; chatting in coffee shops; down the sidewalks of the street where the trade happens; even conversing with traders when stuck in traffic on public transportation. Interviews were also conducted using the “life history” method to find out the process experienced by traders throughout the time. Secondary data is collected through literature studies and scouring the internet in search for news and information from credible sources. Data analysis is also in narrative-descriptive manner in order to see the details of the economic activities of Papuan traders.
2.1. The subsistence economy of Papuans and the beginning of contact with outsiders

“Tanah Papua tanah yang kaya, surga kecil jatuh ke bumi”, (Land of Papua is prosperous land, the little paradise fell on earth), so was the lyrics of the famous singer in Papua, Edo Kondologit. Papua is indeed rich in resources, ranging from the sea, forests, and even minerals in the earth's womb. As far as I read and witnessed, the Papuans from the past until now depend directly on natural products. Those who live in the mountains make ends meet by hunting and gathering forest goods, farming in the hills, fishing in rivers or lakes; while those on the coast do the same things in addition to fishing, and collecting crabs and shrimp in the sea, beaches and mangrove forests. Various studies have been conducted on this matter, such as by Koentjaraningrat (1994) [4], Garnaut and Manning (1979) [5], Muller (2009, 2011) [6,7] and Upton (2009) [8], the series of experts noted the economic activities of the Papuans as a form of subsistence economy in which the results of production is used to meet the needs of themselves and families.

Hunting and gathering is the daily activities for the Papuans. Hunted animals such as deer, wild boar, mouse deer, tree and land kangaroos, birds, etc.; while harvesting forest goods in the form of sago, fruit, forest vegetables, etc.; all of these forest goods are used to meet family needs [6,7]. Specifically, for sago harvest, there are separate ways of production and ritual, usually the workers are women and are carried out by the nuclear family or extended family [9] Sago is the main food source for the people of Papua, especially the lowlands, so it is not surprising that sago has a culturally privileged position as used for dowry in marriage. Sago which is widely distributed in Papua even began to spread to the Maluku and Sulawesi regions during the Sultanate of Tidore in contact with the Bird's Head region of West Papua [10]. Trade contacts during this kind of lights are made possible by trading through exchange.

The basis of the Papuan subsistence economy is exchange, the main objective of this economic system is to achieve social solidarity in which the value of exchange is intangible to capital but as self-esteem, social existence, and social power [1]. East of the island of Papua, Malinowski's (1922) [11] classical ethnography of Kula also exhibits the same economic behaviour as a form of trade through exchange. The study of other anthropologists, Howards and Sanggenafa (2005) [12] also mentioned the existence of similar trade in the Bird's Head region, especially in the Meybrat, Madik and Karon people who trade the eastern cloth. The object functions as payment of dowry, fines, and death ceremonies. A series of experts also noted similar trade practices with eastern cloth and or shells in various regions in Papua such as the Me in the Central Mountains [13] and the Dani in the Baliem Valley [14]. The research shows that the Papuans have made trade contact with outsiders, although from various sources mentioned that typical trade carried out is still an exchange that leads to a use value or in other words subsistence oriented.

Contact with outsiders that had a major impact on Papua began with the arrival of the Dutch. When the Netherlands with its trade union set foot in Papua in 1898, it was then that a new era of the economy began to stand. The extraction of natural resources from oil, gas, minerals to agricultural and plantation products has taken over with industrial form. This kind of economic practice did not contribute much to the welfare of the Papuans because of the skilled workforce that handled by most of the Indo-Dutch migrants from Java. Although there are examples of cases of Papuan community involvement in cocoa plantations in Nimboran, their participation is limited to smallholder farmers while production and prices come from the Dutch government. This description shows that Papuan community participation has been limited at least since the Dutch colonial period. Ironically, this continued until when Papua controversially became part of Indonesia. The first investment of foreign companies in post-colonial Indonesia is not in Java, Kalimantan or Sumatra, but in Papua. The extraction and exploitation of Papua's nature continued in the post-colonial era under the foot of Mount Grasberg by Freeport McMoran then continued in parts of West Papua where land and sea were drilled for British Petroleum's petrol and petroleum mines. The same pattern is repeated, the absorption of labor in mining industry companies like this is handled more by migrants, leaving the marginalized people of Papua in glum.
2.2. Marginality, the encounter with migrants, and trading activities of the Papuans

2.2.1. Marginality. I will begin the discussion of this section with the marginality of Papuans in terms of economics to understand how and where the current economic position of the Papuans is. From the outside, Papua is seen as a land rich in resources, promising land for business, a location that is the top destination of migrants. Looking inward, as soon as I arrived at the Sentani Airport in Jayapura, my eyes were dazed at some betel nut, rambutans, and guavas peddlers who were walking around carrying their goods in hand and others laid out on the floor. “Here here, ripen fruit fresh from the trees,” the mama-mama (mothers) try to lure prospective buyers. In the hall of the arrival of the airport, the Papuan mama-mama continue to make rounds, in front of coffee shops and bakery franchises that are booming in various corners of airports in Indonesia, they still offer their own farm goods. Contrasting is the visuality of how Papuan mama-mama compete with other traders for money even though their market segmentation is different. Elvis F.F. Rumboy (2019) [15], a poet from Sentani also mention this conditions in his poem:

“Siang tersengat mentari
Malam ditemani pelita berasap
...  
Kadang aku harus mengemis cahaya lampu
Dari toko para kaum pendatang
Untuk menerangi daganganku
Aku tak henti berharap”

(Afternoon stung by the sun
The nights accompanied by a smoky lamp
...  
Sometimes I have to beg for light
From the shop of the migrants
To shed light on my merchandise
I hope endlessly)

The position of indigenous Papuan traders as in the Rumboy poetry narrative above is indeed marginal juxtaposed with migrant traders. It can be seen from the territorial competition, many native Papuan traders sell along the side of the road from Sentani to Jayapura city while the majority of the migrants occupy shop stalls, shophouses, or street vendors. Furthermore in terms of market networks, migrants, especially the Bugis, already have an economic network that is integrated with an economic system such as patronage and capital relations with large traders, while indigenous Papuan traders rely solely on their own garden products or network of organizations such as SOLPAP (Solidaritas Pedagang Papua; Solidarity of Papuan Traders), KAPP (Kamar Adat Pedagang Papua; Papua Traditional Traders' Chamber) whose scope is limited where not all Papuan traders are accommodated in it.

The impression of Papuans marginality in the economic arena on its own land is inseparable from the long history of Papua's image as a frontier. Anna L. Tsing (2005) [16] in her research in Kalimantan explained the concept as:

"A frontier is an edge of space and time: a zone of not yet – not yet mapped, not yet regulated. It is a zone of unmapping: even in its planning, a frontier is imagined as unplanned. Frontiers aren’t just discovered at the edge, they are projects in making geographical and temporal experience. Frontiers make wildness, entangling visions and vines and violence; their wildness is both material and imaginative. This wildness reaches backward as well as forward in time, bringing old forms of savagery to life in the contemporary landscape. Frontiers energize old fantasies, even as they embody their impossibilities"
Papua has always been seen as an “empty land” where religious ideology [17], the pressure of capitalism through industry [18], politics and development by the state [19–22] insistently whack the ground and its inhabitants. Not surprisingly, various sentiments emerged based on issues of identity, politics and economics. One concept that has emerged since the colonial era of this sentiment is amber, which means straight-haired migrants and the komin; curly-haired Papuans [19]. This was also shown in my previous study that amber-komin sentiment also occurred in the economy in Papua, where amber specifically referred to migrant traders (Chinese, Bugis, Javanese, Manado, Minahasa) and komin was native Papuan traders [1]. Furthermore, this identity and primordial sentiment that appears in the trade space in Jayapura is also caused by differences in the access to economic resources [23].

The visuals of Papuan merchants holding merchandise on the side of the road, sidewalks, in the bright lights of immigrant shops, even dealing with malls and restaurants is the first glance of marginality if you visit Jayapura. If you are lucky and stay longer for a week or two, stories about the heartbreaking failures of the Papuans who sell land for money, which are set aside because the stalls are shifted and bought by migrants, will certainly fill your ears everyday. But this is a product of a long history, a dialectic that needs to be parsed in order to understand the economy of the Papuans especially in Jayapura. I will begin to elaborate on this from the Papuan community meeting in Jayapura with migrants and see in more detail through narratives about the trading activities they carry out.

2.2.2. Encounter with the migrants

The beginnings of the economic marginality of the Papuans began to be clearly seen at least since 1963 when Papua joined Indonesia. In addition to marking a change in state political orientation, in those years’ various development programs under Suharto’s New Order government were implemented in Papua. One program that has a very wide impact is transmigration, in which densely populated areas such as Java, Madura, Bali, NTT and Sulawesi are areas of origin for migrants along with other low-population islands as their destinations including Papua [24,25].

In the transmigration program, local migrant participants were actually involved, but the percentage was not as much as from outside Papua. But as described by previous experts, that the problem of transmigration is not just about how many people from outside Papua came. Transmigration requires land for economic activities of migrants, also land for settlements, while Papua which is considered “empty” by the government is not true. Papua is very heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity and language, as well as customs and access to land. As in other regions, this is a big problem because of land access competition that can lead to anxiety and sense of loss [26] and a sense of marginalization due to differences in knowledge and expertise in certain matters with local communities [24]. Moreover, what happened in Papua is; history shows an increase in the demographic of migrants compared to the population of indigenous Papuans [27,28]. Not just a matter of numbers, but the quality of life between migrants and indigenous Papuans also shows a gap. This became a critical issue and had triggered conflict in the early 2000s [2].

The Bugis and Javanese migrants at that time were carpenters, fishermen and small traders. They slowly began to dominate various economic sectors in Jayapura on a small and medium scale. Market and economy on a broader scale is dominated by ethnic Chinese who have been well-established as the middle class since the colonial period [1]

At present the economic activities of migrants from outside Papua are more diverse, ranging from trading in markets, transportation as ojek (taxibike) and public taxi drivers, fishermen in Hamadi, to private and government offices, and educational institutions both as staff or educators and other sectors. In the market economy itself, migrant traders have complex trading strategies such as relying on kinship and tribal identity networks, patron-client relations, trading around picking up customers, investing large capital in access to trading spaces, etc. The most important thing is the existence of a strong willingness to return profits for the benefit of business reproduction, this factor is difficult for indigenous Papuan traders due to the large social costs incurred and lack of access to initial capital.
An example of the complexity of the trading network can be seen from the Bugis-Makassar traders, for example, some of the successful Hajis in Jayapura became patrons and then withdrew workers from Makassar to become their clients. The “sommpungugi” tribal identity-based network and kinship called “asseajing” is a common network in overseas areas [1]. Patron is not only economically responsible for the work of the client but also in the capital back-up of close relatives or other clients. Along with patronage, there is a mechanism of capital circulation through arisan which in Bugis language is called “andeleq”, the money in this arisan round is very helpful for members because in principle arisan is a type of credit system in the community. The Bugis-Makassar migrant also has an active community of interaction, the KKSS (Kerukunan Keluarga Sulawesi Selatan; South Sulawesi Family Community), the community network is something that strengthens these migrants.

In addition to the complexity of the trade network in the Bugis community in Jayapura, migrants from Java also patronized, arisan, and also formed “paguyuban” or community circles from the same regency in Java. This kind of community is usually named after the district like “Paguyuban Boyolali; Boyolali Circle”, “Paguyuban Sragen; Sragen Circle”, “Paguyuban Malang; Malang Circle”, etc. It is in these small communities that information about business and work is often discussed and informed. This means that migrants from Bugis-Makassar, Java, Manado, Toraja, NTT, Bali and others have a complex network that accommodates aspirations for at least business based on solidarity of ethnicity or kinship.

2.2.3. Papuans trading activities
If you visit Jayapura, the description of Papuan traders as I described at the beginning of this section is also common along the road to Jayapura. Starting from the Sentani district, the outskirts of the road and in front of the expo terminal and Waena national housing complex, in front of the migrants’ shopping complex and the Abepera-Kotaraja mall, to the capital center in Papua in the Jayapura central business district complex. Goods that is commonly seen are vegetables namely kale, chillies, cassava leaves, papaya leaves and flowerbuds, greens, taro leaves, long beans, corn; sweet potatoes batatas, bete (taro), kasbi (cassava); areca nut; sago; fresh water fish such as carp and tilapia; salt water fish such as salem, cakalang, and tuna; fruits such as bananas, matoa, rambutan, mango and other seasonal fruits. Papuan traders obtain goods from vegetables, fruit, sago and areca nut from their own gardens and also bought from middlemen who are migrants at the Youtefa wholesale market. Fresh water fish are obtained from Lake Sentani by fishing or netting themselves and from Sentani fish breeders who are generally migrants from Sulawesi. Salt water fish are obtained from the fish market center in Hamadi which is also dominated by Bugis-Makassar fishermen from Sulawesi. In general, Papuan traders occupy the economic pyramid at the lowest level of either the types of vegetables, fruit, areca nut or in fisheries [21]. I can explain further the economic activities of indigenous Papuan traders in the following narrative paragraphs.

Heading to Pasar Sentani Baru, a Papuan trader, Mama Yuliana from Genyem district, with a sack on her behalf, had held his vegetable goods on a cast cement that had broken since 08.00 WIT. This trading location is not settled but always moves depending on her arrival in the market, if she comes earlier than other traders then she can choose a more strategic place that is a place that is often passed by people. Contrarily, if she comes late then she can only lay her vegetable goods in the remaining places. This makes her vulnerable in access to trade, if she get a less strategic place, often the goods do not sell and must bear losses. The rest of the unsold goods are brought home for family meals at home or sent to his son who works at Depapre.

From Genyem Mama Yuliana leaves since early morning using public transportation, often called “taxi” in Jayapura. The taxi fare for herself and the luggage of her goods is IDR 100,000, so for commuting she needs at least an additional IDR 5,000 for her fare without the merchandise even if everything sells. But if the goods are not fully sold, then she must bring it home, which means she still needs to pay for luggage. In addition to the taxi fare, Mama Yuliana also has to pay a market levy of IDR 2,000 each time she trades at Pasar Baru Sentani. The vegetables she sold came from the garden she had planted herself in her garden in Genyem, because of the limited harvest of the number
of vegetables she planted, so in a week she could only sell twice. Meanwhile, the trading technique that Mama Yuliana applied is just like the migrants', she does not reject bargain from potential buyers and agrees if the buyer's offer was not too far from the price offered.

Moving on to the Sentani Lama Market, there I met Mama Milka Naa. She sells fruits and vegetables, items sold by Mama Milka include tomatoes, kaffir lime, lime, rambutan, Chinese chuit/orange, duku, langsat and kale. Unlike Mama Yuliana, Mama Milka buys vegetables and fruit from middlemen who are likely migrants from Java (mostly from Arso Javanese farmers who plant oranges, tomatoes and other vegetables) to then be sold again in the Sentani Lama Market. Tomatoes bought by Mama Milka at the market are sold for IDR 18,000/kg while kale is valued at IDR 5,000/bunch, with income from selling tomatoes for three days at IDR 250,000 - 300,000. For oranges purchased one bunch for IDR 5,000 will be sold again for IDR 10,000/bunch, with Mama Milka's taking a profit of IDR 5,000 in a bunch of oranges she sells back. Going one step further, Mama Milka was already familiar with the trade network by taking directly from the middlemen. The trading activities she does then are interpreted purely to seek profits from the difference between the price of the middleman and the price she offers, even though the profit is likely to remain largely used to meet the family's domestic needs. However, the economic behaviour of the trade that Mama Milka does at the Sentani Lama Market shows attention to the return of surplus value to the production sector for the sustainability of buying goods from middlemen.

In other small markets around Sentani-Waena, Mama Meri Wenda from Lanijaya has been selling for quite a long time, which is ten years. Vegetables that are usually traded by Mama Meri are usually long beans, tomatoes, peppercorns, garlic, onions and other vegetables. The vegetables are obtained by Mama Meri from the market or from her middlemen, who are bought and then sold again at the market where she trades. Mama Meri's income is uncertain every day, depending on the number of goods sold and the crowd of buyers. If the day is busy and goods are sold a lot, in one day she can get IDR 300,000, if it is a quiet day she only gets around IDR 150,000 to IDR 200,000. Because she has been selling in the market for ten years, Mama Meri has a small hut with a table to hold her booths. She completed her lodging with a roof to protect her wares from the sun and rain. At first the roof used tarpaulin, gradually from setting aside the sale of herself she could replace the roof of the hut into zinc. The proceeds of the sale are used for daily needs such as food, drink, kitchen equipment, children's school fees, children's snacks, as well as grief and marriage social funds. Mama Meri's economic activity shows that there is a fairly good access to space compared to other traders who hold sacked sales. But this kind of access was not easy to obtain, ten years she was selling and was only able to get a place and through the benefits set aside to improve the location of the trading place. This shows that there is an optimistic spirit from Mama Meri to the pressures of the market economy. She did the strategy by setting aside a little profit obtained for the sake of repairing the place which is part of her trading supports. Although it is done slowly and in small amounts because the trade profits are also used to meet social and family needs.

Heading east of Sentani, in front of the Waena district expo terminal, Mama Maria from Wamena is selling betel nut. In her 60-year-old age she considers her trading activities only as a time to spare and to make income. In the beginning, she sold vegetables like cassava, kashi and taro, but she felt the profits from selling vegetables could not meet her daily needs. In addition, vegetables cannot last more than two days so that if vegetables do not sell they will only be wasted, and she must find more capital to re-stock goods. Therefore, she then decided to sell betel nuts which were more satisfying profits compared to when selling vegetables. She used to buy her goods at the Youtefa market. The betel nuts that are sold are divided into several piles with different prices, some IDR 30,000, 20,000, 10,000, 5,000 and 2,000. The betel that she sells can last up to three days, so she can save capital as long as the initial goods are not sold out. The purpose of this mama selling betel nuts is used to meet personal needs, business capital and money offerings in the church and sometimes she shares with her grandchildren. The interesting thing from Mama Maria's trading experience is the decision to leave vegetables and turned to betel nut. The reason Mama Maria is very rational is related to decreased profit margins as a result of the natural factors of vegetables that don't last long. On the other hand,
areca shelf life is long enough, which is around three days, besides it is more durable, it also provides an opportunity to increase profit margins by retailing in different amounts of areca piles. In short, the rational choice made by Mama Maria has a strong foundation and can be seen as a form of response to market conditions: the low buyer interest in vegetables sold and the fast-growing vegetable resistance makes her glance at areca nut as a commodity that is more resilient and much in demand.

In the north of the Waena expo, Perumnas III to be exact, Yabansai district on the road to Cenderawasih University, is also a busy place to trade in Papua. Starting from laying sacks and cardboard on the roadside or pitching temporary tents on empty roadside land. They lied out their goods starting at 15:00 until 21:00. Vegetables sold at this location are garden products such as root vegetables (betatas, cassava and bete), vegetables (betatas leaves, cassava leaves, papaya leaves), and fruits (bananas, papaya, corn and peanuts). Papuan mama-mama who sell at this location live and own garden land in the area around Cenderawasih University, so they are not too far to walk from their gardens. Generally, they obtain capital to plant gardens and trade from family or relatives, very rarely they get a capital loan from the Koperasi.

To sell at the location of Perumnas III is free of charge but there is already a convention on who can trade where based on the agreement of the traders. According to one of the merchants, Mama Maria Itlay, every line of the road has been demarcated by every permanent seller, not just anyone can sell there except on Sundays freed anyone can sell. Papuan mama's income in this market is uncertain, depending on the crowd of buyers and the weather. If the buyer is crowded and the weather is good, Papuan mama-mama can get around IDR 200,000 - 300,000, if the market is dry they usually get IDR 100,000. If the weather is not good or when it's rainy, Papuan mama-mama cannot sell because they must pack up the pedestal and the goods. The risk is that they suffer losses and inevitably bringing vegetables and fruits back home to the family for consumption.

One of the important things to consider in the practice of merchant activities in Papua in Perumnas III for example or in other places that are still sacked or cardboard on the edge of the road or sidewalk is very vulnerable to natural factors such as the sun and the rain. The tactic carried out by these traders then sells their vegetables in the afternoon where the sun is not too hot, but when it rains they inevitably have to stop their economic activities. Compared to vegetable traders from Java or Makassar who already have permanent slots, they are not too affected by this natural factor. Another thing to note is access to space, although there are no permanent limits on trading, in fact not all Papuan traders are free to choose where to trade in this area. There are already conventions about who can trade where. That is, for those who want to start trading must negotiate and inevitably must occupy the remaining space that is likely to be less strategic. The access to trading space among Papuan traders is usually determined by who has been trading there longer, in contrast to the space access by migrants by buying stalls or Javanese traders who prefer to go around by motorbike. This difference in capital access to space, namely from the claim of who was first by Papuan traders and the capital by migrants shows the freedom of choice of location. Those who have capital or money, of course, are more flexible in their choice, depending on how much they have, while claim-based means that there is no written guarantee and relies merely on community recognition.

Another trader in Perumnas III is Mama Seli who comes from the Walak tribe of Membramo Tengah District. At present she lives in Perumnas III, has a family and has 2 children. Mama Seli sells in open tents on the roadside Perumnas III. To begin her trade, Mama Seli and her husband used to shop at the Pasar mama-mama Papua and to get decent quality goods, they went in the early morning at around 04:00. The items sold by Mama Seli include areca nut, corn and papaya which are bought at the Pasar mama-mama Papua; cucumbers, oranges, guavas, bananas and kedondong are usually bought from migrants, and wool yarn is woven and made into noken for sale.

The proceeds from the sale of Mama Seli are used to fulfill daily needs such as paying tuition fees, electricity, cable TV, daily food and other necessities. Meanwhile, some are set aside for savings to banks. Constraints are experienced when selling usually come from families, for example if there are family members who are sick Mama Seli cannot sell because they have to be taken care of. In addition, if there is a family event and worship Mama Seli chooses to take a day off. According to her
someday, if she gets more profit, she wants to build a decent stall to sell. Selling on the side of the road like this according to her and other sellers vulnerable to cough and flu due to dust and vehicle pollution.

Diversification is a form of strategy carried out by Mama Seli in order to obtain a more stable profit margin and guaranteed income. In addition to selling vegetables, she also makes *rujak* and buys wool to make *ken*, this is a creative response from her facing the market economy. She understands that from vegetables alone is not sufficient for the necessities of life where social costs are high enough in her community especially for the sustainability of her trading business. Another interesting point is the access to middlemen, although she has not been able to leave dependence on migrants, but he has already looked at the *Pasar mama-mama Papua*, which was only officially opened by the president in 2016. The consideration that is likely to be the basis for shopping at the market is the high social solidarity among Papuan *mama-mama* who trade there as confirmed by one of the communities concerning on Papuan traders:

"Seeing the reality, where indigenous Papuan *mama-mama* traders seem to lose their rights on their own land, for this community was formed to fight for the rights of indigenous Papuan traders" [29]

The existence of high solidarity and awareness of entrepreneurship is an opportunity that gives rise to the momentum of strengthening the economy of Papuan traders. The challenge now is how to make full use of the momentum.

At the Youtefa Central Market, I chatted casually with Mama Elisabeth, she is a vegetable trader from Keerom Regency. At first, Mama Elisabeth only planted vegetables for her needs, but for the longer she was interested in developing her garden business and slowly wanted to market it. The capital of selling Mama Elisabeth vegetables comes from her own garden which she harvests and then markets it in the Youtefa market. There is no levy money she must pay because according to her this is a public market, anyone can sell here. Akin with the previous *mama-mama*, what Mama Elisabeth did was a dual economic form from plantation to trader. This is based on a surplus in the yield of her garden and an interest in marketing it. That is, what was done by Mama Elisabeth and other *mama* like herself was a form of expansion of subsistence. Besides, her desire to market surplus vegetables from her garden to the market is a form of a desire to be involved in the market economy. Although still outnumbered, in the Youtefa Central Market there are at least 2,821 traders officially registered with a percentage of 76% newcomers and 24% local traders [30].

Another important thing to note from the narrative of the paragraphs above is that not all Papuan traders who sell from Sentani to the Youtefa wholesale market are native to Jayapura. As we all know, Jayapura is a city that since the colonial period has been the location of a capital that was formerly known as Port Numbay, arguably as the economic center in Papua province itself, it is in this city and partly in Abepura. Papuan traders in Jayapura are currently a mixture of those born and raised in the city of Jayapura and surrounding areas and local Papuan migrants from neighboring districts such as Wamena, Lani Jaya, Keerom and even from West Papua such as Sorong. Their arrival is actually the same reason as migrants from outside Papua such as Java, NTT, Bali and Sulawesi, first because of the transmigration government program that requires local migrants [21,24] and the desire to make a fortune in the city of Jayapura. What distinguishes local and foreign migrants from Papua is the primordial sentiment of identity, racism, and past political history (Karma, 2014; Rutherford, 2003). This problem becomes a serious matter and needs to be considered carefully because the true market economy is a matter of competition and looking at the sentiments and political history of Papua in the past, this will be very sensitive and vulnerable to potential conflicts. I noted (Akhmad, 2005) that several times conflicts between Papuan traders and migrant traders from Madura and Bugis-Makassar led to the burning of the market a decade ago where the Abe, Waena markets were burned because of this. Other experts also noted the same thing, in Hamadi in the 1980s for example there was a conflict between Papuan fishermen from Serui and Bugis-Makassar fishermen [21].
Thus, on the one hand the penetration of the market economy does disrupt the local economy of the community, but on the other hand it also provides opportunities for them to grow and accumulate profits. Unfortunately, as we know that this kind of market economy is based on prices where as I quoted from Polanyi (1957) [31] the market then becomes “self-regulated”. This is in sharp contrast to the community’s sub-economic economy based on social exchange and solidarity among community members or with other communities. Those who are unable to compete will clearly be marginalized, but developments in Jayapura in particular are attempts by various parties to improve or overcome conditions that are unfavorable for Papuan traders. The foundation for the creation of this momentum already exists namely the strong solidarity of the people of Papua as a result of marginalization and a dark history of the past and the existence of partisanship of local and central government to them. I will discuss this further in the next sub-chapter.

2.2.4. Momentum for expansion and economic development of the Papuans
Borrowing the term from Tania Li (2012) [20], there are many desires to improve conditions that do not benefit the Papuans's economy from the local government, central government or non-governmental organizations. From the central government, for example, a special autonomy fund for Papua has existed since 2001. Funds of 2% percent of the national general allocation fund ceiling are devoted to the development of Papua in various sectors ranging from infrastructure, education, social economy, and health. On the other hand, the government also prioritizes indigenous Papuans to become government employees in the regions and the center through special channels for Papuan children. Such policies clearly provide momentum for the people of Papua to rise from the insistence of economic marginality through the alternative of becoming a middle class of government employees.

In the economic sector, in 2016 Indonesian President Joko Widodo inaugurated the Papuan Mama-Mama Market in the economic center of Jayapura. Tens of billions of rupiah have been disbursed to build a market specifically for native Papuan traders. Although the struggle to urge the government to build the market has existed since 2003, at least symbolically this shows a resurgent momentum that is profoundly meaningful for indigenous Papuan traders, as one trader said to the president's staff:

"Since 2003 we have not counted how many times we marched to the DPRP, and to the Provincial Government of Papua, but the answers obtained are merely promises, promises, and promises. Therefore, we believe that when you are elected as President of the Republic of Indonesia, you can take the first steps to help the mama-mama by building a permanent market"[32]

Although it does not necessarily guarantee prosperity and behind the many technical problems that still occur such as the status of selling whether fixed or contracted places[33], but through the construction of the Papuan Mama-Mama Market hundreds of indigenous Papuan traders no longer need to be exposed to the sun and the darkness of the night as before when holding merchandise in sidewalk in front of Mall Gelael and KFC restaurant. Another important point is that symbolically the struggle of Papuan traders in addressing economic plausibility can be said to be successful. On the other hand, this can be interpreted as a form of state siding with the marginal position of indigenous Papuan traders.

Apart from the success and failure of the efforts made by the regional and central government to improve conditions that do not benefit the economy of indigenous Papuans, momentum to rise has actually been scheduled. But why are there still failures from government efforts that can be said to cost fortunes? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to carefully describe the factors that have inhibited and drove the Papuan economy to be able to rise and compete in the current market economic pressure in Jayapura.

The first limiting factor is the orientation of short-term income. One thing that is commonly heard in Papua is the question of buying and selling land by indigenous Papuans (OAP) to migrants. Not
only land, kiosks and places of trade that were previously provided by the government and other parties such as NGOs and the private sector through CSR ended in the hands of migrants. Many examples of this phenomenon, I noted in the early 2000s the city government through its work program provided kiosk facilities and selling places for Papuan traders in Abepura Market that were set aside by the market economy and migrant traders [1]. In the aftermath, the Papuan traders sold the facilities that have been provided by the government to migrants.

The second factor is that Papuans are trapped in capitalistic economic consumerism. As I explained at the outset, Papuan society is still oriented towards being faced with a penetration of an economically oriented capitalist economy. Thus, they are trapped in a double-economy, where their production systems are mostly used to meet domestic needs but on the other hand are already familiar with new commodities that they inevitably have to fulfill also by using money as a means of exchange. One effect of this is a change in lifestyle to consumerism. An example of this consumerism case can be seen from the consumption of alcoholic drinks such as those in the Papuan middle class who are government employees or work for companies, “early in the month sleeping on the street, the rest sleeping at home”. I often see, and it is common in Jayapura that at the beginning of the month many people get drunk in front of the liquor stalls or on the streets. A figure from Merauke, Soter Awi also confirmed the same thing:

"The average Papuans in Merauke died not because of old age, but because of over consuming alcohol. Most are youngsters" [34]

Other experts noted the problem of liquor was actually seen since the decade of the 1980s [21]. This also indicates as a consumerist phenomenon of economic change that cause psychological, social and economic pressure, this is especially true of pre-capital society towards capital [13,35]. Currently the price of the drink is also not quite cheap, the price range starts from tens of thousands to millions of rupiah. Apart from this liquor phenomenon, the people of Papua since the early 1960s have known new commodities brought by migrants from outside Papua. It can be seen from the expenditure incurred by Papuan mama-mama in the previous paragraphs indicating the need for these expenditures. Of the existing portion of profits only a few returns to the sustainability of trading businesses.

Third, the obstacle for the Papuans that cannot be denied from the penetration of the market economy is competition among market participants. Unfortunately, in the Jayapura context, trade competition has become very sensitive not only because it occurs between migrants and indigenous Papuans, but also because of the identity issue as I explained earlier, namely amber and komin. Competition occurs in a variety of ways; struggles for access to trade space and identity sentiments [25], competition for means of production and access to natural resources [25], as well as trade demographics and social networks [1,24,27].

Fourth is the lack of knowledge and experience in trading techniques in a market economic climate. No one denies the expertise of the Dani in farming, the Asmat in carving and hunting knowledge in swamps, or the Marind in hunting deer in the prairies and the Serui with their fishing skills. However, being confronted with a market economy that is different from their previous economic activities has marginalized the Papuans in Jayapura. Historically, Papuans have not conducted intensive trade as did migrants from Java, Madura, Bali, NTT and Sulawesi. Courage in taking debt for venture capital, bargaining oriented to maximizing profits while attracting potential customers to become customers, is something that is rarely done by Papuan traders.

As can be seen from the visuals on the traditability of Papuan traders, they generally sell their goods on the side of the road, in front of the Mall, in front of the migrants’ shops, only with a sack or cardboard. This makes them very vulnerable to dynamic weather changes in tropical regions like Jayapura, afternoon in the hot sun and ready to be driven out by rain, and night in the dark. In addition, temporary locations and not in permanent buildings make it difficult for them to access sources of capital. Banks and cooperatives, for example, will find it difficult to provide venture capital loans if their survey teams are not sure and trust in unsettled sales locations. On the other hand, it will
also be difficult for Papuan traders to have consumers because of the same reasons. If the location of trading moves, of course, it will be difficult for traders to gain the trust of consumers.

Moving on to factors that drive the creation of momentum and economic development of Papuan traders. The first factor is the efforts of the government and other parties to overcome unfavorable conditions for Papuan traders. As I explained in the early paragraphs in this sub-chapter, at least since 2001 the central government has carried out an affirmative politics in favor of the people of Papuans in general. Through special autonomy the populist economy received serious attention from the government. Besides economics, education, physical infrastructure and health are the focus of other special autonomy scopes. Trillions of rupiah are channeled through the provincial, city and regional governments to strengthen the position of the Pauans in various fields [36]. Logically this should be a momentum that gives rise to development opportunities, especially in the economy. Even recently after the racist incidents in Surabaya, Semarang, and other regions in Java against Papuan students, President Joko Widodo also said that Papua would obtain a special autonomy fund of IDR 8.37 trillion. Papua's special autonomy has indeed had a period of 25 years since 2001 and is nearing the end of its time the government is taking action to increase the injection of funds back as the President said. Apart from political and state issues, this is certainly an opportunity that can boost the economy of the Pauans in Jayapura in particular.

The second factor is expertise in managing natural resources in plantations. Most of Papua's goods comes from the plantation sector. Their expertise in farming can not be doubted, starting from the hillside in the mountains, to the swampy areas, the people of Papua are famous for their expertise in farming [6,37]. This expertise on environmental management is clearly a surplus value in both subsistence-oriented and market economy modes of production. Compared to the large number of Javanese transmigrants who in the early days of REPELITA I and II experienced rice paddy crop failures in Papua and West Papua, Papuan community growers were certainly far more established in their environmental expertise, land management and ecosystem knowledge [21].

The final factor is the high level of solidarity among Pauans, especially Papuan traders. This solidarity is built apart from the cultural aspects of customs and culture, although Pauans are heterogeneous but there is a common identity inherent as a community [19]. The sentiments of the identity of straight hair and curly or amber and komin also reinforce solidarity among Pauans. This is due to a clear line between migrants and indigenous Pauans throughout Papua's history. On the other hand, the past history also reinforces the solidarity of indigenous Pauans in various ways, including the economy seen in the emergence of merchant communities who, although unable to accommodate all traders in Jayapura, at least contribute to fighting for their rights and strengthening their position [38].

From the description of the inhibiting and driving factors, there are still questions that are implementative in nature, how then can various parties make the most of the momentum and opportunities that arise and minimize the existing obstacles? This question is likely to come to the attention of various parties, not only policy makers, academics, but also market participants, both migrants and indigenous Pauans, in order to create an economic climate that is to build the nature of togetherness.

3. Conclusion
As in the arguments I have put forward, the economic activity of Papuan traders in Jayapura is now a form of expansion of subsistence. The pressures of a capitalistic market economy confronted with the subsistence economy of the Pauans have left them stuck in a dual economy. In addition, entrepreneurship emerges as a result of the principle of a capitalistic market economy, namely competition and price as a “self-regulated” determinant. Narratively I outline the experiences of Papuan traders in their technical trading activities, compared to the activities of migrant traders and a description of past history I conclude several factors that drive and inhibit the economic development of Papuan traders in Jayapura. The driving factors are (1) the will of the government and other parties to improve conditions that are unfavorable for Papuan traders, (2) good expertise and knowledge in
farming from Papuan traders where most of their merchandise is directly produced from the estate, and (3) the strong solidarity of the people of Papua, especially traders, with the existence of the community and the similarity of ethnic identities. On the other hand, the inhibiting factors are (1) the existence of a short-term orientation, (2) trapped in the consumerism in this capitalistic ecosystem, (3) competition with migrants who already have a good source of capital and established trading networks, and (4) lack of trading knowledge and experience in a capitalistic market economy and limited access to trade space.

Apart from the diversity and myriad of problems, the involvement and willingness of the Papuans to trade is an optimistic response in responding to changes and penetration of the capitalistic economy. On the other hand, the momentum for economic development opportunities for Papuan traders in Jayapura arises from government initiatives through affirmative policies, and assistance by trade communities based on solidarity. The challenge faced is how to utilize this momentum to its full potential to develop the economy of the Papuans based on the principle of togetherness.

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