

Papalele* and Market: Traditional Exchange in Saparua Island, Maluku

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Abstract

The island market has become the culture of the small-island community that was formed due to limited transportation facilities, the market only exists at certain times. Markets develop from the process of exchanging goods between people coming from different places and profession. This study aims to describe the process of commodity marketing, the role of *papalele* in the exchange of farmers' and fishermen's products, and the commodity market formed in society. This research uses a case study approach because of a typical island market that only exists on small islands such as Saparua Island. The informants consisted of fifteen *papalele* mothers spread over fifteen regions in the island (*negeri*) and always carried out activities to the island market in Saparua City. The research results showed that the marketing process for agricultural commodities begins with an exchange between farmers and fishermen. Then it developed with various exchange processes with the presence of *papalele* women. Commodities eventually developed with the movement of *papalele* as a collector at the region level, and later became recipients of pawns for agricultural commodities, even collecting agricultural and fishery commodities from the region around where they lived. Finally, a permanent market was formed in Saparua Island, on Wednesday and Saturday.

Pasar pulau menjadi budaya masyarakat pulau kecil yang terbentuk karena keterbatasan sarana transportasi, sehingga pasar hanya ada pada waktu-waktu tertentu. Pasar berkembang dari proses pertukaran barang antara masyarakat yang berbeda tempat tinggal dan profesi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan proses pemasaran komoditas, mendeskripsikan peran *papalele* dalam pertukaran produk petani dan nelayan, dan menggambarkan pasar komoditas yang terbentuk dalam masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan studi kasus, karena keberadaan pasar pulau yang khas dan hanya ada di Pulau kecil seperti Pulau Saparua. Informan terdiri atas lima belas ibu *papalele* yang tersebar di lima belas negeri dan selalu melakukan aktivitas ke pasar pulau di Kota Saparua. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan proses pemasaran komoditas pertanian dimulai dengan pertukaran antara petani dan nelayan. Kemudian berkembang dengan berbagai proses pertukaran dengan adanya perempuan *papalele*. Komoditas akhirnya berkembang dengan bergeraknya *papalele* sebagai pedagang pengumpul tingkat negeri, dan kemudian menjadi penerima gadai hasil komoditas pertanian, bahkan mengumpulkan hasil-hasil komoditas pertanian dan perikanan dari negeri-negeri sekitar tempat tinggalnya. Akhirnya terbentuk pasar menetap di Negeri Saparua Pulau Saparua, pada hari Rabu dan Sabtu.

Keywords: traditional transfer; *papalele* woman; market island; Saparua Island

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Introduction

Saparua Island is a small island in Central Maluku Regency (247 square kilometers) inhabited by sixteen custom villages and two administrative villages, divided into two districts. One is the Saparua district with district capital in Saparua Village, where Saparua Market is located. Another district is the East Saparua District, with Tuhaha Village as the capital. Saparua Island is blessed with potential riches of natural beauty, culture, and history. Culturally, Saparua people believe that they originate from Seram Island long ago named "Nusa Ina" (*Nusa* = island and *Ina* = mother). They define "Nusa ina" as their mother island or the origin place of the main population that inhabits Central Maluku, especially for people who live in Lease Islands (Haruku Island, Saparua Island, and Nusalaut Island). According to the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2019, Saparua Island's population is 16,060 individuals with a density rate of 201 persons/square kilometers. Job characteristic in the island comprises of civil servants (14% of the population), small entrepreneurs (9%), construction workers (7%), farmers and fishers (44%), paid motorcycle drivers (5%), private employees (10%), and papelele (11%). Most dwellings are crowding the coastal line of Saparua Island (BPS Maluku Tengah 2019).

People who work as farmers spend their time and energy growing farming commodities such as rice (dryland rice), edible tubers, fruits and hunting animals for meats, and collecting forest commodities (resin, wood, and bamboo). Therefore, for selling all these items and buying what they need, farmers need a market, and they do not care if the market is organized

traditionally. The traditional definition of the market system is when the seller and buyer meet one another at a particular place to make a transaction. However, due to the specific natural situation, the usual place for transaction becomes hardly accessible, and therefore, an alternative place is chosen. Such condition forces farmers (hinterland people) and fishers (coastal people) to bring their commodities (farming commodities and fishing haul) to the definite spots to ensure that they perform trade. That is why they go to the island with a big and permanent market, such as Saparua Island.

Since long ago, Central Maluku people's customs and cultures have regarded wives as housekeepers and family activities. Wives help their husbands in the garden and trade in the market, especially during scarcity season. Such trade activity is called *papalele*, and either married or unmarried woman is allowed to do this activity. This activity can be performed by occupying a permanent spot in the market or vending the commodities to various market spots.

Previous research has investigated the market, *papalele*, and woman. For instance Sopamena and Ura (2012) found that a *papalele* woman in Hitu Messing Village works in the informal sector and contributes to family income for 70 percent, while the remaining 30 percent are coming from their husbands' income. *Papalele* group with the biggest revenue is the fish *papalele* group, followed by the vegetable *papalele* group and bread vendor group. Other research was done by Kissiya (2012) who discovered that the *papalele* creates its market without depending on the existing market. This

independence comes through a relationship between seller and buyer based on trust and a common goal to avoid loss. According to Apituley and Salakory (2014), income is principally used to fulfill daily necessities, cover work capital, and keep some savings. *Papalele* merchants never only use the income for one necessity, but mostly for some necessities. It was found by Tuhumury (2014) that a factor driving a woman to perform fish *papalele* is mainly economic factor (husband has low income or does not have income at all) and socio-cultural factor. The contribution of fish *papalele* income to family income is 79 percent. It signifies that the fish *papalele* woman has an enormous contribution to the improvement of household income.

Moreover, Papilaya (2015), revealed that the time expense of fish (fresh fish) *papalele* wen is averagely 7 hours 22 minutes, with fish buying activity done in the afternoon, night, and morning. Fish *papalele* depends on fish stock and access to producers (fishers). Furthermore, Amaliah et al. (2015), considered *papalele* as a price determiner but still complied with Central Maluku people's cultural values. It was said by Selenussa (2016) that *papalele* contains values of pure entrepreneurship, and these values enable *papalele* merchants to become a large scale and strong entrepreneurs. *Papalele* also has within its local wisdom values, such as helping each other, cooperation, honesty, tolerance, tenacity, and patience. These values can be bequeathed to the next generation either naturally or through socialization, teaching them at elementary and secondary schools, or possibly organizing them in local-content curriculum or lecture for higher education.

In general, all research above showed that *papalele* is a livelihood strategy used by producer families and done mostly by women to improve household income and ensure household necessities. Although those researches already explain *papalele*, it does not indicate how selling and buying activities are done in the *papalele* context at the island market. Therefore, three problems are formulated, which respectively are: 1) How is the process of marketing and transaction of commodities? 2) How is the role of *papalele* in the exchange of commodities? 3) How is the market for commodities developed?

The objective of the research: 1) to investigate the process of marketing and transaction of commodities (from farming and fishing); 2) to explain the role of *papalele* in exchange conducted by farmers and fishers; and 3) to describe the commodity market developed in communities.

Informal kinship network usually comprises of friends, neighbors, and even enemies. Urban-based social and cultural arrangements differ from its counterpart in the rural context. Most formal clusters are dispersed in an urban environment, but social regularity still prevails. Methods and theories to develop systematic mapping and social network analysis become the mainstream tools behind creating social anthropology (Barnes 1972; Mitchell 1974; Spillius 2002; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 1972)

According to Granovetter and Swedberg (1992), a social relationship network is a set of regular or social relationships developed by individuals or groups of individuals. Each social relationship is linked to one another and affects

each other, which is called coherence (Granovetter 1985). Coherence is an economic activity situated socially, clinging to a personal social network, and only observable among network participants. This coherence involves not only the personal action of individual participants but also far-ranging economic behaviors such as setting the price, organizing economic institutions, and managing all elements of “social network.”

Wellman and Berkowitz (1997) said that network analysis emphasizes individuals and collectives’ regularity is behaving rather than on how they should behave. Therefore, network analysis experts try to avoid normative explanations of social behavior. They reject non-structural explanations regarding social process equating to the sum between network participants’ characteristics and norms and values that they profess.

Network analysis (Wasserman and Faust 1994; Wellman and Berkowitz 1997; White 1992) differentiates its approach from the sociological approach that is usually “atomistic” and “normative” in nature (Burt 1982; Granovetter 1985). The atomistic approach is rejected because it is too microscopic and disregards the relationship of network participants. Wellman (1983) declared that identifying individual motives to develop a network and guiding individuals to manage their motives are always tricky for network analysis experts but easy for psychologists.

The normative approach focuses on culture and the socialization process that internalizes norms and values into network participants’ minds. The expected result of this approach is to

unify many individuals through collective concepts. Mizuchi (1994) refused this perspective by arguing that people as community members should focus their attention on the pattern of objective bonding that binds all community members. Wellman and Berkowitz (1997) explained that network analysis begins with a simple but strong concept: the sociologist’s main objective is to learn about social structure. The most direct method to understand this social structure is by analyzing the pattern of bonding that connects society members. In the normative approach, network participants and their behavior are regulated strictly by social structure, and therefore, the center of attention exists on network participants with their structural compulsion.

Ritzer (2011) theorized that, principally, the network is the bonding among individuals or groups of individuals at a certain degree of symmetry. The participants supply something different to one another, and they do this either in low or high intensity. The bonding across individuals must be analyzed on a broader network structure context. The structure of social bonding consists of non-random networks. Some networks have a broad scope, while others are clustered with certain boundaries separating them from the others. The existence of this network cluster causes the emergence of crisscross relationships across network clusters and among individuals. There is asymmetric bonding among the network system elements, which means that the limited resource will make the distribution less evenly. Unbalanced distribution may risk producing unhealthy cooperation and competition.

According to Rosenthal et al. (1985) the network has dynamic quality, signifying that the network structure can adjust to coalition and conflict. Burt (1982) conceptualized the integrative approach to connect the atomistic and normative perspectives. This new perspective's yardstick is that network participants' status or network elements exist through work allotment. Network participants will sort over alternative actions and choose actions that reflect their conditions and apply conditions that conform to other participants' conditions.

The literature review was conducted to obtain qualitative data and referred to relevant documents publicized since Netherland colonial age, especially those describing Saparua Market in Central Maluku Regency. Such review-based data were then integrated with primary data and inquiry data (research diary). All data were elaborated based on the researcher's interpretation of research phenomena using relevant theories. The research diary was written during a depth interview with key informants who know the market in the island community context.

Primary data are usually collected with a questionnaire given to respondents (Babbie 2004) and with depth interviews with key informants (Debus and Novelli 1996). Secondary data are obtained through participative observation (Denzin and Lincoln 2009) and documentation (Babbie 2004). Critical informants of this research are wives (or husbands if any) who regularly sell their commodities in Saparua Market and the Chief of Saparua Market, who are considered to have understanding and

knowledge about trade activity in the Saparua Island market context. This research talks about wives who play the role of *papalele* woman, and therefore, the husband's presence in *papalele* is not discussed. Some *papalele* women are indeed chosen as key informants, and each of them represents every village in Saparua Island. These informants are Mrs. EL (Paperu Village), Mrs. UL (Haria Village), Mrs. DU (Sirisori Sarani Village), Mrs. EP (Sirisori Salam Village), Mrs. JM (Ulath Village), Mrs. OW (Ihamahu Village), Mrs. IB (Noloth Village), Mrs. WK (Itawaka Village), Mrs. LS (Ouw Village), Mrs. YN (Porto Village), Mrs. RK (Kulur Village), Mrs. EP (Booi Village), Mrs. KA (Saparua Village), Mrs. NH (Tiouw Village), and Mrs. MR (Tuhaha Village).

The data analysis technique of this research is qualitative analysis Moleong (2014), which always has three phases: data display, data reduction, data display, data verification.

Informant Characteristics

Research informants are mostly the wives who sell their commodities at Saparua Market on market days (Wednesday and Saturday). Table 1 describes the characteristics of these informants. Those characteristics are age, education background, number of dependent, land extent, work length, and revenue.

As shown in Table 1, most of the informants are 41-60 years old, graduated from elementary school, having land extent less than 1 ha, performing *papalele* for more than ten years, and getting revenue more than IDR 2,600,000 per month (higher than Regional Minimum Wage for Maluku Province in 2020, which is, IDR 2,600,000 per month). Engaging in *papalele*

seems to increase household income, and most informants have done *papalele* for more than ten years because they find it profitable.

In general, *papalele* merchants' characteristics described above are consistent with Sopamena and Ura (2012). Regarding *papalele* revenue, Tuhumury (2014) found that 75 percent of *papalele* merchants have revenue more than IDR 2,500,000, whereas this research confirms that 60 percents of them have such revenue level. This difference is associated with greater accessibility from either Hatawano Region or Tenggara Region to Saparua Market. This situation enables *papalele* merchants, farmers, and fishers to sell their commodities at Saparua Market. In line with the current

research, the findings of previous research Sopamena (2019c, 2019b, 2019a, 2020a, 2020b), Sopamena and Pattiselanno (2018) indicated that small island people, either man or woman, are inclined to work on land and sea to fulfill their household necessities. Still, the contribution of woman to household income is reaching 40-60 percents.

Zakaria et al. (2015) gave a different opinion, who discovered that man is still more dominant than woman in contributing to household income. In the context of gender-based livelihood diversification, man is always involved in more significant numbers and more frequently than woman.

Tabel 1
Characteristics of Research Informants

	Number of Informants	%
<i>Age</i>		
Old = 41-60	12	80.0
Young = > 60	3	20.0
<i>Education Level</i>		
Low = Junior to Senior High Schools	2	13.3
High = Elementary School	13	86.7
<i>Number of The Dependent (Person)</i>		
Lots = 5-7	4	26.7
Little = ≥ 8	11	73.3
<i>Land Extent (ha)</i>		
Big ≥ 1	5	33.3
Small < 1	10	66.7
<i>Work Length (year)</i>		
High = > 10	12	80.0
Low = 5 -10	3	20.0
<i>Revenue (IDR / month)</i>		
High > 2,600,000	9	60.0
Low ≤ 2,600,000	6	40.0

Marketing Process

After the money was introduced, producers (farmers and fishers) decide to sell their commodities directly to the central market (usually in the district capital), and they go there on foot. However, they do not know if collector merchants do exist to help them. These merchants usually are citizens of a particular village who buy commodities from their neighbors and sell them at the nearby market or bring them to other exchange places (barter). Producers only go to the market that they can access. If they live far away from the market, they can use collector merchants to be entrusted with their commodities to be sold at the market. The opportunity to profit from either selling commodities directly in the market or trusteeship is equally good.

When collector merchants are not there, and there is no available transportation from Hatawano Region and Tenggara Region, producers (farmers or fishers) must walk, bringing their commodities to the central market in Saparua Village, far away from their houses. The market price determines the profit that they can get. If producers must use collector merchants, they should trust each other. This trust-based relationship is unique because producers who previously entrust their commodities to collector merchants may act as merchants entrusted with commodities. Also, producers who previously act as persons entrusted with commodities may become persons whose commodities are entrusted to someone else. Trust enables them to build a strong network, and trust may be more profound if they come from the same villages or

originate from the same genealogy. Parties in the transaction may live far away from one another, but the same genealogy can at least convince them to trust each other.

Some collector merchants are trading at the village level. They are farmers or fishers who have large capital and are entrusted by other farmers or fishers to sell their commodities. These merchants bring farmers' or fishers' commodities to the market. The market price highly determines profit. Information about market price cannot be obtained fast due to a lack of information structure and infrastructure. The trading process still depends on trust given by producers (farmers-fishers) to merchants. The trust is abstract due to the effect of kinship or genealogy. Granovetter and Swedberg (1992) defined a trust-based relationship as a network of social relationships built by individuals. Every action of the individuals as network members would be affected by their interaction with the other member. This position is supported by Kakisina, Pattiselanno, and Far-Far (2013) who said that informants and customers build the social network in a market context based on kinship, friendship, neighborhood, or a combination of some or all of these three. Indeed, genealogy greatly influences economic activity in Saparua Island. Its effect level is more robust if it is compared to the role of genealogy in the *sopi* distribution network in the Teon Nila Serua District.

The presence of land routes makes various spots on the island accessible. It allows the exchange system (barter) to reappear. It seems that this system starts to reemerge when farmers offer their commodities such as edible

tubers, durian, and langsung to be exchanged for nine staples. The exchange is done based on a predetermined price. Such arrangement occurs between village people and dump truck drivers at Excavation Work Station of Type C (sand and rock) in Hatawano and Tenggara Regions. The exchange agreement begins with an acquaintance that later produces a strong trust bond to achieve a shared understanding for making an exchange. Those drivers are not from the villages around and are probably individuals newly acquainted with by farmers at the Work Station. Moreover, roads enable farmers to develop a new network that culminates at Saparua Market. Previously, farmers only build a network with other farmers in nearby villages.

Collector merchants based at Saparua Market often use a dump truck to carry over commodities bought from farmers or village collector merchants. Alternatively, farmers and village merchants use this truck to bring their commodities to the market, either directly to consumers (other farmers) or to retailers who already wait at the front of the market and then sell the commodities to collector merchants. Altogether, these merchants make up the product marketing chain in Saparua Market. In the context of this research, which involves *papalele*, the product marketing chain would be like that shown in Figure 1.

As Figure 1 indicates, there are three marketing chains for farming commodities: the marketing chain for food crops, the marketing chain for plantation crops, and the marketing chain for fruits. The selection of a marketing path is associated with a network developed by producers and traders, and *papalele* is also part of this network.

Price Arrangement for Farming Commodities

Farmers would be inclined to sell fruits (durian and langsung) to collector merchants rather than sell them directly. There is a relatively large difference between the in-market price and collector merchants' price. Results of the interview with respondents in Saparua Market confirm this situation. Durian was sold to collector merchants at a price around IDR 40,000 – 50,000 per 10 fruits, particularly during fruit season, while the in-market price for this fruit is IDR 10,000 per item. Langsung was sold at IDR 75,000 – 100,000 per bag (with the content around 25-40 kg), while the market price for this fruit stands around IDR 4,000 – 5,000 per kg. When outsider collector merchants come to the village, the offered price for langsung can reach IDR 50,000 – 70,000 per bag. Price difference across traders is quite large, and it is caused mainly by transportation cost that takes a significant proportion of work capital. The purchase is always done in the lumpsum system but without determining the exact weight of the items. Therefore, price agreement is always in the form of estimation and not in actual information about the market or calculation of costs spent in production and marketing.

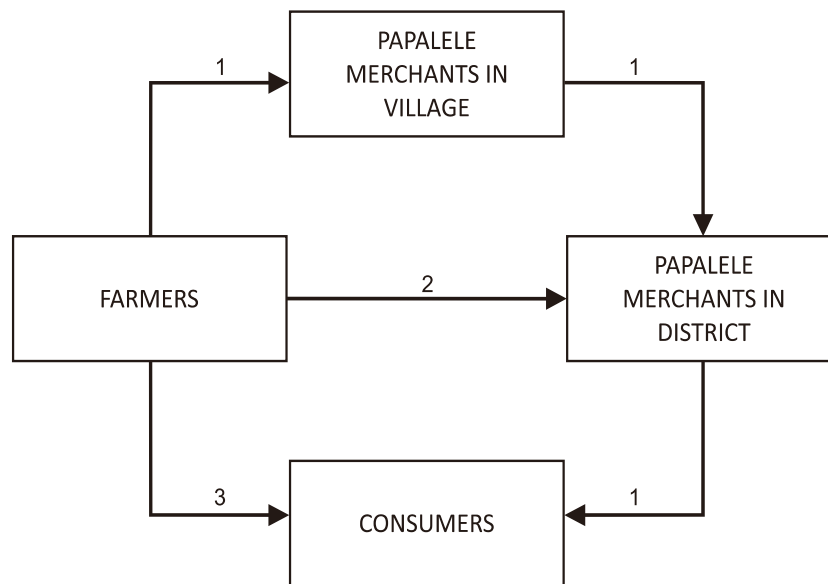
Clove price was once declining dramatically (between 1989 and 2007), and farmers decided not to harvest because harvesting costs cannot be covered by post-sale revenue. Before 1998, clove prices ranged from IDR 2,000 to 2,500 per kg. The price started to go upward to become IDR 75,000 - 100,000 per kg but it only lasted until 2012. During this period, farmers harvested the clove because they think that they will get a

lot of profit. However, maintenance costs increased, and farmers were forced to pawn their cloves to collector merchants (at the village level). Pawn arrangement was made because farmers and merchants have a strong kinship bond, but they disregard the importance of product price (profit and loss).

Village collector merchants offer nutmeg commodities for IDR 30,000 - 35,000 per kg. District collector merchants sell nutmeg to IDR 45,000 - 50,000 per kg to consumers.

Surprisingly, some nutmeg trees are deliberately pawned by farmers to collector merchants. Farmers do the harvest and deliver it to merchants at Saparua Market. The merchants would reimburse transportation costs incurred by farmers for bringing nutmeg from Village Market to Saparua Market.

Merchants who accept pawns are like risking themselves to be called as a broker. However, farmers love such an arrangement because they



Note :

-----> commodities flow

- 1 marketing path for food crops
- 2 marketing path for plantation crops and fruits
- 3 marketing path for food crops, plantation crops, and fruits

Figure 1
Commodities Marketing Chain

can get money faster without complicated procedures. Surely, brokerage needs less paperwork than the money lending system applied at financial institutions. In the beginning, merchants only want to help farmers, but they want more from their brokerage after tasting the profit. Merchants set prices far below market price. Most farmers do not know anything about the price and market for their commodities. Even if farmers know about it, they cannot do anything because they are too overwhelmed by their urgent and immediate need for money, and they do not want to lose in a bargaining process that is always time-consuming. If bargaining is failed, farmers do not get money, and they cannot fulfill their needs. It was said by Batuael, Pattiselanno and Kaplale (2014) that farmers tend to take a loan from merchants, and they do not find this loan as a burden because the loan does not involve interests and fixed terms of payment. Although payment terms are given tolerance, there is an agreement that farmers must or will pay off the loan after harvest. Some other farmers pawn their clove and nutmeg trees to merchants in order to get a fast loan. When farmers cannot pay off the loan, merchants will harvest clove and nutmeg.

Role of *Papalele*

There are two methods in *papalele*: 1) producers, either farmers or fishers, sell their commodities to consumers, and 2) producers act as collector merchants who buy commodities from the other producers and then sell it to retailers. Most *papalele* merchants are women because men only focus on working their jobs. While performing *papalele*, wives must peddle the commodities around the village and even do

trade in nearby villages, and some of them even go directly to Saparua Market. Walking through the roads to sell commodities will surely drain the energies of these housewives. Selling to Saparua Market becomes a priority if the commodities are fish (in various species). Village market or nearby market is not the only place for trade because, on certain market days (only on Wednesday and Saturday), trade is conducted in Saparua Market that is located at the district capital. Men can perform *Papalele*, but it is only for men who do not work as farmers or fishers.

Papalele emerges when farmers (hinterland community) and fishers (coastal community) exchange their commodities to consider their villages' middle point. Simultaneously, transportation facilities, such as roads and vehicles, were not yet existing or less available, and farmers and fishers must walk to the exchange place. This habit persists nowadays. After the money is used, they still walk to the trading place, but now, this trading place is the nearest market (usually district market). The trading capability of farmers and fishers develops over time, and they become village collector merchants who buy commodities from their fellow villagers and bring them to the closest market.

As time goes, retailers build direct contact with farmers and fishers to buy their commodities and sell them to the consumers in Saparua Market. This situation gives a path for *papalele*. Farmers and fishers bring their commodities to village collector merchants, and the merchants meet retailers. This connection is the early form of *papalele*.

Further development in trading is then producing *papalele* with specific functions. For example, farmers and fishers carry over their commodities to the market and sell it by themselves, or they buy commodities from their fellow farmers or fishers to be sold again in the market. Also, they allow outsider merchants to buy commodities in their village to be sold again to consumers in the village, which the sale is often made by peddling it around the village. Peddling by walking on the streets only prevails for fishing haul but not for vegetables and sago. The latter two commodities are usually sold at the market along with heavier fishes.

Furthermore, *papalele* merchants in Saparua Island extend their coverage until Ambon Island, and some have reached Papua. These merchants go to other provinces by ship (Pelni's ferry), and when they are on board, they sell Maluku meals for direct consumption. The popular one is a sago-processed meal, called *sagu lempeng*. Passengers buy this meal for breakfast or consume it as snacks while drinking tea in the afternoon. Sagu Lempeng is a sago-based food diversification. The way to consume this meal is by dipping it (*colo sago*) in the coffee or tea, and therefore, this meal is used as a supplement during breakfast in the morning or tea time in the afternoon.

Other sago-based meals are raw sago, *bagea*, mashed sago, and *sarut*. All these meals are packed neatly and sold to the ship passengers as gifts. The meals are also sold by *papalele* merchants who trade in Papua because there is fact that people in Papua and Maluku have the same staple food, which is sago. Moreover, sago diversification products, such as *sagu lempeng*,

raw sago, *bagea*, mashed sago, and *sarut*, are not yet massively produced in Papua, and therefore, those products are quite popular there. Papua is also inhabited by Maluku people, who have left their homes for a long time, and consuming sago will help them memorize their past life in Maluku.

Trans-provincial *papalele* merchants already have a kinship bond with the people at the destination. They have relatives who already live there, and these relatives will facilitate the sale, which must be done fast and punctually. Both speed and punctuality are important considerations because they should conform ship schedule. After the ship berths at Ambon harbor from the trade destination of *papalele* merchants, the merchants must prepare everything, including looking for a new item to be sold on the ship in the next journey, checking the items estimating how many items that they must sell. If the items are not sold out, the leftover will be entrusted to the relatives to sell, and the money is collected in the next visit. Nevertheless, the items are often already sold out before merchants go back to Ambon.

The reality above shows a strong network of kinship in the *papalele*. It is explained by Granovetter (1985) that the coherence concept greatly affects economic behavior in a social relationship. This concept referred to economic activity situated socially and cohered to a personal social network that involves many merchants. Economic action done by network members is considered cohered when interacting with other members. Someone who joins to a social relationship network must understand how many social actions are already

done and how much institutional outcome is expected. Research about this concept was done by Granovetter and Swedberg (1992) who found that anything in production, distribution, and consumption is greatly affected by people's coherence in their social relationship. The related research was carried out by Maanana, Pattiselanno and Tuhumury (2015) who discovered that the social network between farmers and traders is so influential to Kisar sweet orange fruits' price. It was also found that this social network comprised of networks of trust, cooperation, and social exchange. A trust-based network is created for reasons such as because some individuals are in debt to the others, have kinship relationships, and make repeated buying. A cooperation-based network emerges because some individuals agree on the price. Social exchange is performed because farmers and traders have a reciprocal relationship to influence one another.

Process of *Papalele*

Usually, *papalele* merchants already have customers (producers) who have agreed on the price offered, and therefore, it is not difficult for them to collect commodities in large quantities. *Papalele* merchants to producers would inform every price change. Such generosity keeps *papalele* merchants survive in tough competition—the price changes when the sago becomes scarce. For instance, the long dry season has made sago trees in Saparua scarce and no longer capable of fulfilling the sago demand. Farmers (producers) deal with this problem by renting sago forest of their acquaintances in Seram Island, and they will process the harvest into raw sago. Diversification is implemented by

processing sago into *sagu lempeng*, mashed sago, *sarut*, and *bagea*. The increase always follows the rising price of raw sago in prices of sago diversification products. During the east season (when the sea is full of waves), it is difficult to go out of the island (for example, to Ambon) to sell commodities. If the journey is successful, raw sago prices and diversification products will rise due to the high-risk journey that *papalele* merchants must take to bring commodities to the market.

Bond: Network and Trust in *Papalele*

A strong bond exists among *papalele* merchants. They help each other to load and unload commodities to the transporters. They go together to sell their commodities to Ambon. Moreover, they share the same ship or boat during the journey, have meals on board, and make jokes while eating. After selling, they usually go home together. If some of them cannot sell the items out, they will sell the leftovers to ensure that the unfortunate fellows are not left behind.

These *papalele* merchants have a strong bond tightened by the feeling of "having the same fate." This bond becomes stronger if they come from the same village. They help each other with trust and toleration despite different religions. Such bonds make them set more or less similar prices for their items, strengthening their position on consumers, especially for district collector merchants either in Saparua or Ambon.

Helping one another is an attitude in the market and daily life in the village. If a *papalele* merchant is hosting a wedding event, other merchants will come to help. They prepare

firewoods, do the cooking, and engage in activities to organize the procession. In demise, other merchants show condolences, give money contributions, and help the deceased families prepare funeral ceremonies and meals. All these prove a strong bond among *papalele* merchants, and this bond has gone through job boundaries to a personal matter. This reality was called by Geertz (1970) social reciprocity, and it is considered less usual because such reciprocity only prevails in clientele relationship (bond between *papalele* merchants and producers).

Possibly, this reciprocity is closely associated with the kinship system in Maluku people. In Maluku, a term called *mata ruma* is defined as a cluster of families that comprise the same clans and live in the same village. These families believe that they have the same genealogy and originate from the same bloodline. They presume that reciprocity is their custom that they must preserve.

Besides having a bond with fellow merchants, there is also a relationship between *papalele* merchants and commodity owners. These owners, or usually called producers, can be the merchants' neighbors or acquaintances who live in the same village or individuals from outside or nearby villages. It confirms that *papalele* merchants build a network to facilitate them to obtain the desired commodities. This network also helps producers prevent sparing times from going to the market (village or Saparua market). According to Geertz (1970) it lays the foundation for the so-called clientele relationship where sellers and buyers do repeated transactions. In the context of this research, the relationship between sellers and buyers is not only based on transactions, but

there is also a social relationship between them. Somehow, the clientele relationship must be supported with social reciprocity because the former can easily break without the latter's presence. This situation had been investigated by Hatuina, Pattiselanno, and Tuhumury (2016) where they found the patron-client relationship between PT. Ollop and farmers emanate from their relationship as family tree members, relatives, friends, or individuals from the same village. Farmers (clients) always sell their nutmeg harvest to PT. Ollop (patron) as requested. In return, PT. Ollop gives the nutmeg at a higher price than that offered by other traders and provides endowments such as organizing training programs on nutmeg cultivation and extending nutmeg seeds to farmers without charge. Once again, the patron-client relationship is developed based on genealogy or kinship, friendship, or neighborhood, and this arrangement is preferred because both patron and client expect that they can benefit from this relationship.

Trading in the Island Market

On Wednesday and Saturday, regular buyers mostly come from nearby villages on market days. If buyers are coming from far away villages, they need something only provided by Saparua Market. Saparua Market becomes an island market on Wednesday and Saturday because all traders and buyers from all villages in Saparua Island (15 villages) participate in market activity. Moreover, traders and buyers from other islands, such as from Nusalaut, Haruku, and Seram Islands, make a trade in this island's market.

However, the journey to Saparua Market for stock replenishment is dominated by traders from Nusalaut and Haruku Islands, which both include in the small island category. Seram Island is a large island and has a different market characteristic. In small islands, almost all villages are established on the coastline, and the activity of villages is a mixture of farming and fishing. The village market is mostly at the coast, while the hinterland, which is dominated by forestland, is only used for farming, either for food crops or plantation crops. A different situation is found on Seram Island. Village

markets can be by the coast or in the hinterland because villages occupy each area. The necessities of two community types (coast and hinterland) are accommodated by establishing a different market for each community. It signifies that one community gets one market type (or homogenous market), which is not enough because people are developing and need a higher level of necessities. Despite the difference between each island, people agree that the ideal market must be located at the coast because it allows merchants to arrive on the island or go out for other trading places, mainly Ambon.



Figure2
Papalele Activities in Saparua Markets

As explained above, the market phenomenon is proof of the utilization of space for economic actors, and this space is mainly designed for economic function, although there is still an allocation for other aspects, including politics, social, and culture (Damsar 2016). According to Polanyi (1968) the phenomenon of transferring or distributing commodities and services from one place to another has been managed for 2,000 years before the century, and it still prevails until now, although communication technology and transportation have eliminated spatial boundary (Hodgson 2017).

Conclusion

Market arrangement and marketing system in Central Maluku Regency have changed. This change is anything to do with traders and transportation. In the beginning, farmers and fishers exchange their commodities with one another, considered the middle point of distance between their dwellings. Farmers as producers can also act as merchants who do selling at the nearby market. In this situation, some farmers entrust their commodities to other farmers to be sold at the market. There are three marketing chains for farming commodities: the marketing chain for food crops, the marketing chain for plantation crops and forest crops, and the marketing chain for food crops, plantation crops, and forest crops.

The pawn system is used in the marketing of commodities. Merchants who accept pawns from producers are said to be acting similar to brokers. However, farmers prefer brokerage to formal financial institutions because farmers can get money faster without facing complex procedures. After getting profit from the brokerage,

merchants only want to help farmers become greedy and benefit more from the brokerage. Merchants start to set prices far below market price. Unfortunately, farmers as producers do not know anything about the market and price for their commodities. Although farmers know about those things, they can do nothing about it due to their urgent need for money and their predisposition to lose in the bargaining process that is always time-consuming. Suffering loss in bargaining is associated with a low probability of getting money, and their immediate needs cannot be fulfilled.

Papalele is differentiated into two methods. One method is that producers, either farmers or fishers, sell the commodities directly to consumers. The other is that producers act as collector merchants who buy commodities from the fellow producers and then sell it to retailers. Women mostly perform *Papalele* because man is usually exhausted after work. Wives must peddle the commodities around their village and even sell them in nearby villages. *Papalele* women decide to go to Saparua Market only when their commodities are in large quantities or mostly fish (various species). So far, commodities are sold at the village market or nearby market and Saparua Market in the district capital. Saparua Market sells is done only on two market days (Wednesday and Saturday). Although women dominate the *papalele*, men can also perform *papalele* only for men who do not work as farmers or fishers.

The feeling of “having the same fate and coming from the same village” underlays the inner bond of *papalele* merchants. Despite their different religion, *papalele* merchants help each other with trust and toleration. This bond

obligates them to set more or less similar prices for their items, which then strengthen their position on consumers, particularly in the case of district collector merchants either in Saparua or Ambon. This bond also requires merchants to help one another in the market and daily life in the village. Besides making a professional bond with fellow merchants, *papalele* merchants also create a network with producers. This kind of network is built based on trust that merchants will not manipulate the price, and if there is an indication that price has been played, the mischievous merchants will be excommunicated by all producers.

Recommendation

The government must pay attention to the psychological bond created by farmers and fishers. The capital limitation is always a problem generally faced by farmers and fishers, and this problem is often solved by pawning commodities to individuals with a large capital base. This pawn system contains two aspects: reciprocal exchange and market mechanism exchange. The sequence begins with a reciprocal exchange and continues with the market mechanism exchange that involves bargaining (market economic). The bond that existed between farmers and fishers has influenced the bargaining process. On one side, bargaining allows farmers and fishers to conduct reciprocal exchange to accommodate social interaction in the market. On the other side, bargaining allows merchants (traders) to take benefit from the economic exchange. Habitual shackles and custom rigidity make people weak and incapable of actuating the market process.

As the actuator of trade, the government should know that *papalele* merchants often find difficulty performing trade due to capital shortage. *Papalele* is a traditional business ethic whose trade effect is stronger than the bond between traders in the market. Therefore, government capital assistance would be an excellent initial step to support the business capability of *papalele* merchants, which later enable them to actuate the market and economy of farmers and fishers in small islands

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