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**Women's Entrepreneurship in Matriarchal and  
Patriarchal Societies in Indonesia:  
The Role of Isomorphism, Institutions and Legitimacy**

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## Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to assess the contribution of matriarchy and patriarchy to the experience of female entrepreneurs. Its value is in expanding and developing a more nuanced understanding of how gender shapes entrepreneurial behaviours. It is widely acknowledged that gender is socially constructed (Ahl, 2004). However, narratives of entrepreneurship built upon masculine stereotypes persist (Smith, 2015), derived partly from a preponderance of entrepreneurship studies being conducted in patriarchal societies. We seldom consider the experience of female entrepreneurs in matriarchal societies, even though they exist worldwide. Likewise, there is a lack of work in comparing/ contrasting women's entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial processes in the matriarchal and patriarchal society. There is, therefore, a need for rebalancing in entrepreneurship research, with more work needed in alternate contexts and considering the influence of matriarchal institutional arrangements on entrepreneurship, especially women's entrepreneurship. We need to better capture the ways diverse societies with different gender constructions foster different entrepreneurship experiences. Building on the institutional view, this thesis examines, compares and contrasts how matriarchal institutions in Minangkabau society and patriarchal institutional arrangements in Javanese society interact with the everyday experiences of female entrepreneurs.

It draws upon data collected through semi-structured interviews with fifteen Minangkabau female entrepreneurs (matriarchal society), twenty-two Javanese female entrepreneurs (patriarchal society), tribal leaders in both societies and officials from the Indonesian Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises. Data collection occurred in West Sumatera, the home of the Minangkabau people, and Yogyakarta, a Javanese province. The interviews were analysed using GIOIA methodology (Gioia et al., 2013) and supplemented with field observations and analysis of secondary materials, e.g., media reports.

These matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements were found to shape gender roles, creating varied opportunities and challenges for women entrepreneurs. The structural pressure of matriarchy leads to career convergence and elucidates the prevalence of female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau. This study also finds that legitimacy processes and entrepreneurial identity construction processes for female entrepreneurs in a matriarchal society differ from those in a patriarchal society. This signifies the different entrepreneurial experiences of women entrepreneurs in these societies.

This study contributes to women's entrepreneurship literature, and wider entrepreneurship scholarship, especially the recent contextual turn, by generating novel insights into institutional processes and women's entrepreneurship, and revealing and conceptualising how these play out differently amidst gendered social structures of matriarchy and patriarchy. Empirically, this study contributes to our understanding of relationships between women's entrepreneurship and context in the hitherto underexplored setting of matriarchal societies and amongst the Minangkabau of

Indonesia. It further contributes to research on women's entrepreneurship in emerging economy settings, which remain underrepresented in the field, showcasing the value and additional nuance work in such contexts can bring to existing debates and theorising.

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# Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgement	3
Table of Contents	4
List of figures	10
List of Tables	11
Chapter 1: Introduction	12
1.1 Background of the thesis: Contextualising women's entrepreneurship	12
1.2 Key findings and contributions	20
1.3 Structure of the thesis	21
Chapter 2: Literature review	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Entrepreneurship studies: From an economic to a social science view	23
2.3 The study of women's entrepreneurship: Assumptions, epistemology, and context	25
2.3.1 Entrepreneurship is a gendered phenomenon	26
2.3.2 Life is (not) separable	29
2.3.3 Study of women's entrepreneurship: methods, discourses, and themes	32
2.3.4 Epistemologies in women's entrepreneurship research	41
2.3.5 Women-owned business and the business life cycle	44
2.3.6 Women's entrepreneurship and context	48
2.4 Women's entrepreneurship and matriarchy and patriarchy as the institutional context.	51
2.4.1 Patriarchy and entrepreneurship: Different places, different practices	53
2.4.2 Matriarchy: A (better) place for women's entrepreneurship?	58
2.5 Summary	61
Chapter 3: Institutional theory and the study of women's entrepreneurship	63
3.1 Linking institutional theory and women's entrepreneurship	63
3.1.1 Different perspectives and use of the institutional theory	63
3.1.2 Three pillars of the institutions	66
3.1.3 Isomorphism	71
3.1.4 Legitimacy	74
3.2 Towards the research questions	79
Chapter 4: Methodology	82
	4

4.1. Empirical setting	82
4.1.1 National context: Indonesia	83
4.1.2 Sub-national context: West Sumatera, home to the Minangkabau	90
4.1.3 Sub-national context: Yogyakarta is home to the Javanese classical civilization	93
4.2 Research philosophy	95
4.2.1 Constructionism: The assumptions	95
4.2.2 Theoretical approach	100
4.3 Research design	101
4.3.1 Qualitative research design	102
4.3.2 Preliminary study	103
4.4 Sampling and data collection	105
4.4.1 Sample frame and sampling method	105
4.4.2 Recruiting participants	107
Female entrepreneurs	107
Tribe leaders and government officials	114
4.5 Data sources	115
4.6 Inductive data analysis	117
4.6.1 First-order concepts	118
4.6.2 Second- order themes	120
4.6.3 Aggregate Dimension	120
4.6.4 Data Structure	121
4.7 Research quality and rigour	126
4.7.1 Credibility	126
4.7.2 Transferability	127
4.7.3 Dependability	128
4.7.4 Confirmability	128
4.8 Ethical approval	128
4.9 Chapter conclusion	129
Chapter 5: Three Pillars of Institutions and Female Entrepreneurs in Matriarchy and Patriarchy	130
5.1 Women's entrepreneurship in Javanese patriarchal society and Three pillars of institutions	132
5.1.1 Entrepreneurial motivation	133
Coping with society-sponsored femininity	133
Coping with state-sponsored femininity	140

Entrepreneurship to abide by state-sponsored duties	141
Entrepreneurship as an alternative career	142
Coping with poverty	143
Contextualise Feminised Poverty in Javanese	143
‘Unideal’ Marital Status and feminised poverty in Javanese.	145
5.1.2    Enabling environment	148
Institutional-based resources	149
Prevalent informal economy	154
5.1.3    Institutional barriers	160
Patriarchal resource allocation	160
Gender-segregated industries	165
Patriarchal discriminative regulations	166
5.1.4    Discussion and Conclusion	167
5.2 Women’s entrepreneurship in Minangkabau matriarchal society and Three Pillars of Institutions	170
5.2.1    Entrepreneurial motivation	170
Coping with society-sponsored femininity	171
Coping with poverty	174
5.2.2    Enabling Environment	177
Matriarchal egalitarian norms	178
Copreneurship	179
Minangkabau social and cultural capital	182
Matrilocal arrangement.	184
Speech tradition -	186
5.2.3    Institutional barriers	187
5.2.4    Discussion and Conclusion	190
5.3 Discussion and Conclusion	191
Chapter 6:    Legitimacy and Female Entrepreneurs in Matriarchy and Patriarchy	199
6.1 Women’s entrepreneurship and legitimacy in patriarchy	200
6.1.1 Moral legitimacy	201
Individual propriety-based legitimacy	201
Society propriety-based legitimacy	203
6.1.2 Pragmatic legitimacy	205

Formal legitimacy	206
Informal legitimacy	209
6.2 Women's entrepreneurship and legitimacy in matriarchy	211
6.2.1 Cultural-cognitive legitimacy	212
6.2.2 Moral legitimacy	213
Individual propriety-based legitimacy	214
Society propriety-based legitimacy	214
6.2.3 Pragmatic legitimacy	215
6.3 Discussion and Conclusion	218
Chapter 7: Isomorphism and Female Entrepreneurs in Matriarchy and Patriarchy	223
7.1 Women's entrepreneurship and isomorphism in patriarchy	225
7.1.1 Isomorphism forces	225
Society -coercive Isomorphism	225
State -coercive Isomorphism	227
Endorsed industry –	227
Institutional barriers-	228
Business cluster mimetic isomorphism	229
7.1.2 Role Schema	232
Business cluster – community entrepreneurs' narrative	232
7.2 Women's entrepreneurship and isomorphism in matriarchy	235
7.2.1 Isomorphism forces	235
Society -coercive Isomorphism	235
Business cluster mimetic isomorphism	239
7.2.2 Role Schema	240
Matriarchal – cultural warrior narrative	240
7.3 Discussion and Conclusion	242
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion	247
8.1 Addressing the research questions	247
Path A	251
Path B	252
Path C	252
Path D	253
Path E	253



Path F	254
8.3 Thesis contributions and implication	255
8.5 Limitation, reflexivity, and future research	258
References	262
Appendix 1 - Interview protocol	314
Interview protocol – Women entrepreneurs	314
Interview protocol – Government officials	316
Interview protocol – Tribe leaders	318
Appendix 2 - Ethics approval	320
Appendix 3 – Information sheet	321
Appendix 4 – Consent form	326
Appendix 5 – Empirical Setting	328
Appendix 5.1 Contextual setting: Yogyakarta, home to the Javanese classical civilisation	328
A 5.1.1 Yogyakarta patriarchy: Monarchy, colonisation and state	330
Before colonisation	331
During colonisation	336
Modern day	339
Javanese philosophy	340
National and regional legislation and policy	342
Conclusion	344
A 5.1.2 Yogyakarta entrepreneurship	346
Entrepreneurship before colonisation	346
Entrepreneurship during colonisation	347
Recent times	349
Appendix 5.2 Contextual setting: West Sumatra, home to the Minangkabau	354
A 5.2.1 Minangkabau matriarchy: The egalitarian social structure	355
The cultural aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: The feminine divine	356
Bundo kanduang	357
Limpapeh rumah gadang	359
The social aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: Matrilineal kinship, dualism authority, and matrilocality	360
Matrilineal kinship and matrilocality	360
Dualism authority	361

The economic aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: Inheritance system and gift economy	364
Matrilineal inheritance system	364
Gift economy	366
The political aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: Musyawarah mufakat	367
Before colonisation	368
Colonisation period	370
Post-colonisation period	371
Merantau	374
Conclusion	376
A 5.2.2    Minangkabau: The ethnic entrepreneurs	378
Minangkabau entrepreneurship before colonisation	378
Minangkabau entrepreneurship during colonisation	379
Minangkabau entrepreneurship post-colonisation	380
Appendix 6 – How Arisan Functions	385
Fieldwork photos	386

## List of figures

Chapter	Figure number	Figure name	Page
4	<i>Figure 4-1</i>	The Provinces in Indonesia	85
	<i>Figure 4-2</i>	The research location	101
	<i>Figure 4-3</i>	Javanese recruitment path	109
	<i>Figure 4-4</i>	Minangkabau recruitment path	110
	<i>Figure 4-5</i>	The example of the mind mapping process of the Minangkabau dataset	119
5	<i>Figure 5-1</i>	A woman sells cooked chicken in the market	145
8	<i>Figure 8-1</i>	A model of Matriarchal/ Patriarchal institution and experience of female entrepreneurs	248

## List of Tables

Chapter	Table number	Table name	Page
2	<i>Table 2-1</i>	Summary of literature review papers	33
4	<i>Table 4-1</i>	Numbers of Indonesian enterprises by size	81
	<i>Table 4-2</i>	Criteria of Indonesian enterprises	81
	<i>Table 4-3</i>	The summary of the procedure for starting a business	84
	<i>Table 4-4</i>	Laws related to women's economic empowerment	87
	<i>Table 4-5</i>	Preliminary study participants	104
	<i>Table 4-6</i>	Summary of the participants	107
	<i>Table 4-7</i>	Javanese entrepreneurs participants	111
	<i>Table 4-8</i>	Minangkabau entrepreneurs participants	112
	<i>Table 4-9</i>	Example of the matriarchy data extract, with first-order concept applied	118
	<i>Table 4-10</i>	Data structure	120
	<i>Table 4-11</i>	Research quality criteria and validation strategy	124
5	<i>Table 5-1</i>	Comparison of the three pillar themes in Matriarchy and Patriarchy	130
	<i>Table 5-2</i>	Employment and education in Yogyakarta and Indonesia	143
	<i>Table 5-3</i>	Scheme of Minangkabau copreneurship	179
	<i>Table 5-4</i>	Resources provided by Minangkabau matriarchy	181
	<i>Table 5-5</i>	Institutional pillar themes summary and comparison	192
6	<i>Table 6-1</i>	Legitimacy themes summary and comparison	199
	<i>Table 6-2</i>	Summary of the legitimacy finding	218
7	<i>Table 7-1</i>	Isomorphism themes summary and comparison	221
8	<i>Table 8-1</i>	Summary of research questions and findings	246

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Background of the thesis: Contextualising women's entrepreneurship

*Riska is the owner of an online organic food shop. She has taught women in her neighbourhood to grow plants organically in their gardens, produce organic foods in their kitchens, and sell the produce to her. Riska designed the brand, labelling, and packaging for her business. She registered for a food licence and for the other required business permits and sells her products through Instagram and Facebook. She started the venture simply because she wanted herself and women in the neighbourhood to earn pocket money without leaving their houses. The norm in her society is that the man should be the primary breadwinner, whilst women stay at home to tend the household. Riska thought that setting up a home-based micro business could enable her to contribute a little money to the family income, without breaking any social rules. Having a business allows her to put into practice the knowledge she has learned at university. She lives in Jogjakarta, the only province in Indonesia officially recognised as a monarchy, ruled by a sultanate. Jogjakarta is a patriarchal society. It is currently facing a problem in the succession of its rulers. Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, governor of Jogjakarta, has named his eldest daughter as crown princess, which many see as a preparation for her succession. Members of the royal family at the Jogjakarta palace have demonstrated their discontent at the decision, expressing opposition and claiming the Sultan's choice violates palace regulations: power has to be passed from father to son.*

*Ibu Nini lives in West Sumatra, home of the Minangkabau tribe – the largest matriarchal society in the world. The matriarchal arrangements in Minangkabau grant women the right to inherit land, paddy fields, houses, and other economic property. Amongst the Minangkabau, the mother is the head of the household and descendants belong to the maternal clan, which runs through the female line. Ibu Nini owns a natural hot springs bathhouse, on land that she inherited from her mother. Her husband has no land or paddy fields, as is the norm in Minangkabau, due to matriarchal inheritance arrangements. Minangkabau men usually engage in “merantau” (migration outside the village) or work on the farm belonging to their wife or mother-in-law. Following this tradition, Ibu Nini's husband works at the bathhouse and is paid monthly by his*

*wife. Ibu Nini has built a huller using income from her clan-inherited paddy field. She has nine male siblings, and they did not inherit from their parents or the clan. Therefore, some of her siblings work in her paddy field and are paid monthly or seasonally by Ibu Nini. The other siblings are away on merantau.*

Both of the societies above are located in Indonesia. Indonesia is a country that, in general, has a shared understanding of the man as the primary breadwinner (Tambunan, 2007; Ananta, 2015; Babbitt, Brown and Mazaheri, 2015). This shared understanding is found amongst many ethnicities in Indonesia (Utomo, 2012; Babbitt, Brown and Mazaheri, 2015; International Finance Corporation, 2016). At the national level, the notion of the man as primary breadwinner was formalised by the 1974 National Marital Act (Article 34:1), which states that the husband is the provider for the family.

The state's gender ideology and norms posit Indonesian women's participation in economic activity as secondary to their domestic role (Tambunan, 2000). Indonesian working women sometimes face negative stereotypes and prejudice from a patriarchal culture that inhibits their career aspirations (Blackburn, 2004; Großmann, Padmanabhan and Braun, 2017; Imron, Pramesti and Wahyuni, 2017). However, more egalitarian gender relationships can be found amongst the Minangkabau (Blackwood, 1997; Sanday, 2003), who practise matriarchal arrangements, as illustrated by Ibu Nini's story. Inheritance law in Minangkabau allows women to own ancestral land and earn money. It is common to see Minangkabau women work or run businesses on their ancestral land and be known as entrepreneurs or traders (Buang, 2014; Rohman, 2014; Hastuti *et al.*, 2015).

Turning back to the story above, Riska limits her business to the online platform and does not open a physical store or attempt to sell her products through a large supermarket chain. This ensures that her business does not become too well-known or complex. She also limits her production to ensure her income remains lower than that of her husband. It is to conform to the norms in her society, the Javanese. Riska's story aligns with previous studies on female entrepreneurs' challenges, such as role conflict between roles as entrepreneurs and social expectations (Hundera *et al.*, 2019).

Research on gender and entrepreneurship has documented challenges faced by female entrepreneurs and women in general (Ahl and Marlow, 2012). Particularly challenges due to

conflict between the multiple roles of a female entrepreneur and social expectations (Hundera *et al.*, 2019). This challenge is more prominent in the context of a collectivist society, where a member's identity is defined by their membership in particular groups (Ozgen, 2012). Female entrepreneurs' compliance with one option, such as working or owning a business, could make it difficult to comply with the social expectations from where they belong, such as complying with the role of mother or wife.

Additionally, patriarchy prioritizes men as breadwinners (Lerner, 1986), and women's work is considered secondary or complementary (Tambunan, 2007). Women are expected to stay at home, and patriarchy consistently inhibits women's economic participation to maintain male hegemony over females (Walby, 1989). Therefore, in the patriarchal society, the women's role in the public sphere, such as to work or to own a business, could trigger a conflict where their role in public is deemed to not fit with social expectations where they are required to stay at home. Another misfit can also be found in how the ideal entrepreneur is portrayed as a male, making female entrepreneurs considered less legitimate because they do not fit the ideal (Swail and Marlow, 2018).

The stories of Riska and Ibu Nini show us that different societies – even when located in one country, under the same national legislation – produce and reproduce unique social norms, rules, practices, and so on that are dictated by the normative pillars of their institutions. Specifically, there has been a rise in research about the impact of patriarchy on female entrepreneurs (Naguib and Jamali, 2015; Tlaiss and McAdam, 2020), highlighting how female entrepreneur navigates their entrepreneurial journey in a context that is not supportive of their entrepreneurial journey. Female entrepreneurs in a patriarchal society face challenges from the visible and invisible masculine norms manifest in policy (Foss et al., 2018), culture (Maria Ayala and Murga, 2016), stereotypes and prejudice (Vincent, 1998; Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015). Patriarchal and masculine norms inhibit women's entrepreneurship (Rehman and Roomi, 2012). Therefore, women must make greater efforts to identify and prove themselves as entrepreneurs in the face of such masculine norms (Lewis, 2006; Marlow, 2015). It is difficult for women to establish credibility and legitimacy as entrepreneurs (Jennings and Brush, 2013). Women face work-family conflict due to prescribed gender roles (Barragan, Eroglu and Essers, 2018), difficulty accessing finance

(Marlow and Patton, 2005; Wilson *et al.*, 2007; Chapelle, 2012), absence of mentors and training (Aidis and Weeks, 2016; Dy, Marlow and Martin, 2017), networking (Panda, 2018).

Research on female entrepreneurs in patriarchal society also highlights numerous strategies women employ to comply with social norms whilst simultaneously proving their entrepreneurial competence (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004; Barragan, Eroglu and Essers, 2018; Swail and Marlow, 2018). Lastly, it is found that women can drive the economic and democratic change of the patriarchal structure through entrepreneurial activities (Ritchie, 2016). Even though female entrepreneurs contribute positively to society, research on gender and entrepreneurship found that female entrepreneurs often operate in an unfavourable environment. Specifically, they face structural challenges imposed by the patriarchal structure, such as mentioned above.

Conversely, the story of Ibu Nini is the opposite of Riska. The matriarchal inheritance provides Minangkabau women with the capacity and access to resources (Buang, 2014), which aligns with the concept of the matriarchal economic structure introduced by Gottner-Abendroth (1999). It is common for a man in Minangkabau to help his wife's businesses (Sanday, 2003). It shows the gender equality aspect of the matriarchal social and political structure (Gottner-Abendroth, 1999; Sanday, 2003). It has also been found that women's entrepreneurial propensity, self-efficacy, and risk appetite in a matrilineal society are higher than in a patrilineal society (Shahriar, 2018). The nature of Shariar's quantitative research cannot offer a comprehensive explanation beyond the variables he assessed. Still, he suggests these phenomena can be accounted for socialisation and training processes in a matrilineal society where entrepreneurship is not considered an inappropriate career. Therefore, it can be asserted that the matriarchal is a social structure that supports female entrepreneurs, in contrast to the patriarchal structure that is usually depicted to inhibit female entrepreneurs. It will be the central assumption for this thesis.

As discussed above, previous studies have highlighted that social-cultural differences have different impacts on women's entrepreneurship (Welter, 2011; McAdam and Cunningham, 2021), such as in matriarchy and patriarchy. However, research on the social-cultural context in which female entrepreneurs operate is still neglected (Poggesi, Mari and De Vita, 2016). Additionally, there is little understanding of female entrepreneurship in matriarchy as it is considered an unfamiliar context (Smith, 2014a). Amidst the urge to contextualise women's entrepreneurship study (McAdam and Cunningham, 2021), only a few research on the matriarchal context (i.e.



Smith, 2014a; Shahriar, 2018). Particularly, there is little research on what mechanism is involved in enabling /hindering women's entrepreneurship in a matriarchal society.

Similarly, amidst numerous previous research already conducted in the patriarchal society, the patriarchal practice or value could be different worldwide. For example, the 'Western patriarchy' analyzed by Walby (1990) has different dimensions to patriarchy in the Middle East, North Africa and East Asia (Moghadam, 2007; Sechiyama, 2013). Therefore, different patriarchal contexts could have a nuanced influence on entrepreneurial experience. This study aims to fill this gap by comparing and contrasting the influence of matriarchy and patriarchy on women's entrepreneurial experience. So, it could be understood how matriarchy and patriarchy shape the experience of female entrepreneurs and how they navigate these conditions.

In addition to studying matriarchy/ patriarchy as a context that could enable/ hinder women's entrepreneurship, it is also important to understand the legitimacy process of female entrepreneurs in both societies. It is because, as mentioned above, female entrepreneurs face challenges in pursuing and gaining legitimacy. After all, the nature of females does not fit with the masculine discourse of entrepreneurship (Swail and Marlow, 2018). However, it is known that social expectations for women in a matriarchal society differ from those in a patriarchal society (Sanday, 2003; Goettner-Abendroth, 2004). Hence, the propriety judgment of women and society under the matriarchal institutional arrangement could be different to those of patriarchal institutions. With that, it could be expected that the legitimacy process or source of female entrepreneurs in matriarchal society could be different from patriarchy, which this difference has not been studied.

Additionally, scholars found that stereotypes of the gender roles constructed at the macro level could trigger the individuals' legitimacy process (Ahl and Marlow, 2012; Arshed, Chalmers and Matthews, 2018). Accordingly, Tost (2011) introduced the micro-level legitimacy process, which focuses on the individual level of judgment on the legitimacy process. It aligns with Scott (2014), who recognizes that individuals or actors have subjective interpretations of objects and activities, and actors respond to their wider cultural framework. Similarly, according to Tost, individual legitimacy is the "Individual's own judgment of the extent to which an entity is appropriate for its social context" (Tost, 2011, p. 689).

Currently, research on the legitimacy of female entrepreneurs considers the legitimacy process to pursue external legitimacy, such as fit to norm (Swail and Marlow, 2018) or gain formal

legitimacy, such as license or award (Hashim, Naldi and Markowska, 2021). The micro process, such as self-conferred legitimacy highlighted by Bitektine and Haack (2015) and Suddaby, Bruton and Si, 2015, or the individual legitimacy (Tost, 2011) and its interaction with the macro level process needs further study. In addition, most studies on female entrepreneurs' legitimacy were conducted in a patriarchal setting. To acknowledge that matriarchy and patriarchy are two different social contexts it means to recognize that matriarchy and patriarchy could provide different legitimacy sources and routes. However, research on entrepreneurial legitimacy in a matriarchal context is still limited. This thesis seeks to fill this gap by studying the legitimacy process of female entrepreneurs in Matriarchy and patriarchy and how the micro and macro-level legitimacy processes interact to provide/ pursue legitimacy.

The next question related to legitimacy is, how was entrepreneurial identity shaped to see themselves as legitimate entrepreneurs? This question is raised based on the knowledge that Minangkabau women in Indonesia are known as entrepreneurs (Buang, 2014; Armianti, 2018), but women from other tribes in Indonesia do not have similar acknowledgement. It could be the case that the Minangkabau or matriarchal structure provides a macro-level framework that gives meaning to answer the questions of 'who we are' or 'what we do.' or conceptualized as the collective identity legitimacy ((Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn, 2011). The explanation for this could be borrowed from Scott (2014) that normative and regulative pillars produce and reproduce shared meaning (Scott, 2014) to what/who are considered entrepreneurs (Downing, 2005; Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn, 2011). It is also acknowledged that at the micro level, in this case, the cognitive process produces the meaning or shapes the identity (Anderson and Warren, 2011; Scott, 2014). Previous studies investigated how female entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identity (Swail and Marlow, 2018; Cesaroni, Sentuti and Pediconi, 2021). Additionally, the collective identity legitimacy has been studied by Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn (2011), focusing on the meso/macro level (what are we?). Scholars acknowledge that the entrepreneurial identity should be reconciled with gender roles and social norms to gain legitimacy (Sieger *et al.*, 2016; Cesaroni, Sentuti and Pediconi, 2021). However, how the entrepreneurial identity is constructed/enacted differently by the Individual as the response of the wider institutional framework and how this individual identity becomes a (collective/ social) identity and provides legitimacy, need further exploration.

It becomes important to study, especially for female entrepreneurs whose lives are linked to a segregated sphere (public and private) and who have to reconcile multiple identities from that sphere (Deng et al., 2023). This lack of study could be because most of the entrepreneurial study was conducted in the patriarchal setting, where the entrepreneurship discourse is linked to the masculine value, therefore the phenomena of entrepreneurs as a social formation (Thompson-Whiteside, Turnbull and Fletcher-Brown, 2021), or as the accepted collective identity for female entrepreneurs is underexplored. To study this phenomenon, this thesis borrows the concept of isomorphism identity (Hughey, 2014) to explain the process of construction and adoption of the entrepreneurial identity and how this becomes a collective identity in matriarchal or patriarchal societies. According to this notion, the isomorphism identity is the process of pursuing a similar and ideal form of an identity. The role schema, or intersubjectively shared understanding of norms and expectations, constructs identity and protects the interest (Hughey 2014). We extend this notion to understand how the identity of female entrepreneurs in the matriarchy and patriarchy are constructed and how female entrepreneurs navigate this process. This thesis asserts that female entrepreneurs may rely upon the same role schematic resources derived from the matriarchal or patriarchal institutional pillars and thus bind their identity projects together in an isomorphic fashion.

In summary, there is a gap in the literature to study female entrepreneurs in the unfamiliar context. To fill this gap, this thesis investigates female entrepreneurs in matriarchal and patriarchal societies, where these societies are built upon different sets of norms and values. Specifically, this thesis aims to understand how Matriarchy and patriarchy contribute to shaping the life experience of female entrepreneurs. Particularly, this study seeks to answer these questions:

**How do matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements differently shape the experiences of women entrepreneurs? How do women entrepreneurs navigate these arrangements?**

#### Sub-research questions

1. How is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?

2. How do female entrepreneurs differently pursue and gain legitimacy under matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements?
3. What is the influence of patriarchal and matriarchal institutional arrangements on identity construction by women entrepreneurs? How and why does this differ?

This research draws upon data collected in early 2019 at multiple villages in West Sumatera and Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The Minangkabau region and tribal group, known as the largest matriarchal tribe in the world (Sanday, 2003), represents an important yet understudied context in which to assess the influence of matriarchal institutional arrangements on entrepreneurship. West Sumatra is the provincial home of the people of the Minangkabau tribe (Ananta, 2015), and its society is built upon a matriarchal structure. Yogyakarta is one of the provinces in which the Javanese tribe resides (Ananta, 2015), and its society takes a patriarchal structure. These two tribes are culturally diverse, with essential differences in their social structures. However, the tribes originated in similar historical and religious conditions and are members of a single national polity and economy. It provides a remarkable opportunity to analyse matriarchy, patriarchy, and women's entrepreneurship from the institutional lens. The methodology and finding chapters provide further elaboration on and justification for the choices of the Minangkabau and Javanese as the research context.

The data were collected through face-to-face semi-structured interviews with female entrepreneurs from the Minangkabau and Javanese tribes. Tribal leaders and government officials were also interviewed. A random sampling and non-probability snowball sampling method (SSM) were used to recruit participants. Participants were chosen to ensure diversity in the industry, age of business and business life-cycle, marital and motherhood status, and educational background. Field observations and media documentation supplemented the interviews. Thematic analysis (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013) was conducted on the interview transcripts to develop themes identified in the dataset, suggesting concepts to describe and explain the phenomena observed. Further details on the data collection and analysis methods are provided in the methodology chapter.

## 1.2 Key findings and contributions

This study found that matriarchy and patriarchy differently shape the experiences of women entrepreneurs. The institutional pillars of matriarchy and patriarchy shape the enabling environments and – simultaneously – create institutional barriers. These then interact with women's agency to influence their motivation to join the entrepreneurial journey, pursue and gain legitimacy, and construct their entrepreneurial identity.

Empirically, this study contributes to several areas of scholarship. First, it responds to the call from Welter and colleagues (Welter, Baker and Wirsching, 2019) to study entrepreneurship in a new context. Amidst most research on women's entrepreneurship studies tend to be in North America and Europe (Moreira *et al.*, 2019), this thesis provides an empirical contribution to offer rich insights into how women's entrepreneurship plays out in Javanese, an under-researched context in Asia that are more patriarchal than the western culture. This study also extends women's entrepreneurship and institutional theory research in a context of matriarchal societies that is overlooked. This study also shows these dynamics across different stages of the entrepreneurial process and for different kinds of women entrepreneurs. Third, it contributes to a better understanding of Minangkabau matriarchy's nature and provides a more realistic picture (pros and cons) of what matriarchal and patriarchal arrangements mean for women entrepreneurs. Finally, this study offers a comparison and comparative element of matriarchy and patriarchy in one country, contributes to limited work on women's entrepreneurship in Indonesia, and rebalances the field by studying entrepreneurship using institutional theory in the context of emerging economies.

Theoretically, this thesis contextualises women's entrepreneurship study in a gendered context of matriarchy and patriarchy. Particularly, it contributes to study women's entrepreneurship in an overlooked matriarchal context. This study confirms previous studies that matriarchy and patriarchy are nuanced by providing theoretical insights into the nature and construction of matriarchal and patriarchal societies in Indonesia. It explains the influence of monarchy, colonialism, and post-colonial government on matriarchy and patriarchy, adding theoretical depth that the patriarchal and matriarchal practices are varied and socially constructed. It also responds to the call from Smith (2014) to expand the theory of matriarchy into entrepreneurship studies. Contrary to the discourse that matriarchy is a social structure favourable for women, it turns out

that matriarchy also poses challenges for female entrepreneurs, even though it is different from traditional challenges posed by patriarchal arrangements.

This research also extends the research on macro and micro legitimacy (Tost, 2011; Bitektine and Haack, 2015) and institutional theory (Scott, 2014) by providing a model that shows how the macro-level institutions (normative and regulative pillars) (Scott, 2014) construct the role schema (Hughey, 2014), isomorphism forces and legitimacy sources that interact with the cognitive pillars of female entrepreneurs to reconcile the roles/ identities into an ideal identity that provides legitimacy.

Lastly, this thesis offers a novel understanding of the different routes that female entrepreneurs take to gain legitimacy (Bitektine and Haack, 2015) and the isomorphism identity mechanisms involved concerning the institutions within those social structures (Tan, Shao and Li, 2013; Hughey, 2014).

This study offers policy implications. First, this thesis highlights the importance of synchronising different types of institutions. It can be done by applying the social-cultural approach in designing policy and delivering support programs. Secondly, this found that community is important for female entrepreneurs. It provides access to finance, resources, training and mentoring. Therefore, for the entrepreneurship support program facing low participation, it can be considered to design their support program to strengthen the business/social community so the community can channel it to their member, increasing participation. Thirdly, for the policymakers in both patriarchal and matriarchal societies, it is evident from the research that legitimacy is important for female entrepreneurs. Hence the policy has to design to support female entrepreneurs in gaining legitimacy. For example, helping female entrepreneurs in achieving licensing or certification for their businesses.

### **1.3 Structure of the thesis**

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 introduces the background of this study and justifies its significance. Chapter 2 presents the literature review findings that guided the research questions' development. Chapter 3 discusses the institutional theory as the framework. Chapter 4 discusses methodology. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss the study's findings, each focusing on one of the three

research questions. Finally, chapter 8 concludes this thesis by discussing the findings, highlighting the contributions of this work, and proposing trajectories for future research.

## Chapter 2: Literature review

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on women's entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship and context, followed by the literature review on the institutional theory (Chapter 3). It aims to elaborate on the recent progress of the field and offer opinions on its future trajectory. It also discusses some controversial aspects, strengths, and pitfalls of previous studies to identify the main gaps to be addressed. Finally, the literature review guides the current research project and highlights the significance of the research questions.

The first part of this review discusses entrepreneurship studies. It reviews various perspectives of entrepreneurship and traces what is missing from this field. It then narrows its focus to reviewing the study of women's entrepreneurship, highlighting problematic assumptions, elaborating on the epistemologies applied in the field, and identifying the gaps in this area. The following section reviews the link between entrepreneurship and social structure. Matriarchy and patriarchy are two gendered social structures discussed here regarding their possible relationship with entrepreneurship. The following section discusses institutional theory as the lens of this study. This chapter concludes by posing three research questions from the literature review and introducing Indonesia as the research context.

### 2.2 Entrepreneurship studies: From an economic to a social science view

The word “entrepreneur” comes from the French “*entreprendre*”, referring to a person who is active or gets things done. It was originally associated with government contractors tasked with building public buildings and great architectural works (Hoselitz, 1951). Reflecting the nature of government contractors, Cantillon describes entrepreneurs as people who bear risk and uncertainty by buying a product at a fixed price in the present and selling it at an unknown price in the future (Cantillon, 1755; Murphy, 1986). With *entreprendre* being difficult to pronounce in English, the words “undertaker”, “merchant adventurer”, and “capitalist” have all been used in its place. The translation and pronunciation difficulties of *entreprendre* are mentioned in the translator's note of Cantillon and Say's work (Jean-baptiste, 1832; Murphy, 1986).



Other scholars have introduced various perspectives of the entrepreneur. Jean-Baptiste (1832) highlights the entrepreneur as the planner of the project (as separate from the labour, although the same person can do both) and as a mediator between several factors needed to achieve the production goals. Schumpeter (2017), in his work, defines “entrepreneurs” as people who (1) introduce a new good, (2) introduce a new production method, (3) create a new market, (4) conquer a new source of raw material, and/or (5) establish a new organisation of industry. He describes entrepreneurial characteristics and innovation as the “doing of new things or the doing of things that are already being done in a new way (innovation)” (Schumpeter, 1947, p. 151). Schumpeter also proposes that institutional factors weaken entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1976) and highlights that entrepreneurs can be organisations (Schumpeter, 1947). Schumpeter highlights that entrepreneurs break an equilibrium, whilst Kirzner argues that entrepreneurs can restore equilibrium whilst discovering profit opportunities (Kirzner, 1993, 1997). (Stevenson and Jarillo, 1990) describe the entrepreneur as pursuing opportunities.

Weber (Weber, 2002) offers a perspective on “what makes an entrepreneur”, arguing that particular traits are needed – for example, decisiveness and charisma. This notion is supported by psychology scholarship (McClelland, 1963; Chell, 1991), demonstrating an entrepreneurial personality and traits. However, this field of entrepreneurship psychology is considered to have low status due to its limited contributions to practice (Swedberg, 2000). Therefore, scholars have combined psychology and sociology to produce a social-psychological approach to explore the interactions between entrepreneurs and their surroundings (Max and Ballereau, 2013)

Here, the focus of entrepreneurship theory moves from highlighting the agency or individual side to considering the role of the environment in shaping entrepreneurship. Scholars in this camp are inspired by Weber (2002), who suggests that capitalism and industrialisation in Western Europe and North America surged because protestant ethics permitted capitalism and industrialisation (Weber, 2002). At the same time, other cultures and religions condemned growth and profit, which inhibited capitalism and industrialisation and suppressed entrepreneurship (Lipset, 2000). This stance indicates that structural conditions foster or suppress entrepreneurial traits and behaviours. It thus provides the foundation for further inquiry into entrepreneurship and its environment.

In addition to the economics perspectives, sociological theories are also used to study entrepreneurship. For example, social network theory (Granovetter, 1985) has examined the

relationship between entrepreneurship, social networks, and resources in various settings (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Greve and Salaff, 2003). There have been attempts to explain entrepreneurial behaviour using a combination of biological and cultural theories (Guiso and Rustichini, 2011). Intersectionality and network theory define the failure and success of ethnic entrepreneurs (Groenmeyer, 2011; Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017). Institutional theory is a useful lens through which to study entrepreneurs and their contexts (Tolbert, David and Sine, 2010; Williams and Gurtoo, 2011; Stephan, Uhlander and Stride, 2015). Finally, gender studies and feminist theory have shown that entrepreneurship is gendered, favouring one gender over the other and thus putting the others at a disadvantage (Brush, 1992; Mirchandani, 1999; Ahl, 2004)

In the long history of entrepreneurship study, the feminist and gender studies perspectives can be considered new, with the earliest studies having emerged in 1970s (Brush, 1992). As reviewed above, the earlier entrepreneurship studies were primarily written by men. This does not mean that they are wrong, of course, but it inevitably creates an imbalance in representativeness. As a result, the experiences of female entrepreneurs may have been missed or gone unacknowledged. The impact is that the entrepreneur is stereotyped as male, and success factors are measured according to what is important from the male perspective. This is labelled by McAdam (2013) as an “androcentric mentality”. When female entrepreneurs are brought into the picture, they are deemed unsuitable or thought to be underperforming because the measurements were not designed for them. This can lead to strategies of seeking to “fix or train” female entrepreneurs to fit the success criteria rather than embracing their femininity and providing a supportive environment (Marlow, 2015; Swail and Marlow, 2018). On this basis, scholars have suggested that future researchers use a gender lens to reach a more comprehensive understanding of entrepreneurship, especially women’s entrepreneurship (Ahl and Marlow, 2012; McAdam, 2013; Marlow, 2015; Swail and Marlow, 2018). The following section examines the existing scholarship on women’s entrepreneurship.

### **2.3 The study of women’s entrepreneurship: Assumptions, epistemology, and context**

Female entrepreneurs represent a vital component of business sectors worldwide. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) reported in 2022 that women’s entrepreneurial activity is at

parity with men's in 47 economies (GEM, 2022). This indicates an increase in women's entrepreneurship participation compared to before. However, women who have established business or have been operating more than 3.5 years are 5.5% and men are 8.1% which shows that less women in the established business compared to men. Shared values and beliefs are also found by GEM to influence women's perception on entrepreneurship. One in six women around the world consider owning a business as a good career choice. Women start business due to lack of job is more likely compared to men. Women are less likely to be recognised as entrepreneurs (GEM, 2022), shows that there is a gender gap on entrepreneurial legitimacy. In general, there is a variety across the world on women's participation on entrepreneurship. However, there is still a gender gap and women need support.

Despite the increasing numbers of female entrepreneurs, the literature documents that women still find it challenging to become entrepreneurs – or to identify themselves as such (Marlow, 2015; Elliott and Orser, 2018). Scholars highlight various life assumptions that mean entrepreneurship is seen as “not for women”. Also, with the current pandemic, GEM (2022) suggested that progress toward gender equality in entrepreneurship may be disrupted shortly because women entrepreneurs were more affected during the lockdown and restrictions, which they have to deal with school and childcare closure. With this in mind, we acknowledge that there are two main assumptions about women's entrepreneurship. The first assumption is “entrepreneurship is a gendered phenomenon”. The second assumption is “[that] life is separable”. These two assumptions are linked and overlap, but we can see that the first assumption that entrepreneurship is a gendered phenomenon is more specific to entrepreneurship study and practice. The latter is more about the discourse and practice of women's life. These two subsections will elaborate on the state of the field of these assumptions, followed by how this PhD research will proceed and contribute to this area.

### **2.3.1 Entrepreneurship is a gendered phenomenon**

Entrepreneurship is a gendered phenomenon. It is built upon masculine stereotypes (Ahl, 2004). Hence entrepreneurship is not gender-neutral (Hughes et al., 2012). Scholars suggest that entrepreneurship is dominated by masculinity values, where the ‘natural’ and ideal portrayal of entrepreneurship is male (Ahl, 2006; Swail and Marlow, 2018). Consequently, male and female

entrepreneurs could face different circumstances due to their gender, creating different challenges and benefits for male and female entrepreneurs (Marlow, 2015).

Entrepreneurship as a gendered phenomenon can be traced to several dimensions or levels, such as conceptualisation and practice. At the theory or conceptual level, entrepreneurship as a gendered phenomenon can be pointed to its non-inclusive definition. Scholars argue that the definition of entrepreneurship does not accommodate femininity or women's characteristics as entrepreneurs (Ahl, 2006; Hamilton, 2013; Elam et al., 2019). Instead, entrepreneurship is conceptualised as a masculine endeavour using masculine vocabularies such as risk-taking, ambition, decision-making, and leadership (Ahl, 2004, 2006). The previous section also discussed that the word 'entrepreneur' was originally used to define a government contractor, usually a man (Hoselitz, 1951). This definition eventually lingers and is taken as a norm that entrepreneurship is a masculine activity, and the entrepreneur is male.

Conversely, concepts of sympathy, understanding, and compassion – listed under femininity on the BEM sex-role inventory – never define the entrepreneur (Ahl, 2004, 2006). Ahl (2006) has comprehensively discussed the discourse of the entrepreneur as male-gendered, putting women as 'other' in the entrepreneurship field. Likewise, the media and academic texts perpetuate discourse that presents entrepreneurship as a form of masculinity. For example, media reports featuring only successful male entrepreneurs construct the norm that the entrepreneur's ideal sex is male (Hamilton, 2014).

The phenomenon of picturing entrepreneurship as male-gendered is also facilitated or can be found in a formal institution. For example, Foss et al. (2019) found that at the policy level, despite putting women in the interest, most of the policies in training and education for women entrepreneurs also reinforce the discourse of female deficit. This policy, in the end, portrays women as 'other' within the entrepreneurship field and as non-capable entrepreneurs. Also, Ahl and Nelson (2015) found that in the policy documents they studied, economic growth was positioned to be superior to gender equality. Hence the policy to support women entrepreneurs often excludes the nuance of gender and power order. It makes what 'equal' regarding women's entrepreneurship unclear. A similar result is also found by Coleman *et al.*, (2019) that policies to support women entrepreneurs to access financial capital are premised primarily on the neo-liberal perspective which men are portrayed as the ideal or the norm.

The discourse of entrepreneurship as male-gendered activities is also perpetuated within the informal institution, for example, the traditional gender roles which define what women and men must do, including their careers, to fit their ascribed gender (Liñán, Fernández-Serrano and Romero, 2013; Bullough, Renko and Abdelzaher, 2017). In the traditional gender role is the norm for women to do activities related to caregiving and nurturing, which is stereotyped to be incongruent with the masculine element of the entrepreneurship concept and practice (Gupta, Wieland and Turban, 2019). Religious values and culture are also considered to contribute to perpetuating entrepreneurship as a masculine activity by ban women from work or prescribing women's careers (Jamali, 2009; Ritchie, 2016; Barragan, Erogul and Essers, 2018). Gupta and colleagues also found that gender role stereotyping also impacts 'what type of entrepreneurship' fit women. For example, the high-growth venture is stereotyped as masculine, and the low-growth venture is often perceived as 'for women'. In addition, Akter, Rahman and Radicic (2019) and Moreira *et al.* (2019) assert that a lack of access to resources and the market can affect the rate of internationalization carried out by female entrepreneurs. Gendered entrepreneurship can also be traced in the family business context, where female roles are usually behind the door or invisible (Smith, 2014), and the daughter will only be considered a business heir in the absence of a son (Glover, 2014)

However, research on gender and entrepreneurship has been criticised as maintaining the assumptions of 'subordinate women as a feminised category in contrast to the tendency to privilege men and masculinity (Marlow and Martinez Dy, 2018, p.7). It homogenised women into one category and equated women to 'gender', which can be counterproductive in developing knowledge on women's entrepreneurship. Marlow and Martinez (2018) suggest future research embraces the more complex dimensions of women and the non-gender category.

In line with that, it also needs to be considered that gender is socially constructed (Ahl, 2004). Therefore, the conceptualisation of gender could be varied in different contexts. Nevertheless, most research on female entrepreneurs was in a western setting or a developed country (De Vita, Mari and Poggesi, 2014; Poggesi, Mari and De Vita, 2016). The gender construction and the gender value of western or developed countries might differ from that of non-western and developing countries (Moreira *et al.*, 2019). Females from non-western contexts might face different circumstances to currently available research in western and developed countries.

Therefore, research on female entrepreneurs from developing countries and the non-western setting is needed to understand how many aspects of these countries construct and formulate female entrepreneurship.

Stemming from this perspective to study female entrepreneurs in an unfamiliar, such as a non-western setting, is important. It will allow us to understand different specifications and conceptualisations of entrepreneurs in different contexts. When it comes to understanding the gendered nature of entrepreneurship, there is a limited conversation of entrepreneurship being conducted in a context where masculinity value is not dominant. Bringing matriarchal and patriarchal social structures into the discussion of gendered entrepreneurship could expand our understanding of entrepreneurship as a gendered phenomenon.

It is interesting and needed to study entrepreneurship in the context of matriarchy. This gendered social structure has different arrangements to the currently common research setting of patriarchy, where matriarchy gives women more respect and privilege than those in a patriarchal society (Shahriar, 2018). Therefore, it could rebalance the knowledge on contextualised gendered entrepreneurship where masculinity is not a dominant value, hence research on women's entrepreneurship in the matriarchal society. This thesis will later elaborate on the literature on matriarchy and patriarchy in the next sections.

### **2.3.2 Life is (not) separable**

There is a social assumption that it is possible to separate the domains of life into work and home life or the public and private sphere (Mirchandani, 1999; Bourne and Calás, 2013). This assumption is rooted in Western industrialisation, which segregates work and family (and the private and public spheres) for business efficiency (Walby, 1990). The private sphere refers to the domestic, including the unpaid labour reproduced in the household; whilst the public sphere usually refers to paid work done outside the household (Vincent, 1998; Bourne and Calás, 2013). It is also known as the segregation of production and reproduction, where production equates to 'work' or paid work, and reproduction equates to unpaid work, such as caring and parenting (Segal, Chow and Demos, 2012; Johnstone-Louis, 2017). Again, life is separable is a notion linked to a patriarchal value, where men use this segregation to maintain their hegemony over other groups (i.e. women, younger males, and children: Walby, 1990, Sechiyama, 2013).

Most studies of patriarchal-western industrialisation and employment highlight the need for separate spatial locations for the home and work to achieve efficiency and profitability (Walby, 1990; Acker, 1992; Bourne and Calás, 2013). The rituals of “travel to work” then become a legitimisation of “real work” (Mirchandani, 1999), excluding those who cannot travel to work, for example, those with caring responsibility, particularly women. The separable life assumption then evolves into a gendered assumption that men in the public sphere, doing paid work outside the house, and women belong to the private and domestic world of unpaid work (Mirchandani, 1999; Walby, 1999). As Vincent (1998) explains, it is “not only is the actual work of cleaning, cooking, providing clothing, and so on, carried out by women, but in many cases, all of the women’s work comes to be seen as related to the domestic sphere no matter what they do” (p. 123). This assumption is even imposed on women who have no caring obligations. It implies that it is not considered real work when women do a paid job – for example, to start a business or become an employee. In addition, there is a notion that a woman’s work-from-home or home-based business is not real work (Vincent, 1998; Bourne and Calás, 2013).

This separation of the private and public spheres constructs what is perceived as women’s role in society and dictates what a “legitimate” activity for women is. Ultimately, the assumption that “life is separable” makes it difficult for women to identify their work as such, with social norms refusing to legitimate women’s paid work outside or inside the home. This assumption is a challenge for women’s entrepreneurship studies and the study of women’s employment in general. Entrepreneurship research finds that the notion that life is separable has disadvantaged female entrepreneurs. It makes them difficult to gain credibility and legitimacy because of the discourse of ‘public space is not for women’ or ‘women should stay at home.’

In summary, the notion that life is separable has disadvantaged female entrepreneurs. It makes them difficult to gain credibility and legitimacy because of the discourse of ‘public space is not for women’ or ‘women should stay at home’. Again, life is separable is a notion that is linked to a patriarchal value (Walby, 1990). We need to extend our knowledge to a context where life is not separable for females, for example, in a matriarchal society where the economy and social realm of the female are not confined inside the household.

Entrepreneurship research has pointed out that the private and public spheres are intertwined, not entirely separated, and entrepreneurship can be a means to interface these two spheres (Vincent,

1998; Anderson and Smith, 2007; Segal, Chow and Demos, 2012). Vincent (1998) asserts that most informal entrepreneurship starts with commercialising or commodifying women's reproduction work. For example, women cook for another household and get food as payment. Johnstone-Louis (2017) asserts that the public and private sphere is not entirely separated. It looks separated because the private sphere or unpaid work is disregarded, maintained to conflict with the public sphere, and lacks representation (Johnstone-Louis, 2017). The lockdown or working from home during the pandemic has revealed the gendered interaction in the family. On one side, it blurs the segregation between the private and public spheres regardless of gender. Conversely, it creates an uneven division of labour where women must put aside their work and prioritise household management (GEM, 2022). It could disrupt their venture. It is reported by GEM (2022) that pandemic has become a major reason of business closure for female entrepreneurs. It shows that traditional gender role has put female entrepreneurs in disadvantaged situation. Specifically, they have to prioritise their role in the private sphere such as caring responsibility and put aside their business or paid work. It could be linked to patriarchal arrangements to see male as family breadwinner (Walby, 1990). Therefore, women are not expected to prioritise their role in public sphere, such as paid work or run the business. It has been studied by Cesaroni, , Sentuti, and Pediconi (2021) that female entrepreneurs find challenge to resolve their multiple identities derived from their roles in private and public sphere. How this identities evolve, adapt and used to support female entrepreneurial journey needs further study.

In addition, feminist indigenous scholars point out that 'life is separable' is not a norm in some non-western indigenous societies (Green, 2007). There is evidence that women in several places are not bounded to public and private spheres segregation (Amadiume, 1997; Green, 2007). There identity fading and transformation strategy as asserted by Cesaroni et al., (2021) could be played differently in non-patriarchal context. With that in mind, there is a need to build more understanding that 'life is not (always) separable'; the production-reproduction or private-public sphere is not dichotomous (Segal, Chow and Demos, 2012; Johnstone-Louis, 2017). The first reason is to acknowledge women's invisible domestic/unpaid work as the foundation of paid work; these spheres are intertwined, not separate. With that, any unpaid work can be appreciated and supported similarly to paid work or the public sphere. The second reason to acknowledge that life is not separable is to understand if the intertwined public and private spheres create an opportunity or challenge for women. As discussed above, the assumption that life is separable creates social



expectations or norms on what women should and should not do in public spaces. It is included in what economic activity women can engage in or not. Eventually, it contributes to making the ‘pink ghetto myth’ that women entrepreneurs adopt a particular identity and operate in a particular industry (Smith, 2014b). To rebalance, fully understand, and maybe challenge the life is a separable assumption and its impact on women’s entrepreneurship, there is a need to extend the research to a context where ‘life is not separable’ to give a model or idea on this issue. For example, this type of research can be done in such a patriarchal society which claims to have no segregation between the private and public sphere, such as in the Aboriginal tribe (Green, 2007). It can also be done in, for example, a Minangkabau and African matriarchal society where women's economy and social realm are suggested to be integrated within the community, not confined inside the household. Women in a matriarchal society have been recognised for participating in and leading the economic activity in the community (Amadiume, 1997; Sanday, 2003; Goettner-Abendroth and Smith, 2008). Currently, there is limited research on the public and private sphere segregation/integration in a matriarchal society and its impact on women’s work or employment, and this thesis aims to contribute to this discussion.

### **2.3.3 Study of women’s entrepreneurship: methods, discourses, and themes**

This section traces what has been studied, how it contributes to entrepreneurship study, and what is missing, with the conclusions used to guide the research questions in this PhD thesis. This study used peer-reviewed – literature review papers to map the themes covered in the women entrepreneurship study. This study asserts that those papers underwent a comprehensive review and were published in top journals. Hence, they are a credible resource to cite. Using Starplus<sup>1</sup> and citation tracking, this study identified twelve literature reviews on women’s entrepreneurship by 2019. The keywords used to search are *Wom\* Entrepreneur\**, *Female Entrepreneur\**, and *Gender and Review\**. The asterisk sign (\*) accommodates possible word variations after the \* sign (i.e. women/woman, or entrepreneur/entrepreneurial/ entrepreneurship). The keywords were used to identify any papers containing that keyword in the title. The search only included papers in English and peer-reviewed. With those criteria, the search result was below:

- Gender AND Entrepreneur\* AND Review = 43 results

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<sup>1</sup> Starplus is the University of Sheffield library online search tool.

- Female AND Entrepreneur\* AND Review = 52 results
- Wom\* AND Entrepreneur\* AND Review = 97 results

Most of the papers in this search result are not review papers. Hence those results were filtered again by reading the abstract and only included review papers. In the end, the six papers below are the final result. These literature review papers identified themes and topics in women's entrepreneurship research. They also identified the studies' methods, discourses, and locations and suggested future research avenues. Their publications spanned from 1992 to 2019, with each paper contributing to a different area of women's entrepreneurship studies. Those papers are summarised below in Table 2-1.

*Table 2-1 Summary of literature review papers*

Author(s) and year	Dataset	Themes clustering in the review	Finding
<b>Brush (1992)</b>	57 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual characteristics</li> <li>• Organisational characteristics</li> <li>• Process of creating/acquiring a business</li> <li>• Environmental factors</li> </ul>	The literature neglects the importance of cooperative networks/relationships for female entrepreneurs.
<b>Ahl (2006)</b>	81 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intention to start a business</li> <li>• Start-up process</li> <li>• Management practice and strategy</li> <li>• Access to Capital</li> <li>• Performance</li> </ul>	The literature reproduces women's subordination. Therefore, the research on women's entrepreneurship needs to shift its epistemology position or expand the research beyond the individual entrepreneur.
<b>De Bruin, Brush, and Welter (2007)</b>	52 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual characteristics</li> <li>• Financing</li> <li>• Network/social capital</li> <li>• Performance</li> <li>• Growth strategy</li> </ul>	There is a need to accumulate knowledge on barriers to women's entrepreneurship in specific contexts.
<b>Sullivan and Meek (2012)</b>	60 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Motivation</li> <li>• Opportunity recognition</li> <li>• Acquisition of resources</li> <li>• Performances</li> </ul>	Using the lens of industrial-organisational psychology, papers on female entrepreneurs are categorised into four stages.
<b>Henry, et al (2015)</b>	335 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual characteristics</li> <li>• Start-up processes</li> <li>• Networking</li> <li>• Financing</li> <li>• Motivation</li> <li>• Performance</li> </ul>	The literature heavily relies on the quantitative method. Research should apply epistemological and methodological shifting to answer the call for a poststructuralist (process-oriented) approach.
<b>Poggesi, Mari, and de Vita (2016)</b>	248 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurial characteristics</li> <li>• Financing</li> <li>• Management and strategy</li> <li>• Performance</li> </ul>	The research on women's entrepreneurship in developed countries is different from that in developing countries.

Author(s) and year	Dataset	Themes clustering in the review	Finding/ Future research
<b>Hughes, Jennings &amp; Brush (2012)</b>	630 papers	Whether males and females differ in terms of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurial propensity</li> <li>• Financial resources acquisition</li> <li>• Organisation strategic and management</li> <li>• Performance</li> </ul>	Women's entrepreneurship study contributions to general entrepreneurship study
<b>Jennings &amp; Brush (2013)</b>	6 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional vs non- traditional questions</li> <li>• Individual vs contextual explanation</li> <li>• Objectivist vs constructionist approach</li> </ul>	A new direction for women's entrepreneurship study
<b>DeVita, Mari, Poggesi (2014)</b>	191 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developing countries: Female entrepreneurs as the reflections of societal context</li> <li>• Developed countries: Network</li> <li>• Immigrant entrepreneurs</li> </ul>	There is a need to use the feminist lens and consider the societal context
<b>Yadav &amp; Unni (2016)</b>	185 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whether male entrepreneurs differ from female entrepreneurs</li> <li>• A need to build a theoretical foundation</li> <li>• Characterizes women's entrepreneurship</li> <li>• Challenges faced by women entrepreneurs in a developing country</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expand context and content</li> <li>• Process of women founded business model</li> </ul>
<b>Gimenez &amp; Calabro (2018)</b>	101 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The role of formal institutions</li> <li>• The role of informal institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To study women's business performance &amp; ethical decision</li> <li>• Women entrepreneurs as leaders</li> <li>• To use a non- constructionist perspective</li> <li>• Research on policy/law related to women's entrepreneurship</li> </ul>

<b>Moreira et al. (2019)</b>	277 papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Philosophical underpinning and gender</li> <li>• Cultural and social reasons for the creation of business</li> <li>• Motivations, business characteristics and performance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cross-cultural comparisons</li> <li>• Motivation to go international</li> <li>• Women's contribution to company internationalisation</li> </ul>
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The first literature review paper reviewed in this study is by Brush (1992). This has been recognised as a seminal paper, introducing the gender lens to entrepreneurship study. Brush uses “women business-owners” instead of “female entrepreneurs”. However, she compares women business-owners with male entrepreneurs, implying that she considers women business-owners to be female entrepreneurs. This paper also highlights the methods used to research women business-owners and the themes usually discussed. Brush found four main themes: the individual characteristics of the women business-owners, the organisational characteristics of the businesses owned by women, the acquisition and creation of the businesses, and the environmental factors affecting women-owned businesses.

In this paper, Brush highlights the concept of connectedness and the relationships between women business-owners. These networks are important for women who face environmental challenges in running their businesses. Furthermore, brush claims that the study of women business-owners could teach essential skills to men business-owners, including the skill of consensus-building that women usually master through building their networks and staying connected with other women.

The second seminal paper on women's entrepreneurship was written by Ahl (2006). In this study, Ahl focuses on the discourse in women's entrepreneurship studies. Using the Bem scale of femininity and masculinity, Ahl identified ten discourses in women's entrepreneurship studies. Unfortunately, these discursive practices have established women's subordination and placed women in danger. For example, the discourse of women as an engine of economic growth has brought attention from scholars researching business performance, whilst ignoring the structural barriers faced by women when running those businesses. Ahl also highlights the bias in measurements and methods that perpetuate notions of women as second-class or Other. Ahl suggests switching the focus away from defining the entrepreneur's individual character and towards contingency or comparative studies: studies of how women start their businesses in their

environments, how social gender is ordered, the institutionalisation of support systems, and the discourse and its impact on women's entrepreneurship.

The third literature review paper considered important for building this thesis is the work of de Bruin and colleagues (De Bruin, Brush and Welter, 2007). The authors reviewed 52 papers submitted to a journal. Based on these submissions, de Bruin, Brush, and Welter (2007) highlight three perennial topics in women's entrepreneurship research: financing, networking and social capital, and growth or performance. The paper also reviews the methods used in the papers. Of the total of 52, 40 papers use the individual as the unit of analysis. Thirty papers have the United States as their major research setting (24 papers entirely in the United States, and a further six conducted in several countries, of which the United States is one). This reveals that the United States is over-represented in women's entrepreneurship research. De Bruin, Brush, and Welter (2007) note that researchers often ignore entrepreneurship's embeddedness and context specificity. They suggest that future research should seek to uncover female entrepreneurs' messy lives, which can be hidden in women's silence. This could be done using a method that does not rely heavily on a sophisticated statistical database. A method such as qualitative research would be suitable for investigating this phenomenon.

The fourth literature paper is by Henry, Foss, and Ahl (2015). This paper focuses on the methodologies used in women's entrepreneurship studies. The authors identify 355 papers in their database, with publication dates spanning 30 years from 1983 to 2012. They divide the papers into three periods, each consisting of 10 years. The number of papers increases significantly for each period, implying that the study of women's entrepreneurship has grown. The focus has also become more diverse. In the first period, 1983-1992, most papers are considered to have an anglo-Saxon bias, with most of the research being conducted in the United States, confirming the observation of de Bruin and colleagues on this point (de Bruin, Brush, and Welter, 2007). The research covered a more varied geography in the third period, including the Middle East and Africa. However, most papers studied female entrepreneurs in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia.

In line with Ahl (2006), this review criticises that the advances in the feminist study are not reflected in the domain of entrepreneurship research. Entrepreneurship studies continue to adopt an essentialist approach that focuses on differences in sex rather than gender. As these gender

differences are socially constructed, research on entrepreneurship cannot be done in a vacuum. The socio-cultural environment matters. On top of that, quantitative comparison studies usually apply masculine measurements that define women as the “Other”. Resonant with the literature reviews of de Bruin, Brush, and Welter (2007) and Ahl (2006), this paper suggests the importance of context for women’s entrepreneurship research. It also suggests seeing entrepreneurship from a process perspective. Rather than studying what entrepreneurship is, future studies should consider how social context can affect the construction of entrepreneurship.

Next is literature review was written by Poggesi and colleagues (Poggesi, Mari, and de Vita, 2016). This paper reviewed 248 women’s entrepreneurship studies published in the previous 14 years. Like Brush (1992), Poggesi and colleagues examined the themes of the studies. In addition, they also investigated whether there were differences in the themes of studies conducted in developing and developed countries. Whilst there were also clear similarities, research in developed countries was found to involve more advanced topics and methods. The research on developing countries adopted traditional methods to investigate the pull-and-push factors of entrepreneurial behaviours. Again, this review resonates with the findings of previous studies, with entrepreneurship research found to overlook context: “the majority of [the] works in our dataset do not properly consider the social-cultural context in which female entrepreneurs operate” (Poggesi, Mari, and de Vita, 2016, p. 751).

Three perennial themes in the study of women’s entrepreneurship are identified from the papers reviewed above. They are (1) entrepreneurial characteristics, (2) access to resources, and (3) management style and performance.

### **Entrepreneurial characteristics**

Research on this theme has investigated the individual characteristics that affect women’s entrepreneurship. For example, scholars have examined traits (Mersha and Sriram, 2019); personality (Gupta and Bhawe, 2007; Dean and Ford, 2017); motivation (Rey-Martí, Tur Porcar and Mas-Tur, 2015); demography; educational background; and life stage (Braches and Elliott, 2017). Unfortunately, this research domain faces a dead-end, making little contribution to the knowledge (De Bruin, Brush and Welter, 2007). Therefore, research on entrepreneurs’ characteristics must focus on entrepreneurship psychology to contribute to knowledge. For example, scholars might investigate female entrepreneurs’ well-being and emotional struggles

(Sherman, Randall and Kauanui, 2016; Sanchez-Garcia, Vargas-Morua and Hernandez-Sanchez, 2018). It is also suggested that research in this area be conducted in unfamiliar settings (Poggesi, Mari and De Vita, 2016). These might include developing countries, non-traditional industries, and unusual business life cycles.

### **Access to resources**

Research in this area examines the types of resources female entrepreneurs use to start and grow their businesses (Drine and Grach, 2012; Bullough, Renko and Abdelzaher, 2017; Sharafizad and Coetzer, 2017). It also explores essential factors such as social capital and personal networks (Drine and Grach, 2011; Bullough, Renko and Abdelzaher, 2017). This theme introduces knowledge of entrepreneurship as a gendered phenomenon (Brush, 1992; Hughes et al., 2012), recognising the barriers faced by women – and the incentives they enjoy – when they seek access to resources, networking, and social capital. For example, stereotypes and discrimination prevent many women from accessing financial resources (Wilson *et al.*, 2007; Irina and Paula-Alexandra, 2016; Raghuvanshi, Agrawal and Ghosh, 2017). Research on this theme concerns the various resources needed by women during different business life cycles (Paoloni and Dumay, 2011). Access to resources is a broad theme, and research has highlighted the role of microfinance ((Kim, 2014) and angel financing (Amatucci and Sohl, 2004) in helping women start businesses. A more comprehensive perspective on women's entrepreneurship and resources comes from the entrepreneurial ecosystem framework (Aidis and Weeks, 2016; Berger and Kuckertz, 2016; Foss et al., 2018). This is a promising research avenue. The entrepreneurial ecosystem does not focus solely on single resources – such as finances or networking – but includes numerous resources working together: combining government support, knowledge, business incubators, supply chains, access to the market, and so on. Women benefit more from the entrepreneurial ecosystem than men (Hechavarría and Ingram, 2019). However, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine its impact on women-owned businesses during the growth phase. More study is needed in this area.

### **Management style and performance**

Research on this theme has investigated female entrepreneurs' management styles and strategies. It has also discussed the strategies used to grow ventures and ensure their survival (Moore, Moore and Moore, 2011; Revell-Love and Revell-Love, 2016). However, this research area is considered understudied, as a longitudinal study would be necessary to capture a firm's strategy (de Vita, Mari



and Poggesi, 2014). In addition, it is difficult to find cases or samples for this type of research because most women-owned businesses are small and less developed due to resource limitations (Poggesi, Mari, and de Vita, 2016).

Although case studies of female entrepreneurial strategy are rare, previous research on the informal economy has documented the strategies employed by women conducting business in the informal sector. For example, it has been shown that female entrepreneurs engage in the informal economy or choose not to register their businesses as a strategy for incubating their new venture (Torri and Martinez, 2014; Williams and Martinez-Perez, 2014). It has also been found that informal female entrepreneurs use collaboration and linkage strategies to access markets and infrastructural support (Baruah, 2004)

Research on women's management styles can also be found in the family business literature. It has been shown that women's entrepreneurship tends to be embedded in the family (Jennings and Brush, 2013). Research on the interweaving of family businesses and women's entrepreneurship introduced a concept of "copreneurial" and the "business matriarch" to explain the role of women in a family business (Marlow and McAdam, 2013; Smith, 2014a; Hirigoyen and Villeger, 2017). This scholarship has shown that women are often invisible, even when making significant contributions to the family business. There is a need for future studies to explore the experiences of women in a family business who are not invisible (Cesaroni and Sentuti, 2014; Nordlund Edvinsson, 2016). Further copreneurial research could explore the context in which women lead or initiate ventures, experiencing no conflict between their private and public roles. It would enhance our understanding of women entrepreneurs' roles and strategies in their family businesses (McAdam and Marlow, 2013; Hirigoyen and Villeger, 2017). Studies of women's strategies in new contexts, such as high-growth enterprises, have also been suggested.

The next six paper shows some similar themes to the first six papers discussed above but also adds new themes. For example, Hughes *et al.* (2012) identify a stream of research on the differences between male and female entrepreneurs. The research themes then develop after 2012. Rather than researching the characteristics of female entrepreneurs and/or comparing them to their male counterparts, women's entrepreneurship research focuses on the methodology, such as research paradigm, theory and method. The use of the constructionist approach is blooming, as can be seen

in Jennings and Brush's (2013) review. There is a shift from research to describe 'what women entrepreneur are' into 'how women entrepreneur are' and 'what they are doing'.

Consequently, there is also a rise in awareness that social context is important because it will affect how and what women entrepreneurs are doing, as reviewed by Vita, Mari and Poggesi (2014) and Yadav and Unni (2016). These two papers also found a pattern of a rise in women's entrepreneurship research in developing and non-western contexts. Giménez and Calabrò (2018), in line with other literature review papers, agree that context is important and focus on reviewing the link between institutional context and women's entrepreneurship. Giménez and Calabrò map the institutional context into the informal and formal institutions. However, in contrast to the literature review papers suggesting the constructionist approach to studying women's entrepreneurship, Giménez and Calabrò assert that other feminist perspectives, such as liberal feminism, are also useful, especially in researching formal institutions such as law and policy. The last literature review paper identified is Moreira *et al.* (2019), asserting that context is important in creating different gender values. Moreira reviews how women entrepreneurs navigate cross-cultural challenges in doing entrepreneurship internationally. Herein, Moreira suggests future research to study more on cross-cultural challenges female entrepreneurs face.

In summary, there is a rise in women's entrepreneurship research, and the theme is developing. Initially, it focuses on characterisation and finds similarities/differences between male and female entrepreneurs. But current research has started to develop a good methodology for women's entrepreneurship research to tackle any bias that might happen during the research. It also highlights that context is important for women's entrepreneurship because it usually prescribes females' actions. Hence future research is expected to embrace unfamiliar contexts to deepen and lengthen knowledge of women's entrepreneurship.

#### **2.3.4 Epistemologies in women's entrepreneurship research**

Scholars identify three major epistemologies in women's entrepreneurship research, essentialist perspective, constructionist and liberal feminist (Ahl, 2004). These three epistemologies are derived from the various feminist theories, with the common aim of analysing women's subordination concerning the patriarchal structure (Ahl and Marlow, 2012). The first camp is the essentialist perspective, which states that men and women are different regarding sex. This

perspective is derived from the social feminist perspective, asserting that men and women are biologically different. Nevertheless, according to this perspective, women and men entrepreneurs are different, with both being valid. Therefore, if female entrepreneurs are underperforming—or misaligned with the measurements of masculine value – nothing can be done except to train them to act like successful male entrepreneurs if the structure is unchanged. Hence social feminist perspective suggests a structural change to embrace females' uniqueness (Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015). This paradigm seeks to highlight women's unique perspectives and contributions. The social feminist perspective, also known as the radical feminist, has been criticised for simplifying the complexity of women's gendered subordination into a binary construct of men and women (Hamilton, 2013; Marlow, 2015). In addition, this paradigm assumes middle-class women as the model entrepreneurs and norms and overlooks the other group, such as ethnic and minority women entrepreneurs. This view has also been criticised for assuming male norms in its discourses and measurements, leading to biased results (Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015; Yadav and Unni, 2016).

Another well-known perspective is the liberal feminist view, which is also an essentialist perspective. According to this perspective, women and men are similar in their abilities and rationality. This sees sex as a relevant variable but not the main problem. Liberal feminist research usually identifies sex as a categorical variable on the same level as age and educational background. This group advocates for equality between men and women. This research aims to make people aware of women's condition and make women be seen (Foss et al., 2018). According to this perspective, men and women can have similar levels of effectiveness, though they possess different traits. This perspective is criticised for failing to question masculine norms and the institutions that create inequalities (Mirchandani, 1999; Ahl, 2006). However, Giménez and Calabrò (2018) suggest that a liberal feminist approach can help us understand the formal institution's impact on women entrepreneurs to advocate equal access for women. In line with that, Foss *et al.* (2019) identify that research using this perspective will focus on resource allocation and equal access to it.

The third camp is a constructionist or poststructuralist feminist, and it observes that men and women are of different genders. According to this view, biological sex refers to *human bodies with male or female reproductive organs* (Ahl, 2006, p. 596). Whilst gender is a socially constructed sex (Ahl, 2006). According to Butler (1999), “doing gender” is about representing and believing

gender norms and participating in practices dictated by those norms. Gender, according to this perspective, is the result of social interaction, so the concepts of femininity and masculinity can differ between contexts, even for the same individual (Ahl, 2004). Therefore, entrepreneurship research that acknowledges gender differences (rather than sex differences) will acknowledge that women's entrepreneurship is affected by context rather than biological and physical qualities. With this perspective in mind, women's social barriers can be acknowledged, and solutions can be found. Research using this paradigm is also interested in the process, focusing on how power is exercised in the household, how household resources are allocated, how the institutions are gendered, and the impact on entrepreneurial behaviour (Hughes *et al.*, 2012; Yadav and Unni, 2016). There is currently a rise in women's entrepreneurship research using this paradigm, given this interest to put context as important in women's entrepreneurship research. This approach encourages studying the non-western context and non-familiar settings, such as the digital industry, etc., to fully understand the complex nature of women's entrepreneurship. A review of the context of women's entrepreneurship study will be provided in section 2.3.5.

The use of a feminist perspective in women's entrepreneurship research is criticised because the feminist agenda is not present within the research (Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015). For example, most women's entrepreneurship research uses a feminist lens, recommending the pursuit of higher-end, such as business growth or internationalisation, but lacks attention on women's well-being (Foss *et al.*, 2018). Furthermore, these three feminist perspectives have been criticised for not fully engaging with the notion of the separated private and public sphere (Johnstone-Louis, 2017). According to Johnstone-Louis (2017), current women's entrepreneurship research acknowledges that private and public spheres are separated (as discussed in the previous section), often conflicted, and gendered. However, this notion is not explored. Particularly, feminist research is criticised for abandoning the sphere separation between unpaid/care work whilst women perform their work as entrepreneurs. The implication of this abandoning phenomenon could be detrimental to women. For example, the role of the daughter doing chores or taking care of siblings when a mother is going to work becomes unrecognised (Johnstone-Louis, 2017). Hence, Johnstone-Louis suggests using feminist economics to understand the nature of gendered economics and its implication for female entrepreneurs.

Another critique is from the 'indigenous feminist' (Green, 2007), who argues that feminist theory never addresses the colonisation issue and wrongness of white women. Feminist theory is also challenged due to its assumption of universal male domination and patriarchy based on the model of Euro-Western values and culture. Furthermore, it ignores other societies that do not share similar culture and values, such as the Aboriginal community (Denis, 2007). Consequently, feminist scholars are urged to be informed about the history, knowledge, and institutions and understand the multiple and contradictory positioning of some indigenous or non-western communities (Denis, 2007).

Finally, it is acknowledged that every method and epistemology on women's entrepreneurship study has positive and negative sides (Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015; Foss et al., 2018). This review highlights the notion that feminist research should look beyond the Western context and consider the non-western or non-familiar context in theorising and producing knowledge. It can be adapted in women's entrepreneurship research. Women's entrepreneurship research, empirically, theoretically, and policy, is to support women. With that, Foss *et al.* (2018) remind feminist scholars, regardless of their research stance, to pay more attention to the policy implication of their research. So that the women's entrepreneurship research will positively impact women, this thesis will keep that reminder in mind.

### **2.3.5 Women-owned business and the business life cycle**

Generally, the women-owned business has a similar life cycle to the man-owned business, such as start-up stage, growth, maturity and decline. However, the barrier or challenge women face in each business stage could make their business life cycle staged differently from those experienced by men. The barriers and challenges are usually related to gender roles or gender discrimination (Lee, Sohn and Ju, 2011). These barriers and challenges will affect women's decision to maintain their business in a certain size (Carter and Allen, 1997; Morris *et al.*, 2006) or in particular business model (Williams and Martinez, 2014; Dy, Marlow and Martin, 2017) that cannot be quantified to determine which stage they are in. In addition, the notion that a women-owned business is usually in a circumstance called restricted performance (Marlow, 2015) might also be a reason a women-owned business might not be represented in a generic business lifecycle framework.

The business life cycle model aims to understand the organizational dynamic or business growth (McMahon, 1998). The business life cycle model can also be used to articulate the business strategy needed at a certain stage (Churchill and Lewis, 1983; Levie and Lichtenstein, 2010), for example, by linking corporate growth with the product life cycle stage to build marketing strategy (Cunningham, 1969; Zoltners, Sinha and Lorimer, 2006) or into financing strategy (Ylhäinen, 2017). Previous research also linked the business life cycle with the management style needed in each phase (Danvila-Del-Valle and Lara, 2018). Some researchers linked the business life cycle with entrepreneurial development and introduced the entrepreneurial stage, such as nascent entrepreneurs, new business-owner managers, and established business-owner managers (Levie and Lichtenstein, 2010; Kelley, Singer and Herrington, 2012; Hart, Bonner and Levie, 2015). There are various business life cycle models. Lichtenstein and Lyons (2008) mentioned that 104 or more business life cycle models had been introduced in the literature, and no single model is dominant among other models.

The business life cycle model can consist of three, four, five, or more stages (Levie and Lichtenstein, 2010). There are also many variations to label each stage, and there is no clear consensus to mark when one stage is ended and another is started (McMahon, 1998; Lester, Parnell and Carraher, 2003; Lichtenstein and Lyons, 2008). However, summarising from the body of literature on the business life cycle, it can be concluded that the most common stage in the business life cycle model consists of five stages: (1) start-up or existence, (2) expansion or growth, (3) consolidation or maturity, (4) revival or renewal, and (5) decline or exit.

The five stages model is cited as a business life-cycle model with proper theoretical support (Greiner, 1998; Lester, Parnell and Carraher, 2003). It is also mentioned that the five-stage model fits the corporation and small businesses (Lester, Parnell and Carraher, 2003). However, the business life-cycle model is criticised because empirical research shows that businesses do not always move through their life-cycle linear or stepwise. Researchers also acknowledge that each industry's business life cycle could differ (Karniouchina *et al.*, 2013). For example, the business life cycle of high-tech and high-growth companies is considered different from the general business life cycle (Hanks and Chandler, 1994; Levie and Lichtenstein, 2010). Some businesses may stay in the start-up phase for a long while others may have a very rapid growth rate and decline.

The body of literature mentioned that the start-up and expansion or growth phases are usually considered critical. There are two main reasons for this claim. The first reason is concern about so-called “growth” that after a venture is born, every stage in stage theory or business life-cycle model can be considered as the “growth” stage (Levie and Lichtenstein, 2010). However, this growth may not follow any predictive developmental stages or patterns (McMahon, 1998). Since there is no consensus on the proxy of each stage, and the movement from one stage to another may not be sequential, it is common sense to label growth, maturity, decline, or exit as part of the growth stage. The second reason start-up and growth stages are considered important among other stages is that starting and growing a business needs resources. By resource, it refers to human capital resources (training, education, experience) and resource access (Carter and Allen, 1997; Morris *et al.*, 2006). Start-up is a phase where the venture is launched, with a mean of employees of 6.46 people (McMahon, 1998), sometimes smaller or solo operated by the owner (Lichtenstein and Lyons, 2008). This phase ends when the venture reaches a break-even point, or revenue equals total cost (Lichtenstein and Lyons, 2008). Expansion or growth is when the venture has a healthy profit and has growth potential indicators such as recruiting new employees, opening a new branch and establishing borrowing or equity power (Lichtenstein and Lyons, 2008).

(Clercq and Bowen, 2008)The new business creation process operates at multiple levels (Davidsson & Wiklund, 2001), influenced by micro-level factors such as people's resources (e.g., Bhagavatula, Elfring, Tilburg, & van de Bunt, 2010; Davidsson & Honig, 2003), as well as macro-level institutions (e.g., Aidis, Estrin, & Mickiewicz, 2008; Autio & Acs, 2010; Bowen & De Clercq, 2008; Terjesen & Hessels, 2009; Vaillant & Lafuente, 2007). Thus, the allocation of resources to the exploitation of new business opportunities cannot be considered in isolation from the broader institutional context in which such opportunity exploitation occurs (Autio & Acs; Redding, 2005).

A reason why there is no clear guidance on how a stage starts and ends, according to Leitch, Hill and Neergaard (2010), is because “growth is socially constructed” (p. 250). The implication of business growth as socially constructed is that business growth cannot be measured only by quantitative measurements such as profitability, market share, return on assets, number of employees, and soon. Instead, business growth must be considered from several disciplines, such as sociology, politics and anthropology, and economics (Leitch, Hill and Neergaard, 2010). Business growth also needs to be measured by qualitative approach as well as quantitative measurements (Dalborg, 2015)

Research on female entrepreneurship has highlighted various themes concerning how women start businesses and the barriers and challenges they face during the start-up phase. However, Costin (2012) posits that the study of female entrepreneurship has failed to “adequately conceptualise and build explanatory growth theories” (p. 109) and calls for more research into how female entrepreneurs define growth and implement growth strategies, as well as the interrelationship between female entrepreneurs and the contexts in which they seek to grow their businesses.

Previous research also documented that some businesses are not growth-oriented, and entrepreneurs face the dilemma of whether to grow their business due to constraints by particular contexts such as norms, values, beliefs, or shared (Holmes and Zimmer, 1994; Fleck, 2015; Gutterman, 2018). According to Dalborg (2015), the growth challenges faced by women may be rooted in a gender system in which women experience conflict between the demands of business, home, and family, alongside stereotypes related to their entrepreneurial (Mitchelmore and Rowley, 2013). Carter and Allen (1997) posit that women may have lifestyles that conceal their intentions to grow their businesses. In addition, they may face structural social and cultural barriers that make it difficult or even impossible to expand their businesses. For example, women choose not to grow their businesses because of gender norms or social structure in society, thus making women’s business life cycle different compared to the general business life cycle model (Lester, Parnell and Carraher, 2003; Morris et al., 2006; Leitch, Hill and Neergaard, 2010).

This evidence from the literature reveals that entrepreneurs’ motivation, attitudes, and ambitions are important for building growth ambitions. However, these can be tempered by external factors such as the institutional environment (Ahl and Marlow, 2012). The institutional environment can mean that women face several challenges to growing their businesses, including a lack of skills and confidence, funding, regulatory, and caring responsibility (Fleck, Neergaard and Hegarty, 2011; Mitchelmore and Rowley, 2013). These challenges mean that most women-owned businesses stop growing during the start-up phase. It is such an unfortunate cycle: Women launch businesses in the lower-performing service sector because the sector is easy to enter, requiring less capital and fewer employees (Marlow, 2015). As a result, more women join this industry, which creates a higher level of competition, leads to lower revenues and lower profits, and has a higher exit rate (Morris et al., 2006; Marlow, Henry, and Carter, 2009).



Women-owned businesses tend to be non-growth-oriented, which can also be explained by examining the common motivations for starting these businesses. Many entrepreneurs do not pursue growth, innovation, and economic gain (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010; Estrin, Mickiewicz and Stephan, 2013), and most female entrepreneurs fall into this category. Instead, women maintain “hybrid goals” and do not necessarily pursue growth (Jennings and Brush, 2013). Entrepreneurs with hybrid goals seek to balance their economic and non-economic aims (Williams and Gurtoo, 2011; Sullivan and Meek, 2012). Women’s hybrid goals can be viewed as adaptations to the gender system or women’s social roles. Hybrid goals can benefit women who seek to balance their roles in the public and private spheres.

The non-growth narrative can also be explained from the funding perspective that women use informal funding, such as personal savings and family money, to start a business (Buvinić and Furst-Nichols, 2016). Only small numbers are found to secure external funding (Coleman *et al.*, 2019). This informal and small capital infusion is not enough to grow the business. Hence, focusing on fixing loan procedures for female entrepreneurs is an important element in growing women’s businesses (Kelley *et al.*, 2015; Buvinić and Furst-Nichols, 2016).

In addition to business life cycle, the life stage of female entrepreneurs also important to investigate. It is found that female entrepreneurs identity interacts with their business life cycle. For example the challenge that female entrepreneurs face during the early stage of their business could be different to stage of business maturity (Cesaroni, Sentuti, and Pediconi, 2021). The masculine norms of entrepreneurship has contributed to this challenge. Again, this research on business life cycles and female life stage has primarily been conducted in patriarchal settings. The circumstances of women’s business cycles could well be reversed in non-patriarchal settings and impact women’s entrepreneurship differently. Hence, research in a matriarchal context could benefit, expanding understanding of the life cycles of women-owned businesses.

### **2.3.6 Women’s entrepreneurship and context**

The previous sections of this chapter have illustrated the developments of women’s entrepreneurship research. One of them is there has been a call for more research acknowledging gender differences rather than sex differences. Context becomes important to address this call because gender is socially constructed and varies in different times and places (Ahl and Nelson,

2010). So, to incorporate gender or gender differences in entrepreneurship research (or research in general), one needs to acknowledge the research context.

Johns (2006) defines context as “situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behaviour as well as functional relationships between variables” (p. 386). Similarly, Welter defines the context in entrepreneurship study as “circumstances, conditions, situations, or environments that are external to the respective phenomenon and enable or constrain it” (p.216). Welter (2011) asserts that “context is important for understanding when, how, and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved” (p.166). In line with that, Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad (2014) define entrepreneurship contextualization as an approach to “researching enterprises within their natural settings to understand their origins, forms, functioning and diverse outcome” (p.3). Particularly contextualizing women’s entrepreneurship is focused on where it happens, who it happens to, and when it happens (McAdam and Cunningham, 2021).

Contexts can be multifaceted and multi-level, have a recursive relationship with women’s entrepreneurship, or bring different impacts on women’s entrepreneurship (Yousafzai *et al.*, 2018). Welter (2011) identifies four contexts related to ‘where’ or the locations where entrepreneurship happens: business, social, spatial, and institutional. Context could be a bundle of stimuli (Johns, 2006) that could bring a more “interpretable and theoretically interesting pattern than any of the factors would show in isolation” (Rousseau and Fried, 2001, p. 4). However, most research identified the context as an ad hoc, or focus on a particular discreet context (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014; Hughes and Jennings, 2020), rather than study the context as the omnibus, consisting of the heuristic dimension of temporal, spatial, social and institutional. Hence, context's role as a stimuli bundle could be overlooked. For example, institutional theorists study the role of informal and formal institutions in affecting women’s entrepreneurship (Giménez and Calabrò, 2018). Some study seeks to understand the impact of gendered institutions on women entrepreneurs, again focusing on the formal and informal institutions (Pathak, Goltz and W. Buche, 2013; Brush *et al.*, 2019), but they did not consider the temporal and social context in which this gendered institution constructed.

Similarly, some studies look at the social dimension of gendered institutions, for example, family and entrepreneurship (Kirkwood, 2012; Ribeiro, Rezaei and Dana, 2012), but do not consider a

wider spatial and institutional context where gender is constructed. Research on ethnic and migrant entrepreneurs, according to Azmat and Fujimoto (2016), pays attention to spatial and social contexts but ignores the gender dimension. The current debate highlights the ‘decontextualization’ of entrepreneurship research, in which most research focuses on men, industrialised countries and technological innovation (Baker and Welter, 2018). Regarding the various context elements, entrepreneurship research still neglects research on women, non-industrialised countries, economies, and ventures that do not pursue innovation or high growth. In addition to that, in line with Section 2.3.2 about ‘life is separable’, Mirchandani and Welter (Mirchandani, 1999; Welter, 2011) assert that entrepreneurship research overlooks entrepreneurship within the private sphere, such as the women’s home-based business. To study women’s entrepreneurship, gender is one of the dimensions often studied along with the spatial context of entrepreneurship (Mirchandani, 1999; Welter, 2011). For example, the study on female entrepreneurs in the Arab patriarchal context (Tlaiss and Kauser, 2019). However, we need more studies on gender and entrepreneurs that are not taking place in a patriarchal context.

Entrepreneurship research is currently criticised for portraying context as “out there” impacting entrepreneurship rather than examining how the entrepreneurs engage with and construct the context (Welter and Baker, 2021). Dy and Agwunobi (2019) assert that the research on entrepreneurship’s social context often fails to address the multiple social hierarchies. Most entrepreneurship research is still conducted in the patriarchal context (Yousafzai *et al.*, 2018). Within this context of patriarchy, entrepreneurship is practised and researched upon the invisible masculine norms and measurements (Mirchandani, 1999; Ahl and Marlow, 2012). All these flaws in the contextualisation of entrepreneurship research are why policies to support women entrepreneurs often fail (Yousafzai *et al.*, 2018; Foss *et al.*, 2018). Zahra (2007) highlights that false leads and inconclusive findings are due to ‘a mismatch between theory and context’ (p. 445). Hence, employing an omnibus context or various aspects or approaches of contextualisation could help understand various issues and nuanced findings within entrepreneurship studies.

To contribute in this area, this PhD thesis aims to progress entrepreneurship research beyond a patriarchal society. To answer the need to study the context's diversity and multiplicity (Baker and Welter, 2017), this thesis offers matriarchy as the alternative context of patriarchy. For several reasons, matriarchy and patriarchy could be an important omnibus context to study women’s

entrepreneurship. First, patriarchy and matriarchy are gendered institutions that are built upon different gender values. Studying female entrepreneurs in a matriarchal context is expected to provide a different perspective and assumption on how and why women's entrepreneurship is operating not in the taken-for-granted patriarchal system.

Furthermore, Matriarchy can also contribute to understanding the multiplicity of the context because matriarchy is the intertwined spatial, social and institutional context (Davies, 2010; Goettner-Abendroth, 2017). Finally, matriarchy and patriarchy can also broaden our understanding and provide empirical evidence of the intertwined factor of gender, institution and social structure and their relationship to entrepreneurship. It could extend our knowledge on the notion of gender is socially constructed, and different context with different gender construction could shape different entrepreneurship behaviours. The next section reviews the literature on patriarchy and matriarchy and their potential links to entrepreneurship.

## **2.4 Women's entrepreneurship and matriarchy and patriarchy as the institutional context.**

As mentioned in the previous section, context is important in studying entrepreneurship. Furthermore, it is important to consider multiple context elements because it could provide a better explanation (Johns, 2006). With that in mind, this thesis employs matriarchy and patriarchy as the heuristic or omnibus context of interest in this study. They have social elements because matriarchy and patriarchy are social structures (Walby, 1990) where people interact within these structures, for example, to produce and reproduce gender roles. Matriarchy and patriarchy are also institutional contexts because of enacted values and rules (Scott, 2014) or the informal and formal institutions (North, 1990) within these structures. Matriarchy and patriarchy also occupy a spatial element. For example, the Minangkabau matriarchal society exercises the matriarchal arrangements within a geographical boundary of the West Sumatra province. Minangkabau diaspora may or may not subscribe to this matriarchal arrangement. Matriarchy and patriarchy also provide a cross-level context. For example, the Javanese patriarchal society in Javanese provinces operates within Indonesia's wider national patriarchal system (Wieringa, 2003; Tickamyer, 2011). Likewise, Minangkabau matriarchy demonstrates a gender-based position in the private sphere, such as family or household, and the public of Minangkabau society (Sanday, 2003). Submitting

to the contextualised entrepreneurship study (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014; Welter, Baker and Wirsching, 2019), this thesis posits that matriarchy and patriarchy, as different contexts, could shape the experience of female entrepreneurs differently. The next sub-section reviews the literature on patriarchy and matriarchy and its link to gender and entrepreneurship research.

Society has many ways of organising its members and building social structures and hierarchies. They can be based on race, ethnicity, cohort, class, and gender (Anthias, 2001). This grouping is known as a social organisation or social structure (Nadel, 2004). Nadel (2004) defines the study of social structure as “concerned with the principal forms of social organisation, i.e. types of groups, associations and institutions and the complex of those which constitute societies” (p. 24). Some rules and resources can be used within a social structure to gain and maintain power (Scott, 2014).

This study focuses on gender-based social structures in which society is organised by gender (Acker, 1988; Scott, 1992). Hirdman (1992) defines this grouping as a gender system, separating anything considered female from anything considered male and ordering the two genders hierarchically. Two examples of gender-based social structures are patriarchy and matriarchy. Patriarchy is a male-dominated society (Walby, 1990). In comparison, a matriarchy is defined as a female-centred society (Sanday, 2003; Goettner-Abendroth, 2018), as opposed to “female-dominated” (Lerner, 1986). Reviews of the literature on patriarchy and matriarchy are provided in the following section.

The sociologist Epstein first explored the link between entrepreneurship and social structure in early seminal work (Epstein, 1964). Epstein found that caste differences could prevent a potential entrepreneur from developing into an actual entrepreneur. This relationship between social systems and entrepreneurship was explored further in a classic anthropology piece by Geertz (1975). Geertz compared the economic development of two towns in Indonesia with different social structures: a market-oriented social structure and a traditional Hindu caste system. Geertz found that social structure defined whether a society was individualist or collectivist. This, in turn, affects entrepreneurial activity, shaping how and where to build ventures and partnerships, raise capital, and sell products.

Baumol (1990) compared social structures in seven different periods: ancient Rome, medieval China, the Middle Ages, Later Middle Ages, the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the early rent-seeking era. He

found that the different periods produced different social structures. Different social structures produced different discourses on entrepreneurship, whether seen as productive, unproductive, or destructive, depending on the game's rules in the structure at that time. The social structure acts as an institutional carrier that produces the rules or authority system, the discourse, and the identity, which all affect entrepreneurship (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). Social structure can also produce formal and informal institutions that provide favourable or unfavourable environments for entrepreneurship (Busenitz, Gomez and Spencer, 2000; Ma, Ding and Yuan, 2016). Hirdman (2002) suggests that the gender system is important because it is the foundation of other structures and orders – social, economic, and political. In entrepreneurship studies, the gendered social structure is thought to underpin both formal institutions (i.e., economic and political) and informal institutions (i.e., gender roles and social norms), both of which will affect entrepreneurship (Giménez and Calabrò, 2018). Gendered social structure can positively and/or negatively affect behaviour (Ritchie, 2016; Naegels, Mori and D’Espallier, 2018).

Although efforts have been made to study gendered social structures, critics say that gendered social structures as inequality material are overlooked (Anthias, 2001). With this in mind, it can be attested that the inequality issues in entrepreneurship, such as discussed in previous sections, especially in section 2.3.1 Entrepreneurship is a gendered phenomenon, and section 2.3.2 Life is (not) separable, has a link with the gendered social structure. Therefore, there are calls to study gendered social structure and women’s employment, particularly women’s entrepreneurship, which this thesis aims to contribute to. Given that different social structures could affect entrepreneurship differently (Baumol, 1990), this PhD thesis compares two gendered social structures (matriarchy and patriarchy) and examines their respective impacts on women’s entrepreneurship. For this purpose, an understanding of matriarchy and patriarchy is needed. Hence matriarchy and patriarchy are discussed in the following section.

#### **2.4.1 Patriarchy and entrepreneurship: Different places, different practices**

Patriarchy means the “rule of fathers”, which describes a social structure in which a male is the head of the family and holds authority over women, children, and the family assets (Christ, 2016). Walby (1990, p.20) defines patriarchy as “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women”. With this definition, Walby (1990) does not define

patriarchy as a social structure in which every individual man is dominant, and every woman is subordinate. Millet (Millet, 2016), in *Sexual Politics*, defines patriarchy as a political institution, with the patriarchal state taking an interest in preserving the patriarchal family, which allows patriarchy to persist. She argues that patriarchy is about men dominating women and older men dominating younger men.

Scholars have proposed several theories about the origins of patriarchy. However, it has proven difficult to conclude how patriarchy started. Lerner (Lerner, 1986) traces it back to Mesopotamian society, between 3100 BC and 600 BC. She suggests that, during that period, men began seeking to control female sexuality. She presents two perspectives of sexual asymmetry that she claims lead to patriarchy. The first perspective states that sexual asymmetry exists because God creates it so. According to this perspective, sexual inequality, female subordination, and male dominance are natural. The traditionalist perspective focuses on women's reproductive capacity. The second perspective is that sexual asymmetry exists due to biological differences between males and females, especially differences in physical strength. Since males are stronger than females, they go hunting, become breadwinners for the family or clan, and defend the clan at war, resulting in males gaining more respect and honour in society. Lerner ultimately suggests that the two perspectives complement one another and intertwined with other factors, they have advanced and developed alongside human civilisation, institutionalising the patriarchal structure.

Whilst Lerner (1986) focuses on how patriarchy came about, Walby (1990) is concerned with conceptualising patriarchy. Walby (1990) claims that patriarchy can be public or/and comes in different degrees. Private patriarchy, according to Walby, exists in the household or in private places, using exclusionary strategies and expropriation of the individual. On the other hand, public patriarchy takes place in the public sphere, such as employment and the state. It uses segregation and subordination strategies to expropriate the rights of women. Walby also suggests six forms of patriarchal structure: employment, state, sexuality, violence, culture, and household production.

From the Western perspective, patriarchy originates in religion (the Bible), the ancient gods and goddesses, and the division of labour due to biological differences. The origins of patriarchy in the Asian context are strongly influenced by Confucian teaching (Sechiyama, 2013). Confucianism derives the philosophy of the "good wife and wise mother" and three obedience obligations, becoming the foundation of women's code of conduct in most East Asian countries. According to

Sechiyama, the state enforces the patriarchal code of conduct in both capitalist and socialist countries. Sechiyama's essential conclusions are that, in socialist countries (e.g., China and North Korea), women's employment is encouraged, and the state provides childcare. In contrast, in capitalist countries (e.g., Japan, South Korea, Taiwan), women's employment is obstructed by employers preferring to employ males, who are hindered as workers by the need for maternity leave and childcare responsibilities. In addition, women in capitalist East Asian countries struggle to build careers because childcare is an individual responsibility, with limited state support. Whilst capitalism is usually linked to patriarchy (Lerner, 1986b; Walby, 1990), studies from East Asian countries show that capitalism is not inseparable from patriarchy. Some socialist countries practise patriarchy. Based on the findings of this review, this thesis argues that, in modern economies, especially in capitalist countries, women are excluded from paid employment by the patriarchal state's failure to encourage and support women's work.

In addition, Hamilton (1990) highlights the differences between patriarchy in Western and Chinese communities. Western society, according to Hamilton, enacts and maintains the patriarchy using individual/ personal power to regulate the free will of individuals. While in the Chinese community, patriarchy is derived from the defined roles to maintain community harmony. However, Hamilton's analysis is limited to the roles of males and the father and son relationship. It mentioned the husband-wives relationship to define relationship patterns in Chinese patriarchy. However, women's roles in both societies are never mentioned or compared. Implies that women are invisible or deemed unnecessary to be analysed in both societies because they do not hold significant roles.

In recent years, patriarchy has been linked to entrepreneurship research. Research shows patriarchy inhibits women from starting and growing businesses (Amine and Staub, 2009). This finding is consistent in pieces of research stream that sees entrepreneurship as a last resort career choice due to marginalisation or necessity-driven for women (Allen and Curington, 2014), entrepreneurship driven by the opportunity (Alstete, 2002; Emma, 2005), or the interplay of both motivations (Williams and Gurtoo, 2010). Patriarchy restricts women's access to the resources needed to start a business (Marlow and Patton, 2005; Mushtaq and Naimat, 2011; Kim, 2018). Patriarchal structures may also prevent women from accessing the markets, capital, loans, and other resources needed for growth (Ghavamshahidi, 1995).



Patriarchy sets the norms that suggest entrepreneurship is not a career choice for women (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004; Braches and Elliott, 2017). Also, as discussed in the previous section, patriarchy has set segregation between public and private spheres. Patriarchy makes the family and work become ‘enemy’ or maintained to be ‘in conflict’ using the traditional gender role in a patriarchal society (Johnstone-Louis, 2017). Hence women’s entrepreneurship is restricted due to this gender role in a patriarchal society. A body of literature shows that women in patriarchal societies suffer from negative stereotyping, as explained by the stereotype-threat theory (Devine and Brodish, 2003; Malach-Pines and Schwartz, 2008; Ayala and Murga, 2016). According to this theory, society repeatedly tells women they are not as entrepreneurial as men. This convinces women that they are not inclined to be entrepreneurs and are not expected to become so. Thus, women’s choices – including their choice of career – are socially determined (Max and Ballereau, 2013). According to this view, patriarchal society insists women belong to the domestic sphere. It makes women responsible for unpaid work, and offering no support for women who wish to start businesses, it becomes more difficult for women to develop the necessary entrepreneurial traits and attitudes. Consequently, women do not choose entrepreneurship as a career. It implies the impact of patriarchy on women’s identity and legitimacy as entrepreneurs. It is difficult for women in a patriarchal society to establish their identity as entrepreneurs and gain legitimacy.

On the other hand, research using necessity-driven notions shows that patriarchal practices trigger entrepreneurial behaviour. Patriarchy excludes women from formal paid work and requires them to use their domestic skills to earn money for the family (Hartmann, 1979; Kobayashi and Peake, 1994; Vincent, 1998). In these circumstances, women may enter entrepreneurial activity using their domestic skills, such as baking cookies and selling them online, with leftovers for the family to consume. However, even though patriarchy triggers women’s entrepreneurship, as discussed above, it also sets a boundary. It means women struggle to grow their businesses past a certain size (Marlow and McAdam, 2013) by restricting resources, etc., as discussed above. Scholars suggest that, under patriarchy, female entrepreneurs are not underperforming. They are simply restricted (Marlow and Patton, 2005; Marlow and McAdam, 2013).

Summarising the literature on entrepreneurship and patriarchy above and borrowing the concept of three pillars of institutions (Scott, 2005), it can be summarized that the literature suggests patriarchy impacts women’s entrepreneurship through its three pillars of institutions consisting of

normative, regulative and cognitive. For example, its patriarchal-based regulations, norms and shared belief. More elaboration on these will be provided in the next chapter on institutional theory.

Amidst the patriarchy has been discussed widely in entrepreneurship studies, the concept of patriarchy is also criticized as not inclusive because it is built upon the idea of Western patriarchy (Denis, 2007) and ignores the rest of the world. As discussed above, the Western patriarchy differs from East Asian countries regarding its origin and separation from capitalism. In addition to that, women's perspective in conceptualising patriarchy is limited. It is also argued that patriarchy is about kinship, not always power and oppression, because, in other patriarchal communities, there is no unequal power and women's oppression (Green, 2007). However, this notion is rarely discussed, and the limitation of the conceptualisation of patriarchy is ignored in creating new theories, methods and values (Denis, 2007). In understanding the patriarchy, it must embrace differences in its culture, history, institutions, and discourse.

In summary, patriarchy is not a unitary concept. The literature shows that patriarchy has different forms and degrees in different places and times. Link it to the entrepreneurship literature; it can be assumed that patriarchy can hinder or trigger in one place, limiting how far a woman can go with her ventures. Patriarchy influences women's identity as entrepreneurs and dictates the form of women's entrepreneurship, such as the size and industry in that women can operate. However, we should also acknowledge that patriarchy is possibly constructed differently in a non-western society. The possibility of patriarchy not aligning with what is usually depicted in previous literature should be considered. Much must be further studied to understand patriarchy as a social structure and its impact on women's entrepreneurship. Therefore, to contribute to this conversation, the thesis aims to deepen the understanding that patriarchy impacts women's entrepreneurship and (perhaps) vice versa. Particularly considering the patriarchal context that is not in the Western context. With that, it is expected that this research could inform support for female entrepreneurs in various contexts, complementing what is known in a 'model' western setting.

## 2.4.2 Matriarchy: A (better) place for women's entrepreneurship?<sup>2</sup>

In line with the discussion that the concept of patriarchy from a non-western perspective is overlooked, matriarchy as another form of gendered social structure is also not as much discussed as patriarchy. However, perhaps it is not because matriarchy is not understudied. It is, instead, rather less disseminated because many studies of matriarchy were written in a non-English language (Fluehr-Lobban, 1987), such as in Russian (Kosven, 1948) and German (Bachofen, 1927), and very few of them were translated into English. Sanday (2003) asserted that the word 'matriarchy' is rarely used because scholars wrote their work in a non-English language. Matriarchy is not well known, also maybe the case of lack of representativeness, due to the societies practising matriarchal arrangements were the vulnerable and oppressed indigenous tribes. For example, the Aborigines (Jolly and Rose, 1943), Amazonians (DeMott, 2006) or non-western societies such as in China (Jay, 1996) and Minangkabau (Sanday, 2003), making the voice and stories of these societies are difficult to reach a wider audience. Therefore, it is easy to ignore the idea that a gender system that is not dominated by or prioritising men, such as in a matriarchal society, exists. Indeed, matriarchy has even been called a myth (Lerner, 1986). The previous literature seeks to understand matriarchy as a means to understand the evolution of humankind (Graburn, Popov and Fluehr-Lobban, 1979). With this approach, scholars studied matriarchy as a past or primitive social structure and as problematic. Hence less effort was made to study the 'modern matriarchy' and to acknowledge that this arrangement is still practised and impactful in some places.

Following the lack of scholars' conversation and dissemination, matriarchy is defined and operationalised in various ways. When seeking to define matriarchy, scholars have sometimes turned to associated terms, such as "matrifocal", "matricentric", and "non-patriarchal". Goettner-Abendroth (2004: 3) argues that "matriarchy" is the preferred term and means "women from the beginning". Davies (2010), drawing upon Bachofen (1927), defines matriarchy as *muttersrecht* or a mother's right to define a matrilineal kinship relation, where the property is passed down to a sister or daughter first, rather than to male children. Jay (1996) describes matriarchy as a *'form of social organisation in which descent is reckoned through the female line, where a mother is the head of*

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<sup>2</sup> Part of this section draw upon a book chapter written by the PhD candidate (Mayasari, Littlewood, and Kedir, 2021).

*the household and the children belong to the maternal clan*’ (p. 220). Lerner (1986) argues that a matriarchy only exists when *‘women hold power over men, not alongside them, when that power includes the public domain and foreign relations, and when women make essential decisions not only for their kinfolk but for community’* (p. 31). By this definition, Lerner positions matriarchy as the mirror of patriarchy and argues that matriarchy has never existed.

In contrast, after researching the Minangkabau matriarchal society in West Sumatra, Indonesia, Sanday (2003) suggests that matriarchy should not be positioned as the opposite of patriarchy, as that would only emerge if women were to behave like men. She instead defines matriarchy as “cultural symbols and practices associating the maternal with the origin and centre of the growth processes necessary for social and individual life” (Sanday, 2003, p. 237). Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that scholars have defined matriarchy in various ways and at different levels of analysis. For example, is matriarchy a concept at the philosophical level, or is it an empirical or historical phenomenon; it is one of the debates (Girenko and Semenov, 1979).

Amidst the stance to see matriarchy as a historical and mythical social structure, Goettner (Goettner-Abendroth, 2017) has attempted to conceptualise matriarchy in modern society. Goettner proposes that the matriarchal structure comprises economic, social, political, and cultural levels. At the economic level, matriarchy means balanced economic reciprocity, where women have the right to manage the community and ancestral assets. At the social level, matriarchy is egalitarian, matrilineal kinship. It emphasises the equal position of males and females. At the political level, according to Goettner, a matriarchy is a society of consensus. Finally, at the cultural level, matriarchy emphasises the feminine divine or the feminine form of spirituality (in contrast with the male gods of patriarchal societies). It is suggested that an egalitarian, women-centred and caring society is the focal point of the matriarchal structure (Amadiume, 1997).

Following his journey of the Amazon, DeMott poses a relevant question to this PhD thesis, “is life any better when women play a strong role compared to the male-dominated regions that surround it?” (DeMott, 2006, p.253). Studies of modern matriarchy are scarce (Goettner-Abendroth, 2017), but the theory of matriarchy itself could be used as an analytical tool to understand women’s experiences (Smith, 2014).

Linking matriarchy to entrepreneurship study, unfortunately, there is little research on matriarchy and women’s entrepreneurship. Several studies on women in matriarchal societies that can be

linked to women's entrepreneurship are from DeMott (2006) and Jay (1996), to portray women as independent and empowered. For example, they strongly influence family decisions and resource allocation (Jay, 1996; DeMott, 2006). In addition, they are perceived to wield substantial power, exercise ethical leadership, take responsibility, and build connections (Roffey, 2000; Hatcher *et al.*, 2007). These findings suggest that women in matriarchal society possess the skills or traits needed for entrepreneurship. However, it needs further investigation whether the environment produces these skills or traits or whether they are individual qualities that have nothing to do with the environment.

A paper by Smith (2014) is a seminal work to link the "theory of matriarchy" and women's entrepreneurship. According to Smith, women's role as matriarchs facilitates different entrepreneurial actions than non-matriarch women. However, this does not explain how women's roles under matriarchy and patriarchy could differ or how this matriarch role is acquired. In addition to Smith (2014), two studies have compared women's and men's economic activity in matrilineal and patriarchal societies (Andersen *et al.*, 2008; Shahriar, 2018). These studies use the term "matrilineal", considered a dimension of matriarchy. These experimental laboratory studies found that women in matriarchal societies have higher entrepreneurial propensity and practice (Shahriar, 2018) and have fewer free riders (Andersen *et al.*, 2008). Women are more likely to become entrepreneurs in the supportive social structure of a matriarchy. However, their research cannot disentangle the confounding effects of religion, as there are different religions in these societies, and quantitative investigations have limited depth and explanatory power.

Finally, matriarchy is an overlooked complex social structure, particularly in the entrepreneurship study. How and to what extent matriarchal ideology and practice support/ hinder women's entrepreneurship is little known. Previous studies have recognised matriarchy to impact women's entrepreneurship positively. However, the mechanism for this remains unclear. It is important to note that matriarchy is heterogeneous, with manifestations varying significantly and encompassing diverse beliefs, practices, origins, and structures. Therefore, it is important to understand how matriarchy manifests in a particular context and how it could affect women's entrepreneurship. Scholars agree that studying matriarchy will shed light on the historical correlation between gender as sex (biology) and social construction (Semenov, 1975), one of the underlying philosophical stances in this PhD thesis. Hence, it is a niche research area that needs further study, particularly

on how women's entrepreneurship is constructed in a matriarchal society and possibly vice versa. Therefore, this PhD thesis investigating matriarchy is relevant and contributes to the gender literature, particularly on women's entrepreneurship study. In addition, future studies of modern matriarchy concerning women's entrepreneurship would be beneficial, especially in supporting females and building a better community.

## **2.5 Summary**

The previous review of women's entrepreneurship literature has highlighted a number of research gaps which this thesis seeks to address. First, the discussion about the context of entrepreneurship is relatively new (Baker and Welter, 2018). Particularly, women's entrepreneurship and context are still in their infancy (McAdam and Cunningham, 2021). According to McAdam and Cunningham (2021), context research's conceptualisation, operationalisation and methodology are still chaotic. Hence greater knowledge and understanding of context are needed. One way to understand context is by researching entrepreneurship in natural settings to understand 'their origins, forms, functioning and diverse outcome' (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014, p. 3). One of the importance context is the institutional context

Second, amidst the rise of research on women's entrepreneurship, it is surrounded by misconceptions, bias and errors due to (in)visible masculine/ patriarchal norms in building that research (McAdam, 2013; Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2016). A different approach is needed in researching women's entrepreneurship to challenge these misconceptions. It can be done, for example, by using a constructionist approach (Ahl and Nelson, 2010; Hughes *et al.*, 2012), focusing on how or process of entrepreneurship rather than focusing on what is women('s) entrepreneur(ship). Doing research in an alternative context can also be a solution to rebalance and challenge the misconceptions about women's entrepreneurship (Marlow and Martinez Dy, 2018). One alternative context can be researched is matriarchy (Smith, 2014a), because matriarchy is built upon/operates different mechanisms to patriarchy (Sanday, 2003; Goettner-Abendroth, 2018).

Furthermore, third, previous research highlights a lack of understanding of women's entrepreneurship in a matriarchal context (Smith, 2014a). In addition to that, a study comparing women's entrepreneurship in matriarchy and patriarchy is still rare (Shahriar, 2018). Hence

research on women's entrepreneurship in matriarchy will contribute to our understanding of the research area of gender and entrepreneurship and context and entrepreneurship.

Taking these highlights from the literature, this PhD thesis is interested in answering an overarching research question:

How do matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements differently shape the experiences of women entrepreneurs? How do women entrepreneurs navigate these arrangements?

#### Sub-research questions

- a. How is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?
- b. How do female entrepreneurs differently pursue and gain legitimacy under matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements?
- c. What is the influence of patriarchal and matriarchal institutional arrangements on identity construction by women entrepreneurs? How and why does this differ?

This study sees matriarchy and patriarchy as an institutional context because of matriarchy and patriarchy as social structures that carry social mechanisms and affect behaviour. Hence consideration is given to using institutional theory as a useful lens to develop a conceptual framework. This conceptual framework will form a basis for exploring and navigating to more specific research questions and analyses. The next chapter will elaborate on the institutional theory and its link to the study of women's entrepreneurship.

## **Chapter 3: Institutional theory and the study of women's entrepreneurship**

### **3.1 Linking institutional theory and women's entrepreneurship**

Johns (2017) asserts, "A good theory addresses which contextual features are most important given the other variables under consideration and suggests how to systematically package contextual features for empirical study." (p.583). With this in mind, this thesis asserts that institutional theory providing a useful framework to investigate the impact of the institutional context, such as economic, cultural, and regulation, on given variables. Therefore, this chapter will elaborate on the state of the field of institutional theory and how this theory fits with this PhD thesis to investigate and explain the impact of the matriarchal and patriarchal institutional context on women's entrepreneurship. This chapter starts with a review on different perspective and use of the institutional theory. It is followed by the review of three pillars of the institution, specifically after Scott's (2014) and Ogutle's (2021) framework. And how these frameworks useful for this study. Next is literature review on isomorphism, and last is literature review on legitimacy.

#### **3.1.1 Different perspectives and use of the institutional theory**

There is a rich scholarship on institutional theory. It is used in sociology and organisational studies (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) to view institutions as societal and cultural practices that wield forces of conformance and urge individuals and organisations to adopt them. Institutional theory in organisational studies focuses on "understanding how and why organisations attend, and attach meaning, to some elements of their institutional environments" (Suddaby, 2010, p.15). It provides a theoretical framework for scholars to examine resources and non-market forces in shaping organisational performance (Williamson, 1975; Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Bruton, Ahlstrom and Han-Lin Li, 2010). By non-market forces, it refers to an industry's culture, legal environment, tradition and history, and economic incentives (Olson, 1971; Estrin *et al.*, 2016). Institutional theory can be found in political science (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Shepsle, 2010), explaining how power is distributed among people and shapes character and outcomes of interest. Finally, economists study the effect of political and legal frameworks on economic form and



process (North, 1990). Amidst the wide use of the institutional theory, there have been some critiques that the institutional theory has lost focus and coherence (Suddaby, 2010). Suddaby argues scholars use or supplement other theories to represent the institutional theory, forgetting the central points and conceptual elements, such as legitimacy, rationalised myths and taken-for-grantedness. On the other hand, institutional theory has also been pointed out as not critical (Suddaby, 2014; Willmott, 2019), mostly due to the use of the quantitative method or a proxy to measure processes such as adaptation and internationalisation. The problem in methodology has caused the institutional theory not to provide a rich understanding of the dynamics and process of a phenomenon.

Institutional theory is used widely in entrepreneurship studies (Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Aldrich, 2010; Bruton, Ahlstrom and Li, 2010). The institutional theory helps to “understand entrepreneurship research and practise more fully by finding out what was institutionalised, that is, which activities, beliefs, and attitudes have come to acquire taken-for-granted or rule-like status (and which ones have not), thus, in turn, enabling and constraining entrepreneurship in the environment in question” (Bruton, Ahlstrom and Han-Lin Li, 2010, p. 423). According to Aldrich (2010), institutions affect entrepreneurship in two ways: “First, they structure the context within which entrepreneurs learn about entrepreneurship, search for resources, build their new ventures, and benefit from their efforts. Second, they provide the cultural resources with which entrepreneurs, public policymakers, investors, and others interpret the meaning of entrepreneurship” (p. 341). Using this perspective, scholars have explored how rituals, attitudes, and behaviour are accepted and institutionalised and, in turn, how they promote or conceal entrepreneurship (Futagami and Helms, 2009; Aramand, 2013; Tajeddini, Ratten and Denisa, 2017). The institutional theory offers an important perspective from which to understand the role and impact of context on individual-level and group-level behaviours and processes (Scott, 1994).

The body of literature includes wide-ranging applications of institutional theory in entrepreneurship research (Scott, 2014; Friel, 2017). This variety is due to different definitions and interpretations of the institution, the types and levels of institutions under study, and the research stream. Bruton and colleagues highlight three streams of entrepreneurship research that use institutional theory: (1) institutional setting and entrepreneurship, (2) legitimacy and

entrepreneurship, and (3) institutional entrepreneurs (Aldrich, 2010; Bruton, Ahlstrom, and Li, 2010).

The first stream is called “entrepreneurship contextualisation” (Poggesi, Mari and De Vita, 2016; Baker and Welter, 2017; Welter, Baker and Wirsching, 2019). It highlights the setting of entrepreneurship; embraces the dimensions of time, pace, and duration; and is process-oriented (Welter, Baker, and Wirsching, 2019). This stream focuses on how entrepreneurs are enabled or constrained by the institutions in their environment. The second stream of entrepreneurship study and institutional theory is legitimacy and entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs must seek moral and cognitive legitimacy when starting a new venture (Bruton, Ahlstrom and Li, 2010). The legitimacy element will be discussed further down the line, as legitimacy is mentioned in the literature review as the crucial element (and challenge) in the women’s entrepreneurship study (Marlow, 2015). The third-stream concerns institutional entrepreneurs and how entrepreneurship can change institutions (Battilana, Leca and Boxenbaum, 2009; Bruton, Ahlstrom and Li, 2010; Olsen, 2017). This research stream suggests that the relationship between entrepreneurs and institutions is reciprocal. It challenges the institutional theory that suggests the actor is shaped by the hard institution (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). For example, institutional entrepreneurs show how entrepreneurship can change the institutions that place them in disadvantaged circumstances (Kephart and Schumacher, 2005; Sperandio, 2007; Ritchie, 2016). In women’s entrepreneurship research, the institution is a relevant and important context (Ahl and Nelson, 2010). Institutions can hinder women’s entrepreneurship and trigger emancipatory possibilities (McAdam and Cunningham, 2021). Institutional context can also cut the cross-level of analysis, which is still overlooked in women’s entrepreneurship studies. Additionally, there is nuanced understanding on how context shape women’s entrepreneurship (McAdam and Cunningham, 2021). Therefore more work needed so we could capture the nuanced ways diverse societies with different gender construction foster different entrepreneurship experience

A research using the institutional lens could provide a better understanding of how the institutional context affects entrepreneurship. There are already previous research inquiry institutions, and also using the institutional theory to understand the entrepreneurship phenomena. For example entrepreneurship research focus on the formal (e.g. laws, regulations) and informal regulations (norms) (Bruton et al., 2010; Tolbert et al., 2011). Welter (2011) suggests more work needed to

study entrepreneurship that explore the influence of spatial and societal context on entrepreneurship. With this in mind, this thesis extends the institutional framework from Ogutle (2021) and Scott (2014) to offer social structure as a context to study entrepreneurship. Particularly this study is interested on social structure of matriarchy and patriarchy, because these they serve as the gendered institutional context consists of informal and formal institutions (that will be deployed as the three pillars of institution), and also has societal and spatial elements. Hence it could advance our understanding of the relationship of complex gendered institutional context and entrepreneurship. Research of entrepreneurship in a matriarchal and patriarchal context could also response to the call to research in non-familiar institutional contexts. Additionally, to compare non familiar matriarchal context with the patriarchy that has been widely known, can improve our understanding of entrepreneurship phenomena.

Finally, taking three research streams of entrepreneurship and institution introduced by Bruton and colleagues (Bruton, Ahlstrom and Han-lin Li, 2010), this thesis combines those three research streams to investigate 1) how women's entrepreneurship affected by the institutional context, 2) how legitimacy is acquired/conferred and 3) how context shapes the entrepreneurship's model (this mechanism, later will be conceptualised as isomorphism). Particularly this thesis is built upon the institutional theory by Scott (Scott 2014) and Ogutle (2021), the legitimacy model of Suchman (1995) and Bitektine and Haack (2015), and isomorphism by (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). These various elements of the institutions will be elaborated on below.

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### **3.1.2 Three pillars of the institutions**

Scott (2014) collected and summarised various institutional theory perspectives in his well-known three pillars of the institutional environment: regulative, normative, and cognitive. Scott (2014) writes, "Institutions comprise regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (p. 56). The cognitive pillar refers to the actors' understanding of rules and meanings established by the culture, which shape their behaviour in society. The normative pillar refers to values and norms. Values are "conceptions of the preferred or the desirable" (Scott, 2014, p. 64). Norms specify "how things should be done (Scott, 2014, p. 64)". The cognitive and normative pillars are associated with informal institutions (Zhang, Gao and Cho, 2017). Finally, the regulative pillar relates to formal

institutions. It standardises and limits action by a coercive mechanism, usually formal rules and established laws.

Scott's version of the institutional theory, often called the 'Stanford model', emphasises the cultural cognitive elements as the foundation for institutional analysis. However, Scott also asserts that the cultural-cognitive, regulative and normative elements are together (sometimes in different ways) to stabilize social behaviours (Scott, 2005). With that in mind, Scott highlights that the relationship between actors and institutions is recursive rather than top-down. The actor is institutionally constructed but can reconstruct the institutions (Scott, 2014). Here, the notion of 'agency' - the capacity to make a difference in a situation (DiMaggio, 1988)- is acknowledged. It emphasises that Scott's institutional theory is a multi-level framework. Therefore, it can be understood that regulative and normative pillars are the exogenous factors within the macro/meso level. While the cognitive pillars are endogenous and at a micro level. In his framework, Scott asserts that the pillars are not always aligned; one can undermine another. For example, in economic activity, when a formal institution or regulative pillar fails to regulate or guide society, the informal institutions or normative pillars– such as cultural or social ties – will overtake the regulative pillars to facilitate economic activity. This phenomenon is known as institutional asymmetry (Peng, Wang and Jiang, 2008; Williams and Vorley, 2015). The institutional asymmetry can challenge the actors and create opportunity (Williams and Shahid, 2014; Williams and Horodnic, 2016).

In addition to the emphasis on the individual level, as in the cognitive pillar, Scott's version of the institutional theory pays attention to the social structure. Scott (2014) asserts that an institution is a "social structure that involves more strongly held rules supported by stronger relations and more entrenched resources" (p. 93). Ogutle (2021), on the other hand, proposes that institutions and social structure are two different things. Institutions, according to Ogutle, can be seen as '*spaces that are manifested as grounds on which the multiple operations of the social mechanisms generated by social structures actualize and that are manifested as fields of the struggle to obtain material and symbolic rewards by the reproductive and/or transformative practices of agents*' (Ogutle, 2021, p. 490). According to Ogutle, social structure is '*a causal mechanism constituted by relationships among social positions that accounts for social phenomena in terms of tendencies, strains and forces inherent in the nexus of those relationships*' (Ogutle, 2021, p. 494). With this

conceptualisation, Ogutle, in line with Scott (Scott, 2010), acknowledges the relationship and agent's role within an institution. However, while Scott (2010) uses social structure and institution interchangeably, Ogutle specifically lays a clear distinction between social structure and institution: the institution is the ground where the structural forces occur, and the social structure touches agency through the institution (Ogutle, 2021). Agent engages in a social structure by entering a certain relationship (class or gender) through 3 basic processes: repetition, reinforcement, and familiarity (Ogutle, 2021).

Ogutle's assertion is relevant to this thesis. As can be attested in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.1, the definition of patriarchy and matriarchy varies. Matriarchy and patriarchy are often called institutions because of the norms and rules within (Lerner, 1986; Walby, 1989). Previous literature often portrays matriarchy/patriarchy as a social structure because it depicts the structural relationship among its member (Walby, 1990). Matriarchy and patriarchy are also portrayed as a place or space where social interaction takes place (see public and private patriarchy; Walby, 1989), and at the same time, see matriarchy and patriarchy as the norms (Christ, 2016), sometimes as the practices (see: Moghadam, 2007; Ritchie, 2016). Patriarchy is also portrayed as a collective representation such as family, nation or society (Lerner, 1986). It specifically raises a challenge for this thesis to conceptualise patriarchy/ matriarchy from the institutional perspective; is patriarchy/ matriarchy a social organisation with rules within? Or is patriarchy/matriarchy the rules itself? Ogutle's (2021) conceptualisation of the institutions helped to understand the link between the institutions, social structure, and patriarchy/ matriarchy.

Borrowing the institutional concept from Ogutle, matriarchy/patriarchy can manifest as the space where the causal mechanism or social organisation, such as the three pillars of institutions, is located. At the same time, matriarchy and patriarchy are also where the agent (female entrepreneurs) exerts strategy or disposition in accessing positions, resources and power. The conceptualisation of institutions as a space justifies matriarchy and patriarchy as the institutional settings of this research. Ogutle's work also explains the causal mechanism of the three pillars within this context. As Scott (2014) elaborated, normative and regulative pillars are the exogenous factors within the meso/ macro level. Cognitive pillars are endogenous forces at the micro/ individual level. Scott's conceptualisation implies the causal mechanism within the institutions in line with Ogutle's version of social structure. Therefore, borrowing Ogutle's conceptualisation of

the social structure, it can be asserted that Scott's (2014) three pillars are the causal mechanism within the institution that accounts for the observed social phenomena in this thesis. An agent can act accordingly to the norms or abide by competing norms (Ogutle, 2021). An agent can also reproduce routine and practice and set up their new position or network (Ogutle, 2021), a circumstance known as the institutional entrepreneurs within the entrepreneurship research (Bruton, Ahlstrom and Li, 2010). These assertions became the basis for this thesis claiming that institutions affect entrepreneurs. It also highlights the recursive nature of the relationship between entrepreneurs and institutions (Battilana, Leca and Boxenbaum, 2009; Scott, 2014)

Linking the institution's definition from Scott (2010) and Ogutle 2021, this research conceptualised patriarchy/ matriarchy as the institution where the patriarchal/ matriarchal structure exists and is experienced/reproduced by the agent/ female entrepreneurs. The patriarchal structure touches the agency through the institutions, such as through the normative, regulative and cognitive pillars of the institutions, the segregation of public and private sphere, segregation of male and female, etc., and other institutional mechanisms such as institutional legitimacy and isomorphism. Borrowing Scott's (2014) definition of the institution and Walby's (1998) definition of patriarchy, this thesis defines patriarchy as the institution where the patriarchal social structure exists in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women via strongly enforced rules, relations, and entrenched resources. As for the matriarchy, combining Scott's (2014) definition of the institution and Sanday's (2003) definition of matriarchy, this thesis defines matriarchy as the institution where the matriarchal social structure exists that prioritising the maternal role and egalitarianism, with strongly enforced rules, relations, and entrenched resources. Matriarchy is conceptualised to allow women more agency compared to patriarchy. From here, to avoid confusion, the words patriarchy and matriarchy represent the institutions as the space where patriarchal and matriarchal structures are located. While the words patriarchal/ matriarchal refer to the patriarchal and matriarchal structure via a social mechanism to represent the social structure, with the institutional pillars manifest in the structure.

The use of Scott's three pillars of institutions in entrepreneurship research is vast. It is in line with the first entrepreneurship research stream mentioned above to study entrepreneurship and institutional setting (Bruton, Ahlstrom and Han-Lin Li, 2010) or with entrepreneurship contextualisation (Welter and Smallbone, 2011), to investigate norms, regulations, rules, etc. and

its impact on entrepreneurs. However, most of the research was taken place in the patriarchal setting as discussed in the literature review section 2.3. Borrowing the feminist constructionist perspective (Hughes *et al.*, 2012; Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015) adopted in this study (which will be further elaborated in the methodology section) that gender and entrepreneurship are socially constructed, this thesis suggests that three pillars within patriarchy will be different to those in a matriarchy. Therefore, it will impact women's entrepreneurship differently. With that in mind, it is important to study women's entrepreneurship in both matriarchy and patriarchy to understand the similarities/ differences of the entrepreneurship phenomena in those two settings, so that relevant/ suitable support can be designed for female entrepreneurs in those contexts.

### 3.1.3 Isomorphism

Scott's work ties to the new institutional theory such as (Meyer and Rowan (1977) and (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), which privilege formal organisational structure, homogeneity, legitimacy and rationalised system. The organisation is built upon roles and associated activities to pursue specified goals (Scott, 2005). With that, Scott's institutional theory also pays attention to isomorphism, the homogenisation process of the actor or group of actors under constraints to survive and gain legitimacy (Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Bruton, Ahlstrom and Li, 2010). Hence institutional isomorphism is precursive to legitimacy, that isomorphism is a mechanism that 'shapes'/standardised actors to fit social expectations to gain legitimacy. (Deephouse (1996) defines isomorphism as a resemblance of the organisation within a similar industry.

There are two types of Isomorphism, competitive and institutional (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Beckert, 2010). Both competitive and institutional isomorphism is affected by the actor's network position or social ties (Tan, Shao and Li, 2013). Competitive isomorphism occurs in an open competition concerned with resource access, leading to innovation (Tan, Shao and Li, 2013). Institutional isomorphism concerns with 'the structural determinants of the range of choices that actors perceive as rational or prudent (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 149)'. Therefore, institutional isomorphism is concerned with political power and legitimacy, instead of actor's choice or motivation. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) segregate competitive and institutional isomorphism, whilst other scholars pointed out that competitive and institutional isomorphism can work together to support homogenisation and/or divergence (Beckert, 2010). This PhD thesis leans on Beckert's assertion, that homogenisation can be a combination of competition and institutional forces. It is because access to resources or resource allocation (the focus on competition isomorphism study), can be institutional (Berry, 1989; Volk, Slaughter and Thomas, 2001). Hence there is overlapping elements between institutional and competition isomorphism.

There are three type institutional isomorphism. They are coercive isomorphism, normative isomorphism, and mimetic isomorphism. According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983), coercive isomorphism occurs when the organisation abides by power, political or external pressures from other organisations or the expectation of society, for example, rules, law and values. Normative isomorphism originates from the establishment pattern of a professional community. Mimetic



isomorphism occurs when an organisation mimics another organisation's structure or action, usually in an uncertain circumstance.

The organisational research highlights the importance of balancing homogenisation and differentiation with other companies to achieve better performance. Tan and colleague (Tan, Shao and Li, 2013) found that institutional homogenisation and differentiation can be complementary. Organisations with a medium level of strategy similarity perform better than those with high or low levels (Deephouse, 1999; Beckett, 2010). Other scholars pointed out isomorphic pressure to hinder social entrepreneurs' growth or scale-up process (Sud, VanSandt and Baugous, 2009). Therefore, being similar or 'social fit' with the environment does not guarantee success for an organisation, but it could provide legitimisation. Whether isomorphism is beneficial or not depend on various circumstances.

From a multilevel perspective, Schwindenhammer (2017) found that entrepreneurs unify various authorities, intervene in a global standard, and change/homogenise the industry's institutional structure. Research on isomorphism at the firm level identifies government, industry associations and competitors as the institutional actor who drives the isomorphism (Tan, Shao and Li, 2013). From the institutional perspective, it is identified that institutional isomorphism is linked to the organisational culture, such as myth and rituals (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) and stakeholder management (mimetic, normative, coercive; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). These highlight the interplay of entrepreneurs and the environment that leads to a structuration and/or homogenisation. The element of organisations that homogeneous can be structure, culture and output (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), and the adoption of particular strategy (Osakwe and Ikhiede, 2022). However, previous research never clearly mention on what organizational level is the homogenisation occurred. Whether isomorphism change the whole organisational structure, or only for the particular activities (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), whether it change the core structure or the peripheral elements of the organisation (Stark, 2013), need more research.

In a level of industry or business cluster, identity is influenced by the norms emerged among firms within a geographical area, and that norms might be not relevant to other area (Beebe *et al.*, 2013; Amdam *et al.*, 2020). Managers' isomorphism strategies, such as mimetic or creating myths, are influenced by informal institutions, a wider culture, such as local or national-level culture (Lau,

Ng and Nyaw, 2002). Characteristics of a particular industry or business cluster is often affected by the gender. For example, in a maritime cluster (Kitada and Bhirugnath-Bhookhun, 2019) or travel industry (Smith and Carmichael, 2007). The local actors and its interplay to commodities and institutions rooted rural area, enforce adherence to local code of conduct and standardisation, shaping the cluster identity. Hence institutions within a geographical territory plays important role in shaping an industry or homogenisation. It leads to a premise of this thesis that matriarchy and patriarchy are different institutions, also both within a different geographical territory.

As reviewed above, research on isomorphism were conducted to understand homogenisation process in organizational setting, or/ and in industrial level. Isomorphism is rarely considered as a mechanism to understand similar and ideal form of the entrepreneur as a member of a particular group. The concept of identity isomorphism, refer to the process to pursue ideal and similar form (of identity) (Hughey, 2014) could be used to understand female entrepreneurs identity construction or adoption. Hughey specifically focus on roles schema as the triggers of identity isomorphism. Role schema refers to role that is ‘bounded and intersubjectively shared understandings of race, gender, and/or class’ (Hughey, 2014, p. 273)

To follow Lau, Ng and Nyaw (2002) on their research on cultural isomorphism, and from a entrepreneurship and gender perspective (Ahl and Marlow, 2012), female entrepreneurs are bound to many gender norms and values which are different from or not experienced by their male counterparts. These external pressures have impacted the firm characteristic of women-owned businesses (Eddleston *et al.*, 2016), entrepreneurial behaviour and identity (Giménez and Calabrò, 2018) to be different from a man’s venture. Previous research often portrays female entrepreneurs or women-owned businesses in a particular image and stereotype or named as ‘entrepreneurs’ pink ghetto’ (Smith, 2014b). These gender-related external pressures can be context specific. Therefore, what, and how isomorphic mechanisms homogenised female entrepreneurs to operate their business in a particular cultural standard or framework need further investigation.

Alongside the isomorphism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) introduced the notion of the iron cage as a “prison”, in which organisations become homogeneous in order to fit or conform. The mechanism of homogenisation that is intended to produce alignment with the environment is called isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). This study borrows the iron cage concept as a metaphor for Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy, which both “cage” their members’

behaviour in certain ways. The cages shape their members to reproduce homogeneous characteristics and carry out tribal identities. Therefore, from the institutional perspective, this suggests that Minangkabau and Javanese people are under isomorphism pressure, particularly coercive pressure. This iron cage also contributes to shaping women's entrepreneurship under Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy. Therefore, this study posit that the matriarchy and patriarchy may act as the iron cage that respectively induce isomorphism or homogenisation of women's entrepreneurship.

Furthermore, it is unknown if the isomorphism process is different in patriarchy and matriarchy as they are different institutions embedded in a geographical boundary. To contribute to this area, this thesis aims to investigate the impact of matriarchy and patriarchy on female entrepreneurs' institutional isomorphism. By understanding the isomorphic mechanism of female entrepreneurs, it can be understood what the supportive and discouraging mechanisms are. With that, a support program can be adjusted to fit the needs of female entrepreneurs.

#### **3.1.4 Legitimacy**

For example, it is widely studied that entrepreneurship is built upon masculine values (Ahl and Nelson, 2010), which makes it difficult for women to establish credibility and legitimacy as entrepreneurs (Jennings and Brush, 2013). On the other hand, that entrepreneurs as masculine norms could also be the case. It shows the perpetuated unequal structure that partly results from the legitimacy judgment/ process. In this study, unequal structure refers to the patriarchal structure. This notion derived partly from most entrepreneurship studies conducted in patriarchal societies.

Again, most studies on the legitimacy process were conducted in the patriarchal context (Swail and Marlow, 2018; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2019; Hashim, Naldi and Markowska, 2021). It is unknown how legitimacy is pursued by female entrepreneurs in matriarchy and if they face legitimacy challenges like female entrepreneurs in patriarchy. To acknowledge matriarchy as being built upon an egalitarian norm toward gender (Sanday, 2003) and put importance on women's role in society, including women's role in various aspects, including the economic aspect (Gottner-Abendroth, 1999). Hence, it can be assumed that women's participation in economic activity is supported or expected. Thus, the legitimacy for female entrepreneurs could be easily pursued or acquired in a matriarchal society compared to those in a patriarchal society because the matriarchal

arrangement produce a gender role that fits entrepreneurship and vice versa. With that in mind, this thesis aims to understand the legitimacy process of female entrepreneurs in matriarchal society and, if it is different from those from patriarchal society, that such a question still lacks study. Furthermore, what can be adopted from the matriarchal societies (if any) to support female entrepreneurs elsewhere?

Institutional isomorphism, as previously discussed, has been asserted as the mechanism to gain legitimacy (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Legitimacy is “A generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman, 1995: 574). While Scott (2014) highlights social acceptability and credibility as the elements of legitimacy.

Two perspectives are usually used to see legitimacy: strategic and institutional. The strategic perspective emphasises how an organisation proactively constructs or manipulates symbols to gain support. On the other hand, the institutional perspective concerns how structuration dynamic creates cultural pressure beyond organisational control and assumes the organisation is a passive entity. So, the strategic perspective implies the active role of the organisation to gain legitimacy, whilst the institutional perspective is more on passive role. Suchman (1995) states that the best way to gain legitimacy is by conforming to one’s environment. Legitimation can also be gained by choosing an environment that fits or by manipulating the environment (Suchman, 1995). With this, Suchman (1995) claims that his definition is a middle perspective between strategic and institutional views, it recognised both structural forces and agency. Bitektine and Haack (2015), in line with Suchman, also highlights the multi-level interaction between institution and actor in establishing legitimacy.

Legitimacy is important because it can grant access to resources, provide support from the audience and lead to the credibility of a person or organization, and ensure the organisation’s continuity or survival (Suchman, 1995; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Legitimacy can also be seen as resources or assets that can be exploited to pursue goals (Suchman, 1995). From an institutional perspective, legitimacy considers cultural aspects or definitions to build, operate, and evaluate the organisation (Suchman, 1995; Scott, 2014). Therefore, a legitimate organization or actor is one whose values and actions are congruent with that social actor's values and expectations (Galaskiewicz and Wasserman, 1989; Fayolle, Verzat and Wapshott, 2016), or a condition where

the actors or organisations conform to the rules and belief systems prevailing in the environment (Claude, 1966; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Legitimacy is also often interchanged with the term ‘legality’, and ‘moral justification’, which implies that law and morality are important elements of legitimacy (Claude, 1966). Morals and law require different legitimisation processes, sometimes conflict. Concerning that, Suchman points out three forms of legitimacy: (1) pragmatic legitimacy, or legitimacy that is gained by meeting the stakeholders’ interests; (2) moral legitimacy, or legitimacy derived from the stakeholders’ judgement of one’s actions, conforms to ideals; and (3) cognitive legitimacy, a taken for granted legitimacy, or support by the cultural framework. Furthermore, Tost (2011) asserts three types of legitimacy that highlight slightly different dimensions to Suchman’s. They are (1) instrumental legitimacy, which can be obtained when an entity facilitates an individual or group to achieve an internalised goal; (2) relational legitimacy, obtained when an entity reinforces the social identity and self-worth of an individual; (3) moral identity that can be obtained when an entity shows consistency with evaluator’s moral and ethical values. Three types of legitimacy introduced by Suchman (1995) and Tost (2011) concern other people’s judgement or conferred by collective actors. Bitektine and Haack (2015) assert that an individual can also self-conferred legitimacy by evaluating his/her own propriety. Claude’s (1966) asserted that ‘*the crucial question is not what principle is acknowledged but who is accepted as the authoritative interpreter of the principle*’ (p. 370). Therefore, the questions whether the legitimacy is conferred by others, or self-conferred, how, and why, is crucial in institutional perspective which always ‘try to attach meaning to its institutional elements’ (Suddaby, 2010, p. 15).

Bitektine and Haack (2015) assert that the legitimation process under the condition of institutional stability is different to the legitimacy process under institutional change. Under an unstable condition, an institution, for example, the policy can go through the legitimacy repair loops and delegitimizing loops that result in institutionalised and deinstitutionalized policy (Arshed, Chalmers and Matthews, 2018). It supports Claude’s (1966) assertion that the fashion of legitimacy is always changing, and there could be a conflict during the transition between old and new legitimacy. It is also found that the legitimacy process will differ between a new venture and an established venture, where the new or aspiring entrepreneurs find it difficult to gain legitimacy due liability of newness when building a new venture (O’Toole and Ciuchta, 2020). Entrepreneurs who

fight for a social change, also usually face an institutional resistance and challenge in attaining legitimacy (Ruebottom, 2013).

The struggle for legitimacy is also highlighted in research on women's entrepreneurship due to the masculine and patriarchal norms associated with entrepreneurship (Swail and Marlow, 2018). Female entrepreneurs in a patriarchal society find coping with the gendered (male-dominated) environment difficult and women hesitate to position themselves as entrepreneurs or be acknowledged because their actions do not align with masculine values (Amine and Staub, 2009; Swail and Marlow, 2018; Liu, Schøtt and Zhang, 2019). Hence it is difficult for female entrepreneurs to gain social acceptance or legitimacy because they are compared with masculine norms (Marlow and Patton, 2005; Ahl, 2006; Swail and Marlow, 2018). A quest of female entrepreneurs to pursue legitimacy, is often seen as an disobedient strategy (Barragan, Erogul and Essers, 2018) and often challenge prevalent norms, i.e. patriarchal values (Kabeer, 2011; Ritchie, 2016). With this, women entrepreneurs often navigate to earn legitimacy in an unstable institution, with women as the agent of change. These female entrepreneurs experience institutional resistance and challenge in gaining legitimacy. Another reason why it is difficult for female entrepreneurs to gain legitimacy.

In the other hand, Claude (1966) assert that to change the fashion of legitimacy, or to change the institutions in order to earn legitimacy does not necessarily regard the actors (i.e., women entrepreneurs) as the usurper or status quo, it is instead a process convincing themselves of the rightness of their position (Claude, 1966). This phenomena often seen in the women's entrepreneurship research, for female entrepreneurs to gain legitimacy, they have to convince themselves that they are in a rightful position, as a rightful entrepreneurs within the narrative of the entrepreneurship as the hegemonic masculinity, (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004). It is inline with the works of Bitektine and Haack (2015) that legitimacy can be self-conferred.

The legitimacy process of female entrepreneurs might be different to their male counterparts. Some research has explored women's strategies to be rendered legitimate entrepreneurs (Bourne and Calás, 2013; Barragan, Erogul and Essers, 2018; Swail and Marlow, 2018). While male entrepreneurs establish legitimacy by gaining formal qualification, Vershinina *et al.*, (2020) found that female entrepreneurs constrained by the tacit gender barriers take different legitimacy route, for example by establish international network However, most of previous study on female

entrepreneurs and legitimacy took place in a context of a high-technology industry and developed country, where female entrepreneurs gained relevant training and qualification, and the physical barrier (i.e., nation borders, segregation of work-home) can be overcome using a technology (Marlow and McAdam, 2012). In fact, again, most female entrepreneurs do not receive formal training and qualification, operating in a less-growth and low-value added business, and developed country, where highly constrained by physical barriers and gender related liabilities (Amine and Staub, 2009; Marlow, Henry and Carter, 2009), hence legitimacy route through training and international network does not always available for female entrepreneurs. It is still an area for further study, on how female entrepreneurs pursuing legitimacy.

Using the notion that gender and entrepreneurship is socially constructed (Ahl, 2006; Hughes *et al.*, 2012), it can be assumed that the source of legitimacy or authoritative interpreter, or the process of legitimisation in matriarchy and patriarchy might be different, because they are different institution. In addition to that, patriarchy can be seen as an unstable institution, which is often portrayed as an unideal social structure that is unstable, under scrutiny, and subject to change (Walby, 1990; Weinbaum and Morrison, 2003; Swail and Marlow, 2018). In this circumstance, the collective source of legitimacy is competing with the independent propriety assessments (Bitektine and Haack, 2015). In contrast, this thesis assumes matriarchy as a stable institution. It is based on previous research in a matriarchal society that portrays matriarchy as an ideal environment for women and society; hence it is preserved (Sanday, 2003; Goettner-Abendroth and Smith, 2008). Furthermore, matriarchy shows endurance amidst the patriarchal norms around the world (Amadiume, 1997; DeMott, 2006). So this PhD thesis assumes matriarchy as a maintained and stable environment. During a stable circumstance, the judgment validation institutions and collective actors play significant role in confer legitimacy, rather than independent propriety assessment (Bitektine and Haack, 2015). Hence it can be proposed that legitimacy process carried out by female entrepreneurs in the patriarchy will be different to those in a matriarchy. Furthermore, following Bitektine and Haack's (2005) assertions that different legitimacy processes are different under different circumstances, it is important to note that majority of the research on women's entrepreneurship and legitimacy were done in a patriarchal context, while research in matriarchy is underexplored.

Legitimacy is an element in institutional theory that could be operationalised in various approach, depend on the theory, discipline, and method (Schoon, 2022). The element of legitimacy that relevant to this thesis, could be the source of the legitimacy, or where the legitimacy comes from, institution, formal or informal institution? individual, or society? Or else? The object of the legitimacy could also be worth to investigate, it is never specifically mentioned in the previous research on women's entrepreneurship, are women pursuing self-legitimacy as entrepreneur? Or are they pursuing their women-owned business legitimacy? Or both? What are the differences? What patriarchy/ matriarchy could affect this aspect? Following that, it brings another layer of legitimacy; the unit of analysis of legitimacy, that has not been fully discussed in the literature (Schoon, 2022), are the legitimacy measured in the individual level, venture level, national level? Is there any aspect of spatiality on legitimacy that is affected by local structure or institution? To contribute to this area, this thesis explores the legitimacy process of female entrepreneurs in matriarchy and patriarchy. It will use the conceptualisation of legitimacy from Suchman (1995), and consider multilevel aspect of legitimacy as asserted by Bitektine and Haack (2015)

### **3.2 Towards the research questions**

The previous chapter has identified a number of research gaps in women's entrepreneurship studies. Taking the institutional theory into account, the research gap discussed in the previous chapter can be reiterated as follow: First, it is acknowledged that gender is socially constructed and thus varies in different times and places. Therefore, there is a call for future research on female entrepreneurs that considers context. Furthermore, this thesis pays attention to the institutional context of matriarchy and patriarchy. It investigates if matriarchy and patriarchy impact women's entrepreneurship differently and how those impacts are different between women entrepreneurs in matriarchy and patriarchy. Second, this thesis acknowledges that gaining legitimacy is challenging for female entrepreneurs, particularly due to gender roles. Although efforts have been made to study women entrepreneurs and their legitimacy, most research occurred in patriarchy, as elaborated above. A little research on a matriarchal society has posed women to own legitimacy for the economic activities they have done. Therefore, more research is needed in this area. This thesis aims to contribute to this lacuna, investigate the legitimacy process of women entrepreneurs in the context of matriarchy and patriarchy, and grasp a better understanding of this phenomenon. Third, the literature informs the characteristics and/or stereotypes of female entrepreneurs, which



shows a homogeneous pattern labelled as the entrepreneurs' pink ghetto (Smith, 2014b). It indicates the isomorphism process of women entrepreneurs. It is important to understand this process. To date, little is known if isomorphism benefits women entrepreneurs. How and why these female entrepreneurs decide to be similar/ different is rarely investigated. Hence a study on isomorphism and women's entrepreneurship is needed, so a better understanding can be acquired and better support for female entrepreneurs can be provided.

Finally, the literature informs that patriarchy and matriarchy are not unitary concepts. They have different forms and degrees. Furthermore, manifestations of patriarchy and matriarchy vary in different places and times. In addition to that, study on modern matriarchal society is scarce, especially in non-western settings, which is one of the areas to which this PhD thesis will contribute. This study asserts that the relationship between matriarchy and patriarchy is multilevel and consists of several recursive, direct and indirect relationships among concepts. Based on the literature review, a theoretical framework guides the analysis.

Based on the literature review and borrowing the institutional lens (Scott, 2014; Ogutle, 2021), patriarchy/ matriarchy is defined as the space where the patriarchal/ matriarchal structure exists and is experienced/reproduced by the agent/ female entrepreneurs. Also drawing upon Scott's institutional framework (Scott, 2005), this thesis asserts that matriarchy and patriarchy comprise three pillars of institutions (normative, regulative, and cognitive). This study borrows Ogutle's (2021) framework to conceptualise the three pillars of institutions and the isomorphism and legitimacy as the causal mechanism within the matriarchy/ patriarchy to impact women entrepreneurs.

This thesis has identified a possible relationship among three pillars of institutions, isomorphism and legitimacy. Furthermore, built upon the constructionism philosophy and inductive reasoning (discussed in the next chapter), this study asserts that these relationships (and perhaps a set of relationships) will differ in matriarchy and patriarchy. Hence this study aims to understand these phenomena better. The following research questions were developed based on the theoretical framework and gaps identified in the literature review to achieve these. Institutional theory is used to understand this phenomenon. Therefore, this PhD thesis poses one overarching question and three sub-questions:

How do matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements differently shape the experiences of women entrepreneurs? How do women entrepreneurs navigate these arrangements?

Sub-research questions

- a. How is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?
- b. How do female entrepreneurs differently pursue and gain legitimacy under matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements?
- c. What is the influence of patriarchal and matriarchal institutional arrangements on identity construction by women entrepreneurs? How and why does this differ?

Next, the methodology will be discussed.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

The following chapter discusses the methodology deployed in this study. This study investigates how Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy affect women's entrepreneurship. Accordingly, the research seeks to answer the following questions:

How do matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements differently shape the experiences of women entrepreneurs? How do women entrepreneurs navigate these arrangements?

### Sub-research questions

- a. How is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?
- b. How do female entrepreneurs differently pursue and gain legitimacy under matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements?
- c. What is the influence of patriarchal and matriarchal institutional arrangements on identity construction by women entrepreneurs? How and why does this differ?

This chapter elaborates on the methodological approach taken to answer these questions. The researcher worked iteratively to collect and analyse the data and consult the literature to confirm the findings. However, this chapter describes each task separately to ensure ease of reading. The empirical setting is discussed first, followed by research philosophy, research design, sampling, data collection, and data analysis. The chapter concludes with the ethical approval elaboration.

### **4.1. Empirical setting**

This literature review has highlighted that female entrepreneurs are often disadvantaged due to the gendered nature of entrepreneurship. These disadvantaged is often linked to the patriarchal structure. Gender and entrepreneurship studies to date were mostly conducted in patriarchal settings, despite the existence of other gendered social structures, such as matriarchy. This is despite the knowledge that different institutions could affect entrepreneurship in different ways. Based on the literature review, this PhD thesis asks how matriarchy and patriarchy affect women's entrepreneurship and, furthermore, whether they do so differently.

With that in mind, Indonesia was selected as the empirical focus of this research. Indonesia has both patriarchal and matriarchal structures. Indonesia is beneficial research setting because it allows for an in-depth, cross-cultural study of patriarchy and matriarchy whilst minimising the confounding effects (i.e., different national business regulations in different countries). In this study, the matriarchal society is the Minangkabau tribe, residing in West Sumatera province. The patriarchal society is the Javanese tribe residing in the Yogyakarta province. Further details of Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy are provided in sections 5.1 (patriarchy) and 6.1 (matriarchy). Below is a brief introduction to the national context of this research: Indonesia, the country in which the Minangkabau and Javanese tribes reside. The elaboration of Indonesia as the national context is to give a baseline on the general situation of the context of where this research takes place. It includes the elaboration on national level regulation on entrepreneurship/ small business, and national culture. It is followed by brief introduction of the sub-national context of West Sumatera province where Minangkabau tribes located and Yogyakarta province where Javanese tribes located.

#### **4.1.1 National context: Indonesia**

Indonesia, located between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It covers a total area of 1,904,569 square km and consists of 17,054 islands, some of which are inhabited and unnamed (UNGEGN, 2017). This makes Indonesia the world's largest island country (CIA, 2017). It is the fourth most populous country in the world, home to 275,501,339 people (World Bank, 2022). Measured by purchasing parity, Indonesia's economy was the 10<sup>th</sup>-largest in the world in 2015 and the largest in Southeast Asia. In 2016, Indonesia's GDP was US\$ 932.256 billion (World Bank, 2022). Micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) in Indonesia contributed 60.6% of the total GDP and accounted for 99% of the total number of enterprises (Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, 2018) (See Table 4-1).

*Table 4-1 Numbers of Indonesian enterprises by size*

	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Micro business	63,350,222.00	98.68%
Small business	783,132.00	1.22%
Medium business	60,702.00	0.09%
Large enterprise	5,550.00	0.01%
<b>Total</b>	<b>64,199,606.00</b>	<b>100%</b>

(Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, 2018)

The criteria of enterprises in this thesis draw upon the Indonesian Law number 20/2008 about Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises. It is grouped based on the net assets and annual sales or annual revenue (Table 4-2).

*Table 4-2 Criteria of Indonesian enterprises*

<b>Criteria of Small, Micro, and Medium Enterprises set by Law N. 20/2008</b>			
<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Small</b>	<b>Medium</b>
<b>Net Assets (excluding land &amp; buildings)</b>	≤ 50 Million IDR	> 50 Million - 500 Million IDR	> 500 Million - 10 Billion IDR
<b>Annual Sales/Revenues</b>	≤ 300 Million IDR	> 300 Million - 2,5 Billion IDR	> 2,5 Billion - 50 Billion IDR

The informal economy is prevalent in Indonesia. The percentage of registered MSMEs is lower than large firms and lower than in neighbouring countries such as Vietnam and Cambodia (Mourougane, 2012). Among the 58 million MSMEs in Indonesia in 2015, only 175,000 MSMEs are registered by the Indonesian Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs (Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, 2018). Registering in the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs means that MSMEs have a micro and small business permit (Izin Usaha Mikro dan Kecil - IUMK). IUMK is a specific permit for micro and small businesses certified by the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs. IUMK can be obtained from the district/municipal government and does not constitute the business's legal status. It is a complex procedure to be a fully registered firm in Indonesia so that the Indonesian Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs target the MSMEs at least have the IUMK so that the government can provide them with the support or assistance needed.

Full registration is usually required to obtain bank loans and government tenders. Typically, 11 procedures need to be fulfilled by entrepreneurs to establish their firms. Finishing all procedures takes about 12 days (See Table 4-3). These procedures require interaction with several ministries and different levels of authority. At the national level, 18 ministries and organisations are related to entrepreneurship and SMEs.<sup>3</sup> The number of processes is different in each province. The OECD describes these complex and unstandardized procedures of business registration as the result of policy incoherence (OECD, 2008). There is an effort to make the registration one shop which is a positive policy. Still, it also needs the simplification of the licensing or registration structure so that the MSMEs will see it as easy and cost-efficient (Rothenberg *et al.*, 2016).

*Table 4-3 The summary of the procedure for starting a business<sup>4</sup>*

Step	Description	Time to completion	Total cost	Remarks
1	Pay fee for obtaining clearance of company name	One day	IDR 100,000.00	
2	Obtain clearance for the company's name at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights	One day		Include in procedure number 3
3	Pay the non-tax state revenue (PNBP) fees for legal services	One day	IDR 500,000 (validation of the company as a legal entity) + IDR 430,000 (publication)	The state treasury
4	Arrange for a notary to obtain the standard form of the company deed and notarize company documents	One day	IDR 500,000-4,000,000 (depend on the start-up capital)	Notary fee
5	Make a company seal	One day	IDR 30,000	Seal maker fee
6	Apply to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights for approval of the deed of establishment	One day		Include in procedure number 3
7	Apply for the Certificate of Company Domicile	Two days	No cost	Municipality
8	Apply for Single business number (NIB)	One day	No cost	One-Stop Service

<sup>3</sup> Anonymous interview with an official from the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs.

<sup>4</sup> Standard company legal form: Limited Liability Company (LLC) – Perseroan Terbatas (PT). Paid-in minimum capital requirement: IDR 12,500,000 = GBP 670

9	Register with the Ministry of Manpower	One day	No cost	For the company with > 10 workers
10	Apply for the Workers Social Security Program (Jamsostek Program)	One day	No cost	can be completed simultaneously with previous procedures
11	Apply a taxpayer registration number (NPWP) and a VAT collector number (NPPKP)	One day	No cost	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>12 days</b>	<b>IDR (max) 5,070,000.00</b>	

Summarised from (World Bank, 2019)

Indonesia comprises 34 provinces (See Figure 4-1). As a response to the economic crisis in 1997, Indonesia adopted a decentralisation policy that shifted much of the central government to respond to the lower tier of government<sup>5</sup> (McCulloch and Sjahrir, 2008; Nasution, 2016). The decentralisation aims to bring the government closer to the people and strengthen the regional economy. However, inter-regional or provincial disparities remain largely because local development is highly determined by the regional governments (OECD, 2016), especially by the district/municipal-level government (Nasution, 2016). In addition, several studies recorded unsynchronised regulation at the national and sub-national level that negatively impact investment inflow at the national/ regional level (KPPOD, 2016; Adiyanta, 2019) and decrease the ease of doing business in Indonesia (Winata, Putri and Aditya, 2018; World Bank, 2019).

*Figure 4-1 The Provinces in Indonesia*



<sup>5</sup> Law no. 32/2004 divided Indonesia into five layers of governments: Pemerintah pusat (central government), provinsi (provinces), kabupaten (districts)/kota (municipalities), kecamatan (sub-districts), and desa/kelurahan (villages). Regional government is the formal nomenclature for the local government.

Indonesian cultural and geographical diversity can also account for disparities in regional development. Based on census data from 2010, Indonesia has 1340 tribes that speak 2500 languages (Naim and Syaputra, 2010). ‘Bahasa Indonesia’ as the national language is used by 19.9% of the national population. The tribes in Indonesia vary in terms of history, origins and population numbers. The biggest tribe is Javanese, comprising 95.2 million people or approximately 40% of the national population. The small tribes, such as the Tau tribe and Halmahera tribe, has less than 10,000 people (Naim and Syaputra, 2010). Although the literature mentions that a region can be economically successful if it can advance in technology, talent and tolerance (Florida, 2014), that is not the case in Indonesia. Derived from the cultural practices of its thousand tribes, Indonesia's sub-national regions tend to make use of and sustain cultural resources that result in disparities in interpretation and transfer policies from central government to sub-national government, creating inter-regional disparities (OECD, 2016; Fahmi, McCann and Koster, 2017; Modrego *et al.*, 2017). Some tribes, such as Minangkabau, Bugis, and Javanese, are considered to be influential tribes in regard to economic and political activities. They are well known to have good motivation in promoting a better life by doing entrepreneurial activities (Ananta, 2015). These tribes develop an important role as political leaders and engines of economic growth in their local area and the larger country of Indonesia. For example, the Bugis Tribe is renowned as an ethnic entrepreneur with a significant role in eastern Indonesia (Nurman, 2004). Minangkabau is known as an entrepreneur ethnicity throughout Indonesia due to the migration element in their culture (Hastuti *et al.*, 2015), and Javanese as the biggest tribe is famous for batik (traditional cloth pattern) and craft industry (Papanek, 2006). The literature implies particular cultural norms and values intertwine that, making each tribe have its unique characteristics in running its business (Melalatoa, 1995; Nurman, 2004; Hastuti *et al.*, 2015).

Women play an important role in the Indonesian business landscape. Previous studies have portrayed Indonesian women to be resilient, providing the backbone of the family during economic crises (Silvey and Elmhirst, 2003; World Bank, 2016). However, as in many other places, Indonesian women experience disadvantages due to the patriarchal structure. For example, when the economic crisis hit Indonesia in 1997–1998, Indonesia’s gender norms meant that men’s employment was prioritised over women’s (Hallward-Driemeier, Rijkers and Waxman, 2017).



Women were dismissed from their jobs more frequently than men, as it was assumed that women were not the heads of their families, and thus their work was less important (Setyaningsih *et al.*, 2012). This circumstance triggered many Indonesian women to start home businesses, mostly operating unregistered and informally (World Bank, 2016). To mitigate the reductions in family income, many women launched microbusinesses, selling groceries, vegetables, and other food from stalls in front of their houses; producing hand-made apparel; and undertaking backyard farming to serve the neighbourhood or local market (Oey-ardiner and Dharmaputra, 1998). Two decades after the crisis, women were found to be the engine of economic resilience and poverty reduction, with 60% of Indonesian MSMEs currently owned by women (Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, 2018).

The national and regional governments are aware that a lack of gender equality hampers women's economic productivity and can lead to the feminisation of poverty (the Indonesian Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, *Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dan Perlindungan Anak* [KemenPPPA] 2012, 2017)). Therefore, in addition to the general regulation on SMEs and entrepreneurship mentioned above, the government has issued regulations, policies, and programmes intended to empower women through economic activities. The essential policies, regulations, and programmes related to women's economic empowerment are listed in Table 4-4. These programmes are usually coordinated by the “PKK” (*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, “Empowerment of Family Welfare”), a state-sponsored women's organisation that will be discussed in the following section (on the theme of the enabling environment).

*Table 4-4 Laws related to women's economic empowerment*

No	Laws, policies, and programmes	Description
1	Yogyakarta Governor Regulation No. 73/2015	Regional regulation on the duties and functions of women's and community empowerment agencies in Yogyakarta.
2	Indonesian Ministry Regulation No. 2/2016	National regulation on the general guidelines for the development of home industries to improve family welfare by empowering women.

3	<i>Peningkatan produktivitas Ekonomi Perempuan (PPEP; “Increasing Women’s Economic Productivity”)</i>	PPEP is a national-level policy led by the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA). This policy aims to synchronise the government’s economic empowerment programmes from across 18 ministries and government agencies. It seeks to build an entrepreneurial ecosystem for women – primarily at the village level – in partnership with the regional government.
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(Author, 2020)

Despite the large numbers of MSMEs owned by Indonesian women, previous research has shown that women-owned businesses are often trapped in low growth and make limited GDP contributions (International Finance Corporation, 2016). The World Bank (2016) found that 46% of Indonesian women’s microbusinesses are set up due to necessity. They are usually in low-value industries, and their owners have no ambition to grow them. Complicated registration processes and social-cultural restrictions contribute to women’s reluctance to register and grow their businesses, hence, home-based and unregistered businesses (World Bank 2016).

Unfortunately, obtaining the number of woman-owned ventures in every province of Indonesia was impossible. However, to put it into context, Minangkabau women are well-known entrepreneurs (Buang, 2014; Hastuti *et al.*, 2015), whilst Javanese women or other tribes have not been granted similar acknowledgement. Javanese and Minangkabau. Research on women’s entrepreneurship in Indonesia is flourished. It covers several research areas. For example, entrepreneurial motivation (Azzopardi and Lubis, 2019), entrepreneurship training (Idawati, Mahmud and Dirawan, 2016), success factors (Rafiki and Nasution, 2019), informal entrepreneurs (Babbitt, Brown and Mazaheri, 2015), innovation (Setini *et al.*, 2020), funding (Atmadja, Su and Sharma, 2016), and soon.

In general, the elaboration above suggests Indonesia as a country runs patriarchal mechanism in the national level. It means norms, regulations, beliefs, strategy, and any dispositions are produced and reproduced within patriarchal norms. Indonesian patriarchal system is historically and culturally, influenced by the Javanese patriarchy (see Section 4.1.3 on Sub national context:

Yogyakarta, and Appendix 5.1 Yogyakarta patriarchy). With the exception for the Minangkabau which runs the matriarchal practice amidst the patriarchal norms nationwide. Regarding entrepreneurship in the national level, most female entrepreneurs' studies in Indonesia are in Java Island, mostly in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. Therefore, most of the research are in patriarchal societies. Most of the studies also employed the quantitative method, using a questionnaire to collect the data. With this method, capturing the nuance of studied phenomena is difficult. Therefore, there is a need to rebalance the field to investigate female entrepreneurs in other than the patriarchal setting, for example, in Minangkabau matriarchal societies. Also, future research in on female entrepreneurs in Indonesia needs to employ a method that could grasp the rich experience of female entrepreneurs and the context of Indonesia. Therefore, a qualitative study is needed. Following the fact that Indonesia is diverse, a study in multiple regions in Indonesia will give a novel understanding of entrepreneurship diversity in Indonesia. All of these reasons justified doing women's entrepreneurship research in several contexts. As previously discussed, the current study seeks to fill in the void by studying women's entrepreneurship in matriarchal and patriarchal societies in Indonesia. The elaboration on West Sumatera/ Minangkabau and Yogyakarta/ Javanese as the sub-national level research context will elaborated next.

#### **4.1.2 Sub-national context: West Sumatera, home to the Minangkabau**

Minangkabau, also known as Minang, is a tribe in Indonesia renowned for its matriarchal arrangements (Sanday, 2003). In the 2010 Indonesia population census, 6,462.713 (2.73%) Indonesians self-identified as Minangkabau (BPS, 2011). A majority of Minangkabau people (65.29%) live in West Sumatra, the home province of the tribe (BPS, 2011), with 77% of West Sumatra's population being Minangkabau. West Sumatra covers an area of 42,012.89 km<sup>2</sup> and is located on Sumatra island. Historically, the area of the Minangkabau region stretches beyond the West Sumatra boundaries. If the Minangkabau region is traced through the Pagaruyung kingdom,<sup>6</sup> it covers North Sumatra province, Jambi province, Bengkulu province, as well as Negeri Sembilan – a state in Malaysia (Suleiman, 1977). For this research, the focus is on the Minangkabau region within its modern boundaries – that is, the West Sumatra province. This investigation focuses on Minangkabau entrepreneurs who reside in West Sumatra. “Minangkabau” here refers to either the

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<sup>6</sup> Pagaruyuang, the kingdom of Minangkabau.

people or the place. The term “Minangkabau” is often used interchangeably with “West Sumatra” to define the home of the Minangkabau people, and this is done in this study.

The history of the Minangkabau and its matriarchal system can be traced through the ancient inscriptions and manuscripts called *tambo*<sup>7</sup> (ancient manuscripts) and *kaba* (folklore).<sup>8</sup> Compared to the Javanese, Minangkabau lean more on speech and oral traditions – than writing – to communicate and preserve information (Yona, 2012; Eliza, Hariani, and Pratama, 2018). Therefore, Kaba is more prevalent than Tambo in Minangkabau. Few written documents, such as inscriptions and tambo, are conserved by Minangkabau. During the fieldwork, the participants recited *kaba* and poems to relay ancient stories about the Minangkabau way of life, rather than introducing manuscripts to read. However, some written documents were accessed at museums and private collections. A more comprehensive discussion on the history of Minangkabau matriarchy can be found in the appendix.

Compared to the Javanese, conversation in Minangkabau is straightforward and honest about intentions and opinions. However, it is smoothed with poetic, metaphorical sentences that sound rhythmic because of the lyrical prose and sound equation patterns. This oral or speech tradition contributes to preserving Minangkabau as a consensus society, an element of the matriarchal structure elaborated on later. Furthermore, speech tradition also contributes to building entrepreneurial skills. With this in mind, the transcribing and analysis process for the Minangkabau dataset was conducted very carefully to grasp the meaning behind these metaphors’ language.

Due to the emergence of several separatist movements in West Sumatra during the post-colonisation era, the Indonesian government – including the new order Indonesian government (1960–1998) – sought to suppress the separatist movement (Hadler, 2002). For example, the government restricted loans and business permits for Minangkabau entrepreneurs to prevent

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<sup>7</sup> *Tambo*: ancient manuscripts that contain history about the Minangkabau establishment and *adat* (way of life in Minangkabau/traditional custom). Most are written in the Arabic-Malay alphabet, and a few are in the Latin alphabet. *Tambo* is usually owned and written by *penghulu/dato* (tribal leaders), and it is treated like a bible (respected, considered sacred), to be inherited by the clan’s successor. It is a restricted manuscript and can only be accessed and read by certain people who have gone through traditional ceremonies. Today, it is translated into the Latin alphabet and Indonesian language and can be accessed by everyone. Some manuscripts are preserved by clans and held at museums in Indonesia, the Netherland, and the United Kingdom.

<sup>8</sup> *Kaba* is Minangkabau folklore about the way of life for the Minangkabau, presenting the social and personal outcome of either neglecting or obey the ethical and the norms embedded in the *adat*. It is usually narrated by a storyteller.

funding of separatist organisations (May, 2010). The Minangkabau utilised networks to overcome these restrictions and create its own funding body (Nurdin and Rido, 2020). In 1992, several Minangkabau entrepreneurs established a joint venture called the “Nagari Development Corporation” (NDC) to help fellow entrepreneurs fund their overseas trading. Implying that Minangkabau entrepreneurs have a history of not relying on government support to run their businesses.

The new order government fell in 1998, and restrictions on Minangkabau were lifted in 2000 through the decentralisation policy. However, animosity towards the central government remains in daily life in Minangkabau and was expressed by participants during the fieldwork for this study. Previous research has identified that Javanisation and the military operations to suppress separatist movements hurt the Minangkabau people (Safwan *et al.*, 1987; May, 2010). Animosity towards the government remains, with particular hostility to the current ruling party that ordered the military operations in West Sumatra (Thornton, 1972; May, 2010). As a result, many central government programmes and policies cannot be easily implemented in West Sumatra, including entrepreneurship and small business policies.<sup>9</sup> During the interview, many participants perceived central government policy as unfit for Minangkabau culture. From a different perspective, this study found that Minangkabau’s animosity towards the central government and centralisation policy contributes to the preservation of matriarchy: Javanese values align with patriarchy, which the central government adopted, and thus have difficulty penetrating and being assimilated into the Minangkabau matriarchy.

In 2021, there are 108,588 micro and small enterprises in West Sumatra and 182 medium and large firms (BPS, 2021). These numbers provide a proxy for entrepreneurs in West Sumatra. As in other provinces of Indonesia, this number could be larger, as many micro, small, and medium enterprises are not registered (Babbitt, Brown and Mazaheri, 2015). The three top industries in West Sumatra are food (45,263), clothing and apparel (17,700), and textiles (15,403; BPS, 2021). Unfortunately, there are no data on how much the different types of enterprise contribute to GDP.

Entrepreneurship is not explicitly addressed in West Sumatra regional regulations, but it is mentioned in the West Sumatra regional regulation 12/2017 about young people. The government

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with the government official from Indonesia Ministry of cooperative and SMEs

commits to supporting and developing young people's entrepreneurship in this regulation. However, the researcher found no legislation or programmes intended for female entrepreneurs. This gap was confirmed in the interview with the government official, who revealed that the West Sumatra government currently has no particular programmes or regulations focused on female entrepreneurs. They believe anyone can be an entrepreneur, regardless of gender; therefore, no gender-based programme or regulation is needed. The point that a gender-specific entrepreneurship programme could be discriminatory is interesting and rarely discussed in previous literature. This point should be considered in light of Minangkabau as an egalitarian society.

Following the historical and political changes and their impact on Minangkabau's economic activity, the Minangkabau are now known as ethnic entrepreneurs in Indonesia (Buang, 2014; Damsar and Indrayani, 2016), including Minangkabau women entrepreneurs (Hastuti et al., 2015). The Minangkabau diasporas are also known as entrepreneurs, or "*saudagar minang*" (*minang* merchants). For example, in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, Pasar Tanah Abang is the largest textile centre in Southeast Asia, attracting almost 100,000 visitors a day. There are 80,000 kiosks in Pasar Tanah Abang, 80% occupied by Minangkabau merchants (BPS, 2020). In addition, Minangkabau entrepreneurs dominate most business clusters in Indonesia.<sup>10</sup> Minangkabau and Padang<sup>11</sup> restaurants can easily be found in Indonesia and overseas, and the *rendang*<sup>12</sup> menu is famous. These are amongst the positive impacts on the entrepreneurship of *merantau* and the networks formed by the Minangkabau diaspora.

#### **4.1.3 Sub-national context: Yogyakarta is home to the Javanese classical civilization**

Yogyakarta, home to Javanese people, is on Java Island, a different island from where the Minangkabau reside. Javanese Yogyakarta is known to adopt a patriarchal arrangement that later lays a foundation for most Indonesian national values, which will be elaborated on in this section. Javanese patriarchal practice is evident within several levels of society: ideology, culture, state, and household (Berman, 1998; Handayani and Novianto, 2004; Tickamyer and Kusujiarti, 2012).

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with a government official from the West Sumatra office of the Ministry of Cooperative and SMEs.

<sup>11</sup> Padang is the capital city of West Sumatra. People from outside Minangkabau use "Padang" and "Minangkabau" interchangeably to refer to people or regions of West Sumatra.

<sup>12</sup> "Rendang" is Minangkabau beef curry, braised in a coconut milk and seasoned with a herb and spice mixture.

The Javanese – known as *Java* (*Jawa*) – are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia, with a population of 95 million people, or 40.06% of all Indonesian citizens living in Indonesia (BPS, 2011). Most Javanese (68.06% or 64.55 million) live in their home provinces, covering three neighbouring provinces of Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java (BPS, 2011). These provinces are located on Java Island.

Yogyakarta was chosen as the research setting of the three provinces for several reasons. First, it is homogeneously Javanese. The Javanese comprise 96.53% of the population (3.3 million people: BPS, 2011). Second, historical evidence from stone inscriptions<sup>13</sup> and ancient manuscripts<sup>14</sup> indicates that Yogyakarta was the centre of Javanese classical civilisation. Finally, patriarchal practices and structure can be traced to Yogyakarta – for example, in the sultanate’s tradition of passing down the throne from father to son. A more comprehensive discussion on the history of Javanese patriarchy can be found in the appendix.

Today, entrepreneurship remains essential in Yogyakarta. There are 238,619 medium, small, and micro enterprises (MSMEs) in Yogyakarta (BPS, 2018), employing around 6.41% of the population. The true number could be larger, as most small and micro businesses in Indonesia are not registered (Babbitt, Brown, and Mazaheri, 2015; Rothenberg *et al.*, 2016). MSMEs contribute 79.64% of the total GDP in Yogyakarta (Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, 2018). Men own 52.27% of the total small and micro enterprises in Yogyakarta, with the remaining 47.73% owned by women (BPS, 2018), indicating only a small gap in business ownership.

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<sup>13</sup>. The history of Javanese civilization can be found in the inscriptions on ancient stones, such as the Canggal inscription, from the year 732, and the Kalasan inscription, from the year 778. The inscriptions on the stones are usually written in ancient script, such as Sanskrit and Pallava. They can be found in many temples and other places on Java Island, most located in Yogyakarta and in the Central Java provinces. To see these inscriptions, I primarily visited the Borobudur and Prambanan temples in Yogyakarta.

<sup>14</sup> The history of Javanese can also be found in ancient manuscripts, such as *Babad Tanah Jawi* (“A History of the Land of Java”) from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *Carita Parahyangan* (16<sup>th</sup> century), and several manuscripts titled *Serat* and *Suluk* (18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century). These manuscripts were usually written by the king (or palace members) to provide guidance on the norms and way of life and to summarise important knowledge for the citizens. Some are written in Sanskrit, others are in Arabic or Javanese. Most of the original manuscripts are preserved in the Indonesia National Library. Today, the digital and printed translated versions (Indonesian and Javanese languages) can be accessed at the library and are sold in bookstores. To trace the patriarchal practices and entrepreneurship before colonisation, I read *Negarakerlagama*, *Pararaton*, and *Babad Tanah Jawi*, as suggested by the participants (tribal leaders and government officials). They considered these to be the most important manuscripts in their portrayals of Yogyakarta and Java during the period of the kingdoms.

Although it has not specifically addressed the importance of entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta, the local government acknowledges that small businesses are vital for Yogyakarta, as highlighted in regional law (3/2018) in the special regional development plan for 2017–2022 on small businesses and cooperatives:

*Cooperatives and SMEs are expected to be the main economic drivers in Yogyakarta region, considering the majority of the economy in Yogyakarta region is dominated by the cooperative and SME sectors. (Yogyakarta regional law 3/2018, appendices, p. II-137)*

“Entrepreneurship” and “small business” are formally defined in the regional laws, as summarised in Appendix 5.1.2 about Yogyakarta entrepreneurship. It shows that the government provides formal support in various ways for entrepreneurs and small businesses.

Based on the elaboration above, it is summarised that Yogyakarta’s cultural and historical background has shaped its entrepreneurial landscape and activity. The impact is resonant to this day, with entrepreneurship remaining an important part of Yogyakarta society. A more details on the empirical setting of Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy is elaborated on Appendix 5.

## **4.2 Research philosophy**

The research philosophy underpinning this study is constructionism. This philosophy is discussed first in this section, followed by an elaboration of the institutional theory applied to make sense of the phenomena under study.

### **4.2.1 Constructionism: The assumptions**

This research adopted a constructionist paradigm. Constructionism is defined by Grandy (2019) as a “perspective or research paradigm whereby individuals continually construct and negotiate meanings to make sense of experiences” (p. 3). Constructionist research submits to the notion that “social reality, identities and knowledge, are culturally, socially, historically and linguistically influenced” (Cunliffe, 2008, p. 125). Constructionism highlights the importance of context, as suggested by Crotty (1998), who defines constructionism as a view in which “all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in



and out of the interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (p. 42).

Following the definition above, this research enquires into various historical and socio-cultural dimensions. Meaning is constructed and embedded in the contexts of social relations, structures, and institutions. This study is interested in the sense-making and collective meaning-generation that complements private or individual sense-making activity. This study is built on an assumption that the embedded nature of social, cultural, and political institutions contributes to individual and collective meaning-making processes and behaviours. On this basis, constructionism – being concerned with shared meaning and the collective sense-making process and embracing of context – was deemed an appropriate paradigm for this research. Grandy (2019) emphasises the work of constructionism in “appreciating, not critiquing, everyday reality-constructing practices in general” (p. 4). In entrepreneurship study, the social constructionist feminist perspective is inline with Grandy, to acknowledge and challenge the gendered stereotypes of entrepreneur attributes (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004; Wilson and Tagg, 2010; Marlow, 2015). This PhD thesis is partially built on a critique of stereotypes and norms around female entrepreneurs. However, it also rests on an appreciation that matriarchy and patriarchy shape entrepreneurship. Hence, constructionism is well-aligned with the purpose and nature of this research.

Whilst there are various understandings of the constructionism paradigm, this research builds on Fletcher (2006) and Grandy (2019), who emphasise the importance of relationality, power dynamics, structure, and system during meaning-making and sense-making. Fletcher suggests that social constructionism derives from the relationality between people, institutions, material objects, physical entities and language (Fletcher, 2006). The application of the constructionism paradigm in this research allowed enquiries into women’s roles, power and positions in the community and the contextual processes through which these are supported and hindered. Specifically this PhD thesis look into matriarchy and patriarchy institutions the social mechanism within these institutions such as structure, power, and relations.

Constructionism, as a research paradigm for entrepreneurship study, is well-supported in the literature. First, entrepreneurship is a process (Fletcher, 2006). The philosophical aspect of constructionism concerning the process elements helps to capture the entrepreneurial process and facilitates this study’s deep analysis and robust research process. In addition to that, gender is also

positioned as a process. For example, Ahl (2006) suggested to investigate on the gendering of institutional order which emphasis the element of process, such as how gender is constructed and reconstructed. Therefore, the use of constructionism and the institutional theory could capture the phenomena of women's entrepreneurship in two different institutional contexts of this study.

Second, constructionism allows multi-level analysis in entrepreneurship studies (Fletcher, 2006). For example, constructionism can be used to inquiry the relationship between entrepreneurs and their culture, society, and institutions, with such enquiries cutting across various levels. It is in line with the theoretical framework of this study that highlights three pillars of institutions (Scott, 2014). The normative and regulative pillars of institutions can be used to inquiry the macro level, and the cognitive pillars to analyse the individual level of women's entrepreneurship. The constructionism and institutional theory can also be incorporated to inquiry the legitimacy process that may exist in macro and micro level (Bitektine and Haack, 2015). Hence this PhD thesis provides an alternative approach to understanding entrepreneurship practice at the individual level and at the environmental or societal levels where the entrepreneurship occurs. Inline with that, the future direction of women's entrepreneurship study, has been suggested to be expanded from the individual level into the contextual or collective level (Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015). With that in mind, the combination of constructionism paradigm and the institutional theory contribute to this area. It complements the traditional determinist approach that usually explains entrepreneurship practice from either a structure or an agency perspective (Fletcher, 2006; Lindgren and Packendorff, 2009) and moved away from the women's entrepreneurship research using individualist and essentialist assumptions (Ahl, 2006; Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2015).

Third, the constructionism paradigm assumes the existence of multiple realities (Grandy, 2019). Entrepreneurship research use the constructionism paradigm assume that entrepreneurship can include different meanings and practices, depending on where the activity occurs (Yousafzai, Saeed and Muffatto, 2015; Baker and Welter, 2017). The constructionism paradigm aligns with the suggestions to contextualise women's entrepreneurship study and to appreciate that context brings different and multiple realities of entrepreneurship such as various origins, forms, function and outcome (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014). In addition to entrepreneurship research, the element of gender within the entrepreneurship research also acknowledge multiple realities, by posit gender as "socially constructed" (Butler, 1999; Ahl, 2006). Gender, according to this

perspective, is the result of social interaction (Butler, 1999). Therefore, the concepts of femininity and masculinity vary between times and spaces. In this study, entrepreneurship is viewed as a means of 'doing gender'. This perspective is also known as constructionist feminist theory (Ahl, 2006), a field that is 'not concerned with what men or women are but with how masculinity and femininity are constructed and what effects this construction has on the social order' (p. 597). To put them together, entrepreneurship and gender are acknowledged as socially constructed (Butler, 1999; Ahl, 2006). It is the stance used in this thesis. Specifically, this thesis, borrows the institutional theory, asserts that actors and social behaviours are institutionally constructed (Scott, 2014) hence, gender and entrepreneurship may have multiple realities in different institutional context such as in patriarchy and matriarchy.

There is a progress to research women entrepreneurs in patriarchal society. It has shown that the patriarchal institutions could create challenge for women's entrepreneurship (Tlaiss, 2015; Ritchie, 2016; Xheneti, Karki and Madden, 2019). In most research, patriarchy is often taken for granted and masculine value derived from the patriarchal ideology and practices is often considered as the norm (Yousafzai, Saeed and Muffatto, 2015), that could bring bias and inconclusive findings. However, patriarchy is not the only gendered social structure that exists. There is matriarchy. Amid the suggestion to contextualise entrepreneurship study as mentioned in the literature review (Yousafzai, Saeed and Muffatto, 2015; Baker and Welter, 2018), and the call to use the theory of matriarchy to understand the role of women entrepreneurs in the family business and a wider society (Smith, 2014a), women's entrepreneurial propensity (Shahriar, 2018), gender, resource allocation and public good provision (Andersen *et al.*, 2008), and soon, we know little about the construction of women's entrepreneurship or women entrepreneurs in a matriarchal institution. In line with that, there is a call to study women's entrepreneurship in a non familiar context (Smith, 2014b; Vita, Mari and Poggesi, 2014). It can be done by, for example doing a research in the under researched matriarchal context. Taking up the suggestion and to extend this study in the non-patriarchal context, this thesis study women entrepreneurs in the context of matriarchy and patriarchy and incorporate the constructionism paradigm and the institutional theory to understand this phenomenon.

Ontologically, as mentioned above, this research assumes that there are multiple socially constructed realities. It assumes of relativism. This research acknowledges that entrepreneurs and

entrepreneurship are understood and performed differently by different actors and societies. This way of thinking is also developed by Lindgren and Packendorff (2009), who explain that “the ontological position of social constructionism as applied to entrepreneurship is that entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs are subjectively and inter-subjectively understood by human beings” (p. 30). Therefore, the constructionist paradigm was considered appropriate for this study. Although this research is interested in shared meaning, this paradigm opens up the possibility of multiple, negotiated meanings of the entrepreneurship practices and approaches, which are experienced and constructed by people and societies and institutionalised in structures. This research seeks knowledge of how the entrepreneurial endeavour is individually and collectively perceived, defined, produced, and reproduced within matriarchal and patriarchal societies.

Epistemologically, this research is built upon the assumption that “knowledge and learning are not out there to be captured or discovered; rather, knowledge is socially embedded and constructed” (Grandy, 2019). This assumption is in line with the conclusions of Lindgren and Packendorff (2009) that, in entrepreneurship study, “the field of entrepreneurship does not exist ‘out there’ as a ready-made set of theories and objects of study; it is continuously constructed and re-constructed by the scientific community” (p. 29). In constructionism, knowledge is acquired through what Flick (2018) calls “second-degree construction”: the construct of the construct made by the actor on the social scene (Flick, 2018). In this research, the interviewees’ experiences and concepts of entrepreneurship are the first-degree construction. The typologies developed from the data analyses of these concepts are the second-degree construction. Since the researcher is the co-creator of the research, the subjectivity of the work is acknowledged and embraced. The researcher in this study brings their own opinions, values, reflections, and more to construct the interviewees’ words, given their theoretical inclinations and interests.

The presence of subjectivity in entrepreneurship research that uses the constructionism paradigm is discussed by Thorpe (2008). According to Thorpe, “there is a tendency to place particular significance on selective aspects of our experience and give focus and meaning to what counts as knowledge and learning within boundaries established by such things as social traditions, institutions and practices” (Thorpe, 2008, p. 116). Constructionism embraces subjectivity, locality, and complexity, and it has been criticised as ambiguous and lacking rigour (Grandy, 2019). However, it is contended that a constructionist approach can produce a rich understanding of

entrepreneurship, compiled from various perspectives. The rigour of the current research is ensured by transparency, reflexivity, and thoroughness. This is also discussed later in the paper. Finally, this study acknowledges that the knowledge, conclusions, and contributions it offers are tentative. They are always open for reinterpretation, especially in this socially constructed world. Therefore, this thesis does not claim to represent anything final. Instead, it is a certain moment of understanding.

#### **4.2.2 Theoretical approach**

Institutional theory is considered appropriate for use in combination with a constructionist perspective, as discussed in the previous section. The earlier literature review chapter elaborated on institutional theory, citing various perspectives of the theory itself and how it can affect entrepreneurship. Based on institutional theory, the interview protocol (Appendix 1) was built deductively then adjusted during the data collection. Institutional theory is also used as a working framework for the analysis of the data.

This research refers to the three pillars of the institution, introduced by Scott (2014): namely, regulative, normative, and cognitive. Scott's framework allows this research to enquire into both the societal and individual levels. Scott (2014) does not mention interaction and process, two pivotal points of constructionism. However, he introduces the cultural-cognitive elements of the institution, or the cognitive pillar, which implies interaction and process. Scott (2014) states that the cultural-cognitive dimension is the shared conception of social reality. In these realities, meaning arises and is maintained and reproduced in interactions. Scott (2014) emphasises that "A cultural-cognitive conception of institutions stresses the central role played by the socially mediated construction of a common framework of meaning" (p. 70). The cognitive and normative and regulative pillars support this inquiry into how humans attempt to make sense of and mediate those external forces and individual responses, thus answering the research questions.

In this research, matriarchy and patriarchy are positioned as institutions. To operationalise matriarchy and patriarchy from the institutional perspective, this thesis borrows the institutions' definition from Ogutle (2021) that the institutions are; *'spaces that are manifested as grounds on which the multiple-operations of the social mechanisms generated by social structures actualize and that are manifested as fields of the struggle to obtain material and symbolic rewards by the*

*reproductive and/or transformative practices of agents'* (Ogutle, 2021, p. 490). Following the definition above, this research borrows Scott's (2014) three pillars of the institutions. This research conceptualised and operationalised three pillars as the social mechanism derived from the social structure.

As mentioned in the Section 4.1.3 on Sub-national context, Patriarchy in this study focus on the Javanese patriarchy. Borrowing Ogutle's (2021) definition of institutions, Scott's (2014) definition of social structure and Walby's (1998) Javanese patriarchy is defined as the institution/ space where the patriarchal social structure exists in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women via strongly enforced rules, relations, and entrenched resources. As discussed in section 4.1.2 Sub-national context West Sumatera, Matriarchy in this thesis focus on Minangkabau matriarchy. Combining Ogutle's (2021) definition of institutions, Scott's (2014) definition of the social structure, and Sanday's (2003) definition of matriarchy, this thesis defines matriarchy as the institution where the matriarchal social structure exists that prioritising the maternal role and egalitarianism, with strongly enforced rules, relations, and entrenched resources.

As mentioned in the literature review (p. 50; p. 53), the institutional theory is a multi-level framework. It can be used to analyse the macro level and micro level. This thesis adheres to this notion to analyse the institution in the macro and micro level. For the macro level, this study pays attention to the national and regional level institutions. It is included the legislation, policy, support programme exists within the national and regional level government. The tribe level, in this study is interchangeably to regional level, is also mobilised as the macro level. For the micro level, this study pays attention to the individual that is female entrepreneurs in respective matriarchy/patriarchy.

### **4.3 Research design**

This section discusses the design of this study. The qualitative research design is first elaborated, followed by a discussion of the design and a report of the preliminary study.

#### 4.3.1 Qualitative research design

Underpinned by philosophical assumptions and theoretical framework, this study is qualitative in nature and, as described by Denzin and Lincoln (2011), it seeks to “study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (p. 3). According to Gephart Jr (2004), qualitative research is using words, text, and discussion . “it builds social science constructs from members’ ‘concepts-in-use’ and focuses on the socially constructed nature of reality” (p. 455). Thus, as observed by Ritchie *et al.*, (2014), qualitative research is a method focused on answering questions about “what”, “why”, and “how”, using data collection methods such as observations, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, and focus groups. Owing to the findings of the previous literature – and reflecting the purpose of this study – qualitative research was deemed the most appropriate method for achieving this study’s purpose.

This is a cross-sectional study investigating the dynamic between institutions and women entrepreneur at a particular time. This timeframe was chosen because institutional dynamics – as transmitted through the social structure and including culture, norms, traditions, and customs – are relatively stable and slow to change (Williamson, 2000; Hofstede, 2001). Thus, a single fieldwork episode was deemed sufficient to capture the phenomena under study. The data collection process involved semi-structured interviews.

However, constructionism is interested in process, and a single fieldwork episode could be unable to capture this. Therefore, the interview protocol was designed to capture the elements of the process, such as how women start and grow their businesses. This approach is in line with Fletcher (2006), who describes a new entrepreneurship business venture as a process. Fletcher (2006) says, *‘I consider how people involved in new business venturing retrospectively report on the process of opportunity formation — a process that is commonly associated with the term entrepreneurship’* (p. 423). The element of process was reflected in the interview protocol and interview process in the current investigation. The female entrepreneurs were asked, for example, about their lives before starting their business, when they began and how they intend to grow the business, and the matriarchal or patriarchal forces evident in each stage. In this way, the study sought to clarify how entrepreneurship and social structures are created and how they evolve.

The qualitative data were collected from semi-structured interviews conducted between November 2018 and March 2019. The interviews were based on key questions (see Appendix 1, “Interview protocol”). The semi-structured interview method allows the interviewer to cover additional questions and themes beyond those in an initial question list. This enables further understanding of the research questions and the topic. Further elaboration on the interviews is provided in Section 4.3 “Sampling and Data”.

Field observations and media documentation supplemented the interviews to capture more dimensions of the process and provide a comprehensive understanding of the context. The media documentation consists of government regulations and reports and translated ancient manuscripts related to Indonesia’s history, particularly Minangkabau and Javanese.

Constructionism acknowledges multiple realities, and this study involves an element of comparison to capture these. The research was designed to compare two groups of participants from matriarchal and patriarchal societies, respectively. This design was intended to provide a rich understanding of how the manifestations, explanations, impacts, and consequences of women’s entrepreneurship might vary under matriarchal and patriarchal systems. Following the nature of the institutional theory from Scott (Scott, 2014), this thesis is a multi-level study, consists of the macro level that is national and regional/tribe level, and the micro level is the female entrepreneurs in each society. The macro level is mobilised by interviewing the national and regional level government. It is to grasp the understanding of the regulative pillars in Minangkabau matriarchal and Javanese patriarchal society. The macro level is also mobilised by interviewing the tribe leaders in respective society. It is to understand the normative pillars. Last, the micro level analysis is interested with the cultural-cognitive pillars, which is considered as an endogenous, arising within social situation. The micro level is mobilised by interviewing the female entrepreneurs. The micro level or cultural cognitive pillar analysis is also expected to provide understanding about the agency of women entrepreneurship in matriarchy and patriarchy.

#### **4.3.2 Preliminary study**

After ethical clearance was obtained, a preliminary study was conducted in October 2018. This was designed to test whether the participants would easily understand the interview questions and whether their answers covered the research interest. There were three participants in the



preliminary study. These were female entrepreneurs based in Yogyakarta (the patriarchal society). The preliminary study participants were purposively selected to represent diverse educational backgrounds and industries (see Table 4-5). They were recruited through the researcher's personal network, as the researcher is an organiser of the entrepreneurial workshops attended by the participants.

*Table 4-5 Preliminary study participants*

Name	Age range	Education	Marital status	Mother	Type of business	Inherit business	Years of operation
A	24-29	Master degree	Single	x	Home furniture	x	4
B	36-41	High school	Married	√	Corset (outfit)	√	>10
C	30-35	Undergraduate	Married	√	Packaged organic food	x	2

The participants were initially contacted through WhatsApp to schedule an interview at their convenience. The preliminary study interviews were conducted using Google Hangouts (now Google Meet) and WhatsApp video calls, and they were recorded. The interviews lasted 50–75 minutes each. The discussions were conducted in ‘Bahasa Indonesia’ (Indonesia’s national language). The participants answered the interview questions and gave feedback on how easy the interview questions were to understand. There were no participants from the matriarchal society in a preliminary study, due to technical difficulties. A Minangkabau translator reviewed the interview questions to ensure Minangkabau people would be able to understand the interview questions.

## **4.4 Sampling and data collection**

The interview protocol was revised and developed based on the feedback from the preliminary study. The fieldwork was then conducted in Indonesia. The data collection consisted of an interview, observations, and the collection of media reports. The following section elaborates on the sample frame and sampling method. This is then followed by a discussion of the participant-recruitment process.

### **4.4.1 Sample frame and sampling method**

The sample frame of this study is female entrepreneurs from matriarchal and patriarchal societies. The Minangkabau tribe in Indonesia was selected as a sample frame to represent a matriarchal society. This choice is supported by the work of Sanday (2012) on Minangkabau ethnicity, which asserts that the Minangkabau tribe has a matriarchal arrangement. The Minangkabau tribe is well-

known in Indonesia as ethnic entrepreneurs (Hastuti *et al.*, 2015). The Javanese tribe, also known in Indonesia for its ethnic entrepreneurs (Babbitt, Brown and Mazaheri, 2015), represent a patriarchal society. This assessment is supported by the findings of previous research (Papanek, 2006). The locations of the two societies are shown in Figure 4-2 below.

Triangulation was used to produce thorough and rigorous research. Flick (2018) defines triangulation as the use of various approaches to confirm findings and find richer, deeper, and broader understandings of a topic under study. For this purpose, tribal leaders and government officials at the national and provincial levels were interviewed to obtain a comprehensive and compelling collective understanding.

*Figure 4-2 The research location*



(Adapted from “Indonesian Ethnic Groups Map” by Gunawan Kartapranata; licensed CC BY-SA 3.0)

This research was conducted in multiple villages in West Sumatera (province) and Yogyakarta (province) in the country of Indonesia (Figure 4-2). As mentioned in the empirical setting (section 4.1.2 and 4.1.3), those provinces were selected as the origins or hometown of the Minangkabau and Javanese tribes, as documented by the National Museum of Indonesia and the literature on Indonesian ethnicities (Melalatoa, 1995; Naim and Syaputra, 2010; Ananta, 2015). West Sumatera is the provincial home of the Minangkabau tribe, who comprise 87.33% of the population (Ananta, 2015). It is also known as the largest matriarchal society in the world (Sanday, 2003). Yogyakarta is one province in which the Javanese tribe resides. In Yogyakarta, 96.53% of the population is

Javanese (Ananta, 2015). The statistics suggest that both provinces are home to large numbers of female entrepreneurs, making them highly relevant to the current investigation (BPS, 2020a, 2020b).

The Minangkabau and Javanese originated in similar historical and religious conditions and are members of single national legislation and economy. However, there are essential differences between their respective social structures which gives both tribes remarkable value for the contextualisation of entrepreneurship research. Further elaboration of the Minangkabau and Javanese – and West Sumatra and Jogjakarta, as the empirical context of this research – can be found in the section 4.1.2 pg.86; 4.1.3 pg.89 and appendix 5.

#### **4.4.2 Recruiting participants**

This section elaborates on the process of recruiting the participants, who were female entrepreneurs, tribal leaders, and government officials.

##### **Female entrepreneurs**

Female entrepreneurs in this research are operationalised in line with the GEM definition (Hart, Karen and Levie, 2015). In short, they are defined as self-employed women and female owner-managers. Initially, the sampling method was used to recruit participants. The Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs and the Yogyakarta and West Sumatera government databases (below) served as the sample frame. Female entrepreneurs were identified in these databases and contacted.

- West Sumatera: <http://data.padangpariamankab.go.id/node/375/revisions/678/view>
- Yogyakarta: <http://umkm.jogjakota.go.id/direktori2/>

The initial contacts were via email, text message, or internet messenger service (WhatsApp and Line). However, the response rate was very low, as much of the contact information in the databases was no longer valid. As a result, just three female entrepreneurs agreed to participate. This low response can be attributed to both the outdated database and an atmosphere of distrust and fear (Flick, 2007; Cohen and Arieli, 2011). It was also observed later that there is a high level of “informalisation” in Indonesia, with many small businesses and self-employed workers being unregistered. Therefore, to tackle these challenges and embrace the varied nature of women’s

entrepreneurship, the snowball method and purposive convenience sampling were employed with random sampling. The initial sampling frame was thus expanded to include female entrepreneurs from various industries residing at West Sumatera and Yogyakarta.

Before the fieldwork began, four initial seeds were identified through random sampling: three female entrepreneurs and one government official. These seeds were asked to recommend colleagues of theirs who might be eligible to participate in the research. This is known as the “snowball sampling method” or “chain-referral sampling” (SSM: Handcock and Gile, 2011). Purposive random sampling is a technique in which the sample units are chosen for a characteristic that facilitates the exploration and responds to the research questions (Bryman, 2016). Some female entrepreneurs were purposively approached and recruited during exploratory visits to their working spaces or exhibitions, following recommendations from previous participants. In addition, tribal leaders of Minangkabau and Jogjakarta, and government officials (whose task related to small business development) were also interviewed.

The participants are summarised in Table 4-6 below.

*Table 4-6 Summary of the participants*

Participants	Count
Matriarchal female entrepreneurs	15
Patriarchal female entrepreneurs	22
Matriarchal tribal leader	3
Patriarchal tribal leader	2
Ministry of cooperative and SMEs – national level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vice deputy organisational and governance</li> <li>• Vice deputy compliance</li> <li>• Reporting and monitoring officer</li> <li>• Gender mainstreaming officer</li> </ul>	4

Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection – national level  • Vice deputy economic gender equality	1
Ministry of cooperative and SMEs provincial-level – Yogyakarta	1
Ministry of cooperative and SMEs provincial-level – West Sumatera	1

Where there is the potential for selection or gatekeeper bias (Cohen and Arieli, 2011; Handcock and Gile, 2011), SSM is an excellent sampling method, particularly if the sample frame is unknown or the research concerns hard-to-reach or hidden populations (Bell *et al.*, 2017; Heckathorn and Cameron, 2017). Scholars consider SSM to be the second-best sampling method (after random sampling) due to its representativeness and ability to generalise entire populations. Several steps were taken to increase the representativeness of SSM and avoid selection bias.

First, a parallel snowball network was initiated, with several initial gatekeepers or seeds (rather than just one). Second, a maximum of two participants were recruited from each seed (except for the Minangkabau government official, who provided four references). Third, more initial seeds were added later by selecting participants from the database book available in government offices and conducting exploratory visits to their working spaces or exhibitions. A maximum of two participants were selected from similar industries. The industry definitions were taken from the Global Industry Classification Standard (GICS) developed by Standard and Poors (S&Ps), combined with the economic sector code developed by the Indonesian Central Bank.

These steps were intended to minimise selection bias and enrich diversity, enabling the study to better grasp the nuance of the studied phenomena. Taken together, the samples might not represent a specific population. However, the datasets represent all the vital characteristics needed in this study: namely, female entrepreneurs from patriarchal and matriarchal societies. The participant recruitment path is illustrated in Figure 4-3 and Figure 4-4.

*Figure 4-3 Javanese recruitment path*

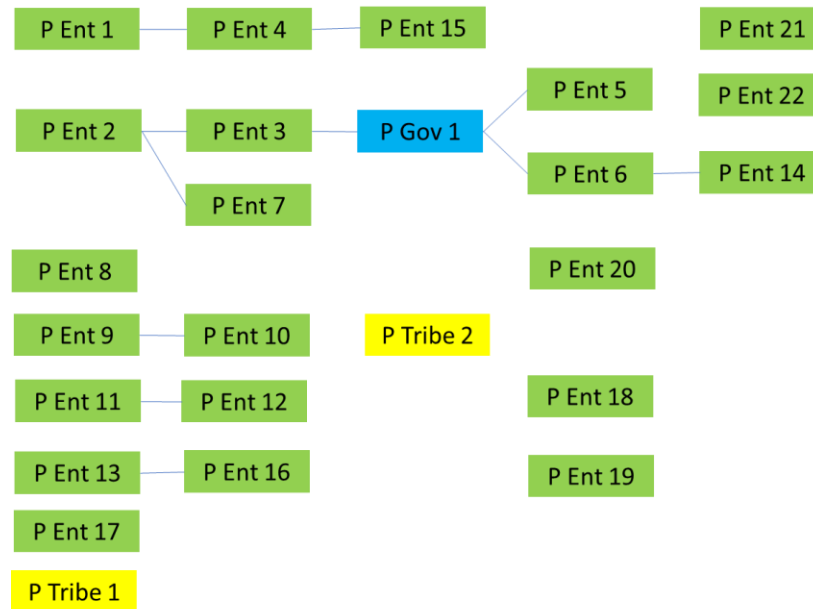


Figure 4-3 above illustrates how the participants from the Javanese society was recruited. For example, P Ent 1, P Ent 2, P Ent 8, and so on, are in the first column. They were the first seed identified from the Yogyakarta government database. The columns above represent the waves of interviews. After the first wave had been completed, participants from the second wave and beyond were interviewed. P Ent 1 recommended P Ent 4, and P Ent 4 recommended P Ent 5. Some participants were later added as initial seeds and interviewed at wave three and beyond (for example, P Tribe 2, P Ent 19, and P Ent 20). This was intended to minimise gatekeeper bias and ensure that participants came from a range of backgrounds and groups.

Figure 4-4 below illustrates the recruitment path for the Minangkabau participants. As before, the columns in the figure represent the waves of interviews and the lines represent referrals.

Figure 4-4 Minangkabau recruitment path

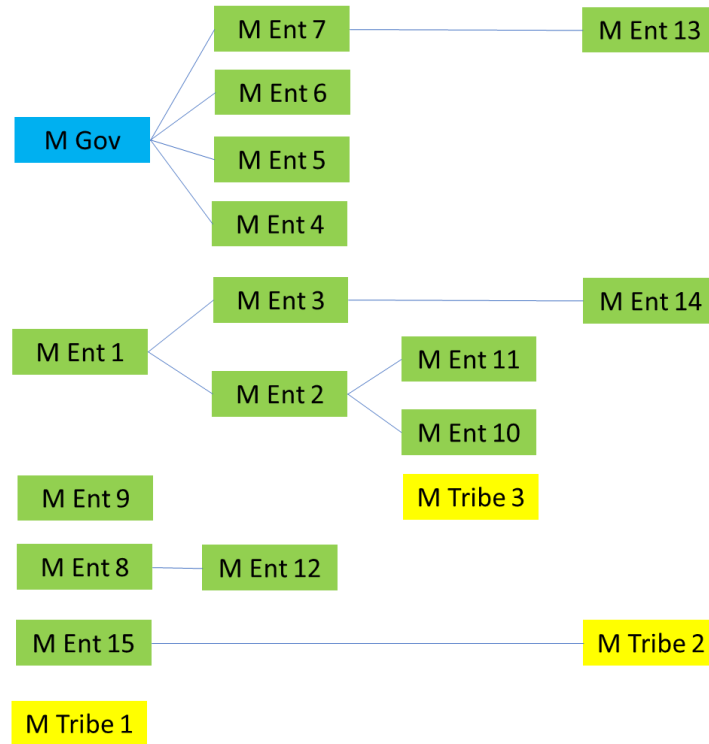


Table 4-7 below lists the 22 female-entrepreneur participants from the Javanese society. They are engaged in business in various sectors. Some had inherited their businesses from their parents, and others had launched them on their own. The start-up criteria for this study comes from McMahon (1998), who defines them as small, young enterprises, with simple, highly centralised, and informal organisational structures. The growth phase is defined by McMahon (1998) and Lichtenstein and Lyons (2008) as the stage in which the business is gaining healthy profits and there are clear indications of growth potential, such as a new branch opening, new product launch, new employees being hired, the need for growth capital from loans or equity, and so on. Based on these criteria, some participants considered their businesses to be in the start-up phase and others in the growth phase, as shown in Table 4-7. There are no mature businesses in the dataset because most of the participants reported that they had not achieved a strong market position (i.e., a large market share; Lichtenstein and Lyons, 2008)



*Table 4-7 Javanese entrepreneurs participants*

No	Age <sup>15</sup> range	Educational level	Marital status	Mother	Industry sector <sup>16</sup>	Inherited business	Years of operation <sup>17</sup>	Phase
1	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Restaurant	Yes	2	Start-up
2	26–35	Master's degree	Single	No	Packaged food	No	5	Start-up
3	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Footwear	No	4	Growth
4	56–65	Doctoral degree	Married	Yes	Textile	No	12	Growth
5	17–25	Master's degree	Married	No	Livestock (duck)	No	1	Start-up
6	56–65	Master's degree	Married	Yes	Real estate (development & service)	No	9	Growth
7	26–35	Master's degree	Married	No	Packaged food	No	1	Start-up
8	17–25	Undergraduate	Single	No	Specialised consumer service (wedding decor)	No	4	Growth
9	26–35	Master's degree	Married	Yes	Restaurant	No	2	Growth
10	36–45	Master's degree	Married	Yes	Education service (private school/nursery & primary school)	No	9	Growth
11	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Houseware specialties	No	5	Growth
12	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Publishing (book publishing)	No	6	Growth
13	26–35	Master's degree	Married	Yes	Apparel, accessories & luxury goods	No	6	Growth
14	26–35	Master's degree	Single	No	Interactive media & services (internet application developer)	No	4	Growth
15	26–35	Undergraduate	Married	No	Specialised consumer service (wedding gifts)	No	5	Growth
16	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Design interior & home furnishings	No	12	Growth

<sup>15</sup> Age range is based on the classification developed by the Indonesian Ministry of Health.

<sup>16</sup> The industry classifications are based on the Global Industry Classification Standard (GICS), developed by Standard and Poors (S&Ps), combined with the economic sector code developed by the Indonesian Central Bank.

<sup>17</sup> The inherited businesses have since been handed over.

17	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	No	Specialised consumer service (event organiser)	No	8	Growth
18	56–65	Vocational school	Married	Yes	Textile (batik)	No	20	Growth
19	36–45	Undergraduate	Single	No	Education service (art/dance school)	No	5	Growth
20	16–35	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Packaged food	No	2	Start-up
21	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Restaurant	Yes	3	Growth
22	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Textiles	Yes	5	Growth

Table 4-8 summarises the 15 Minangkabau entrepreneur participants. Similar to the Javanese dataset, the Minangkabau participants were drawn from different backgrounds to ensure representativeness of the key vital characteristics. The data collection in the Minangkabau society was conducted over 4 weeks, a shorter period than for the Javanese society (6 weeks). This was due to a series of earthquakes, followed by tsunami warnings in the area. For safety reasons, the fieldwork in West Sumatera was terminated earlier. Some interviews were followed-up via WhatsApp and by telephone to clarify some context and practices that had not been fully explained or grasped during the initial interviews and observations.

*Table 4-8 Minangkabau entrepreneurs participants*

No	Age range	Educational level	Marital status	Mother	Industry sector	Inherited business	Years of operation	Phase
1	17–25	Undergraduate	Single	No	Restaurant	No	5	Growth
2	26–35	Undergraduate	Single	No	Apparel, accessories & luxury goods	No	2	Start-up
3	56–65	High school	Widow	Yes	Agriculture (plantation, processing & trading)	Yes	>20	Growth
4	56–65	High school	Married	Yes	Leisure facility (bathhouse)	No	10	Growth
5	26–35	Undergraduate	Married	No	Restaurant	No	4	Start-up
6	26–35	Master's degree	Single	No	Pharmacy	No	2	Start-up
7	17–25	Master's degree	Single	No	Packaged food	No	2	Start-up
8	36–45	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Apparel, accessories & luxury goods	No	>20	Growth

9	56–65	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Packaged food (catering)	No	>20	Growth
10	46–55	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Agriculture (plantation, processing & trading)	Yes	5	Growth
11	46–55	High school	Married	Yes	Food stall	No	10	Growth
12	46–55	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Car rental	Yes	3	Start-up
13	56–65	Undergraduate	Married	Yes	Souvenir/gift shop	No	>20	Growth
14	56–65	High school	Married	Yes	Restaurant	No	4	Growth
15	17–25	High school	Married	Yes	Leisure facility (Guest house)	No	6	Growth

In summary, 37 interviews were conducted with female entrepreneurs in the Javanese and Minangkabau societies. The following section details the recruitment process for the tribal leaders and government officials.

### **Tribe leaders and government officials**

Before the fieldwork began, the government officials were contacted formally via email. Their contact information was gathered from the ministry website. The officials came from the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs at the national and provincial levels and the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection. Their offices replied by email or text message to accept my interview requests. At that time, there was no response from the regional-level Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs in Yogyakarta. However, the Yogyakarta government officials were accessed during the fieldwork, having been introduced by another participant.

In this research, the tribal leader in Minangkabau is the *Nagari*<sup>18</sup> leader. In Minangkabau, the Nagari leader is the cultural and formal (administrative) leader. A cultural leader in Minangkabau is titled *Penghulu* and chosen as a leader by the people in their Nagari or kinship. Being a formal leader, the Nagari leader is acknowledged, paid, and engages in central or regional government duties. The Nagari leaders in this research were identified at the fieldwork stage through the local

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<sup>18</sup> Nagari See Table Appendix 5-2 [Minangkabau matrilineal levels and groups] for an illustration of the matrilineal structure in Minangkabau

government office database. In addition, the residents were asked whether they acknowledged the participant as the leader of their village.

The process of recruiting the tribal leader in Yogyakarta was slightly different to that for recruiting the Minangkabau leader. The Yogyakarta formal village leader is not automatically a cultural leader or a customary stakeholder. They might be a government official or political party member from another province, placed in Yogyakarta. To ensure that the tribal leaders know both the formal and the informal aspects of Javanese patriarchy and the context of Yogyakarta, some participants suggested recruiting tribe leaders using snowball sampling or the referral method (rather than recruiting only those registered in the government database).

Two Javanese tribe leaders were recruited. One had been formally acknowledged by the government as the village leader (*Ketua RT*) and was introduced by one of the participants. The other is an informal leader, an elder respected in society and recommended by the residents as a cultural leader. This researcher met this individual when visiting his village.

## **4.5 Data sources**

In this investigation, the participants were recognised as the best informants of their entrepreneurial experiences. Hence, most of the data came from the semi-structured interviews with them. The interviews provided an opportunity to understand the participants' interpretations, the communities' shared values, and the entrepreneurial processes, as seen from their perspectives. With a small number of exceptions, there was one interview per participant. However, as mentioned previously, there were some follow-up discussions via telephone, text message, and WhatsApp to clarify some information and context. The interviews each lasted 50–140 minutes and were conducted in Bahasa Indonesian. Some were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Some participants did not want the conversations to be recorded but allowed me to take notes during the interviews. The notes and transcriptions were translated into English so that the data could be shared with my supervisors.

During the data collection process, translators were hired from the local university. There was one translator for the West Sumatera fieldwork and another for the Yogyakarta fieldwork. During the interviews, the translator's role was to clarify, give context, and translate local words or sentences

into Bahasa Indonesian. The interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia because this is the participants' and researcher's mother tongue. However, the participants mixed the words and structure of their local language with Bahasa Indonesian, which risked introducing different meanings to the data. Therefore, the translator's clarifications and explanations during the interviews were necessary. The translators also checked the transcriptions (Bahasa Indonesian and English) to ensure that they correctly represented the local language's content and context.

As discussed earlier, institutional theory was applied as a theoretical framework in this research. This approach was implemented in the interview protocol, which adopted the concept of the institutional environment proposed by Scott (2014) to capture how the institutional arrangements enact the social construction of women and female entrepreneurs in the two societies under study. First, questions were asked regarding the women's daily activities (i.e. their routines, working hours, female activities in their areas). These were followed by questions related to their business (when it had been founded, the product they sold, the suppliers, the business life-stage, funding, etc.). The Javanese women were then asked to highlight the normative pillars (norms, values), regulative pillars (policy), and cognitive pillars (shared understanding) that affect them as women, indicating whether they see this as a patriarchal arrangement. Finally, the participants were asked whether their entrepreneurial journey is affected by patriarchy. It is to capture the micro level of this study, particularly the cultural cognitive pillars and women entrepreneurs' agency. Similar questions were asked of the tribal leaders and government officials to grasp the different perspectives, a higher level/ macro level perspective on the studied phenomena, particularly the normative and regulative pillars. The full interview protocol is provided in Appendix 1. When the participants get asked about how their entrepreneurial journey is affected by the patriarchy/ patriarchy, legitimacy and homogenisations, as the elements of institutional theory often mentioned. They are participant's statements related to legitimacy and homogenisation of the industry (researcher later labelled it as the isomorphism). From that, the semi structured interview also asks further questions related to legitimacy and isomorphism.

Secondary data were also gathered from various sources. For example, ancient manuscripts and inscriptions depicting Javanese and Minangkabau societies in former times were collected from local museums. In the Javanese society, manuscripts and inscriptions can be found in the Prambanan and Borobudur Temples. The digital versions of the ancient manuscripts and

inscriptions were accessed at the museum and library of these temples. Some of the ancient manuscripts (*Tambo*) in Minangkabau society belong to families or the community, and the tribal leader granted the researcher access to these. Some are public resources that can be accessed at the library of Museum Adityawarman in Padang, West Sumatera.

Statistical or numerical data were also collected from several sources. “Statistics Indonesia” (*Badan Pusat Statistik*) is the Indonesian government institute responsible for conducting statistical surveys. The related ministries and government office databases were also accessed.

#### **4.6 Inductive data analysis**

The data were inductively analysed using a systematic procedure developed by Gioia and colleagues (Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991; Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013). This method, often known as Gioia Methodology (GM). It acknowledges that participants and researchers are knowledgeable agents, each bringing their background and assumptions to the research. Gioia *et al.* (2013) also highlight the importance of the development of the existing concept and constructs. This research started the data collection upon a guiding research framework, initial research questions, and interview protocol. The Gioia Methodology (GM) enables flexibility in revising the protocol and research questions as the research progresses and develops. The analysis involved highlighting and commenting in Microsoft Word, as well as coloured notes and highlighting of the printed transcription.

As explained previously, the transcriptions were initially produced in Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language) and then translated into English. The Bahasa Indonesian transcriptions (including some local language) were subject to data analysis. This approach was chosen to prevent the loss of meaning due to translation (Al-Amer *et al.*, 2016; Oxley *et al.*, 2017). For example, the texts extracted from the ancient manuscripts and the participants’ interviews used metaphors and cultural terminology. Such expressions cannot always be literally or directly translated into English without some explanation of the context. For example, the phrase “*sumur, kasur, dapur*” appears in the dataset. The literal meaning of these words is, “well/pond, bed, and kitchen”. If these words were included in the analysis without context, this expression may be mistakenly coded as referring to a household. In fact, those words comprise a Javanese expression depicting the woman’s normative role: *sumur* (well) represents water or cleaning activities, *kasur* (kitchen) refers to

cooking, and *kasur* (bed) indicates women's duties in regard to sexual activities. There are also subject- or context-specific words that are difficult to translate into English because doing so could change the meaning. For example, the literal meaning of *bundo kanduang* is "birth mother". But in the Minangkabau context, *bundo kanduang* can be translated as "mother", "leader", "elder", or "women's organisation", depending on the situation. Therefore, to minimise the risk of losing meaning and context, the data were analysed in the Indonesian and local language. However, it was inefficient to translate the data into English with all the contextual explanations and footnotes, as this word was used frequently in the interviews.

The data analysis procedure produced 1st order terms, 2nd order themes, and aggregate dimensions as the basis for building data structure (Gioia, 2013). 1st-order concept analysis uses informant-centric terms and codes, such as interview excerpts. 2nd order concept researcher-centric concepts, themes, and dimensions; usually sourced from the theory. That is the institutional theory. Therefore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> order concept links to the dimensions of three pillars (i.e. norms, culture): legitimacy, and isomorphism. Lastly, the aggregate dimensions are the more abstract concepts. The data analysis in this study was not linear. Rather, it was a recursive process in which the researcher went back and forth, looking at the datasets, generating codes, reading and linking previous literature, writing the report, refining coding and themes, and so on. In the following section, the steps of the qualitative analysis is discussed

#### **4.6.1 First-order concepts**

This phase involved the researcher familiarising herself with the data. In this research, the data corpus was the interview transcriptions produced from the fieldwork. At this stage, the researcher repeatedly read and re-read the data, searching for meaning, patterns, and so on. The aim of data analysis is to produce a detailed account of particular aspects relevant to the research questions (rather than a detailed overall description representing the entire dataset). The researcher also identified any data or ideas that appeared interesting. While viewing the data, the researcher kept in mind that the research was constructionist and thus interested in finding and analysing latent themes (rather than semantic) and shared understanding. Therefore, the data analysis focused on identifying the underlying ideas, assumptions, and ideology of the phenomena under study. In this stage, the participants' terms were maintained in this phase. For example, the codes "control" and

“ancestral land”, shown in Table 4-9, were generated inductively or *in vivo*, drawn directly from participants’ quotes. However there are terms that is made by the researcher to interpret/explain/simplify the participants terms because some time the participants statements contain metaphor, analogy or context-bounded as discussed above. For example, in Table 4.9 participant quoted a proverb. The quoted is categorised as the ‘norm’ and ‘proverb’ because that sentence is generally known as a proverb even though the participant never specifically mentioned that she quotes a proverb. This phase resulting in more than 80 initial transcription categories. Table 4.9 provides an illustration of how the transcript was converted into first-order concept.

*Table 4-9 Example of the matriarchy data extract, with first-order concept applied*

Data extract	First-order concept
<p><i>Kalo di Minang itu malah kalo perempuan satu-satunya tuh malah yang <b>mengendalikan</b> semua. Misalnya nih saudara laki-lakinya mau <b>ijin pakai</b> sesuatu, pakai <b>tanah ulayat</b> ini, <b>ijinnya ke perempuan ini</b>.</i></p> <p>“In Minangkabau, you <b>control</b> <b>everything</b> if you are the only daughter [in the family]. For example, if your brother wants to use the <b>ancestral land</b> (<b>tanah ulayat</b>), he must <b>ask permission</b> from you.”</p>	<p><b>Kendali,</b> <b>resources,</b> <b>tanah ulayat</b></p> <p><b>Control,</b> <b>everything</b> <b>(resources),</b> <b>ancestral land,</b> <b>tanah ulayat,</b> <b>permission.</b></p>
<p><i><b>Adat bersendi syarak; syarak bersendi kitabullah</b></i></p> <p>Literal translation:  <b>Customary law is based on religious law; religious law is based on the Quran (the sacred scripture of Islam).</b></p> <p>Context: This expression emerged after the Padri war between Muslim clerics and Minangkabau nobility. <i>Adat</i> means “noble”, and <i>Syarak</i> refers to “Muslim clerics”.</p>	<p><b>Norma,</b> <b>normative institution,</b> <b>proverb,</b> <b>shared value</b></p> <p><b>Customary law, Norm, normative institution</b></p>

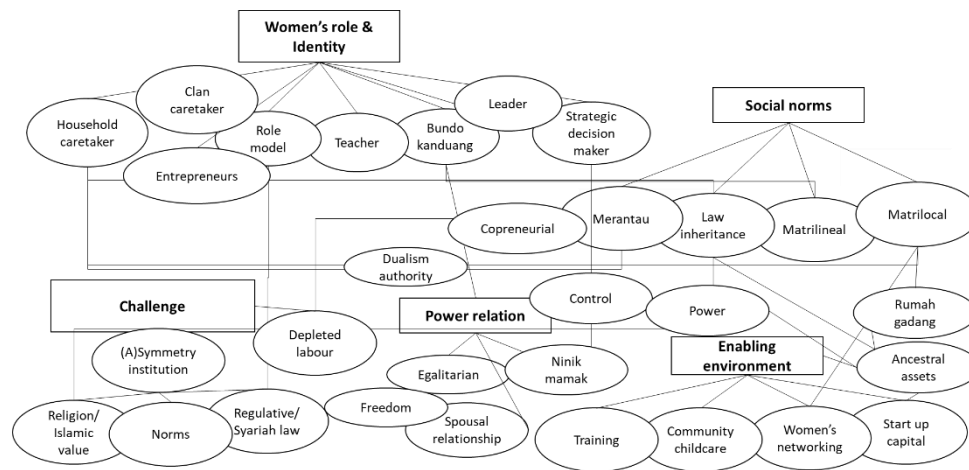


#### 4.6.2 Second-order themes

In this stage, the researcher searched for the themes. Themes are defined as the ‘recurrent and distinctive features of participants’ accounts, characterising particular perceptions and/or experiences, which the researcher sees as relevant to the research question’ (King & Brooks, 2019, p. 2). In doing so, the researcher began to link the first-order concepts to a larger narrative, the research questions, and the theory. In this study, the researcher acknowledges that themes can be emerged from the data or constructed by the researcher.

As a visual learner, the researcher also uses a mind map to analyse the data. Therefore, in addition to analysing the data using a highlighter and Microsoft Word’s comments feature, the first-order concepts and themes were also put together in a mind map (Figure 4–6). This mind map presents the first-order concepts and second-order concepts. It also illustrates some relationship possibilities among first-order concepts and between first-order concepts and themes.

*Figure 4-6 The example of the mind mapping process of the Minangkabau dataset*



As the research was recursive rather than linear, the first-order concept and relationships shown in the mind map developed throughout the investigation, as did the themes. The researcher worked back and forth in the reviewing and selecting process and consulting of the literature.

#### 4.6.3 Aggregate Dimension

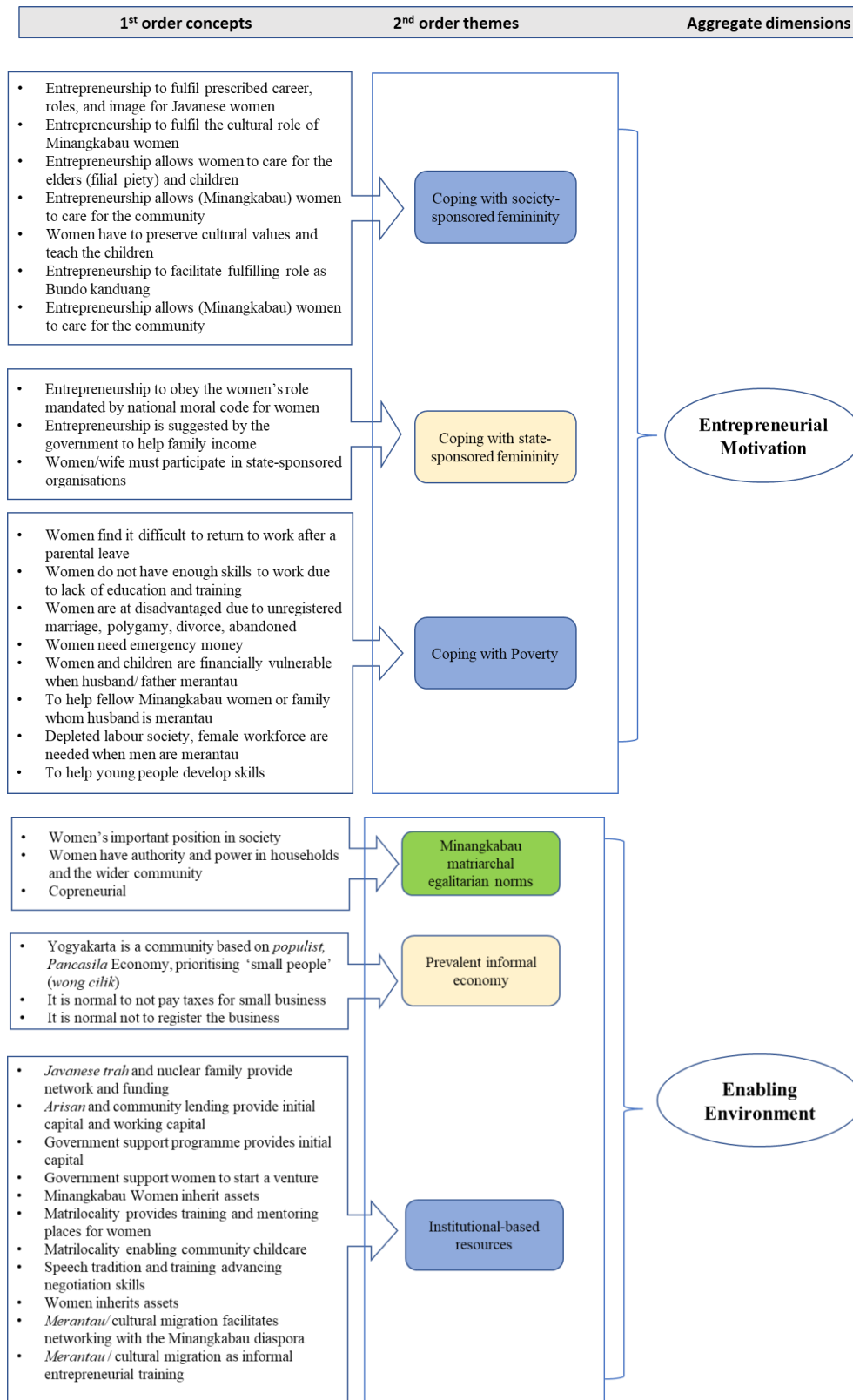
In this stage, the researcher attempted to identify the relationship between the second order themes, exploring whether they suggested a higher-level concept that could explain the phenomena. The themes were also reviewed, defined, and named to make them easier to understand. At the end of

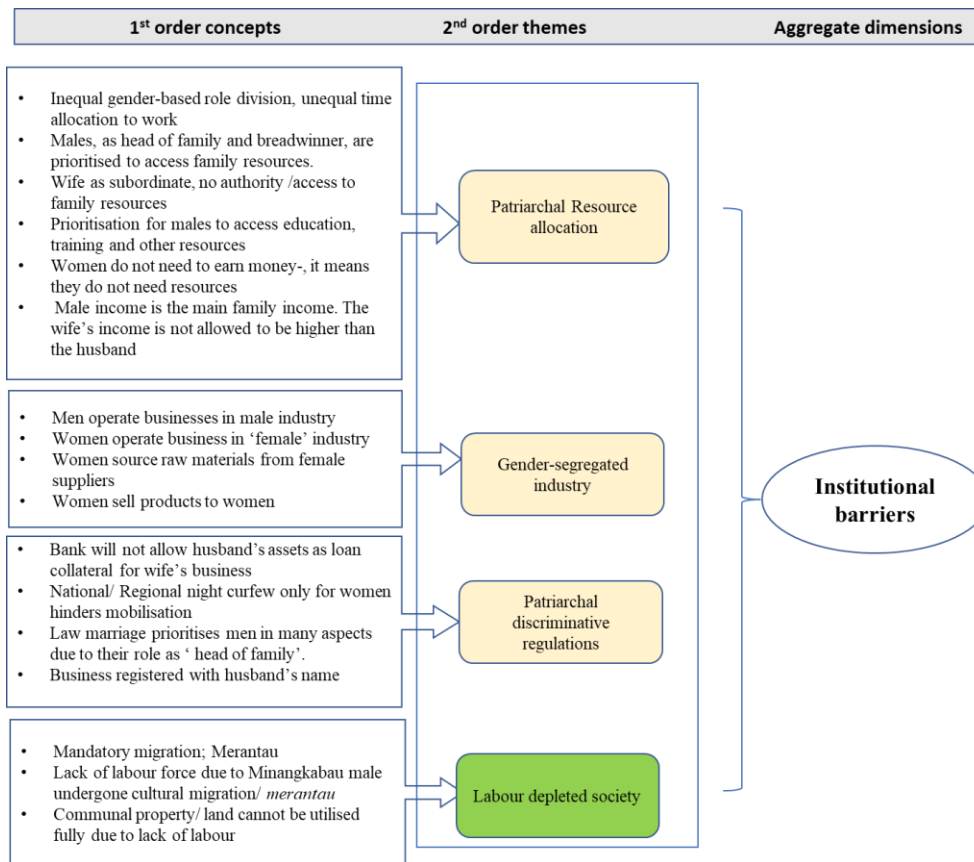
the data analysis (which was still ongoing during the writing-up phase), a data structure consisting of the first-order concept, second order concept and aggregated themes were produced.

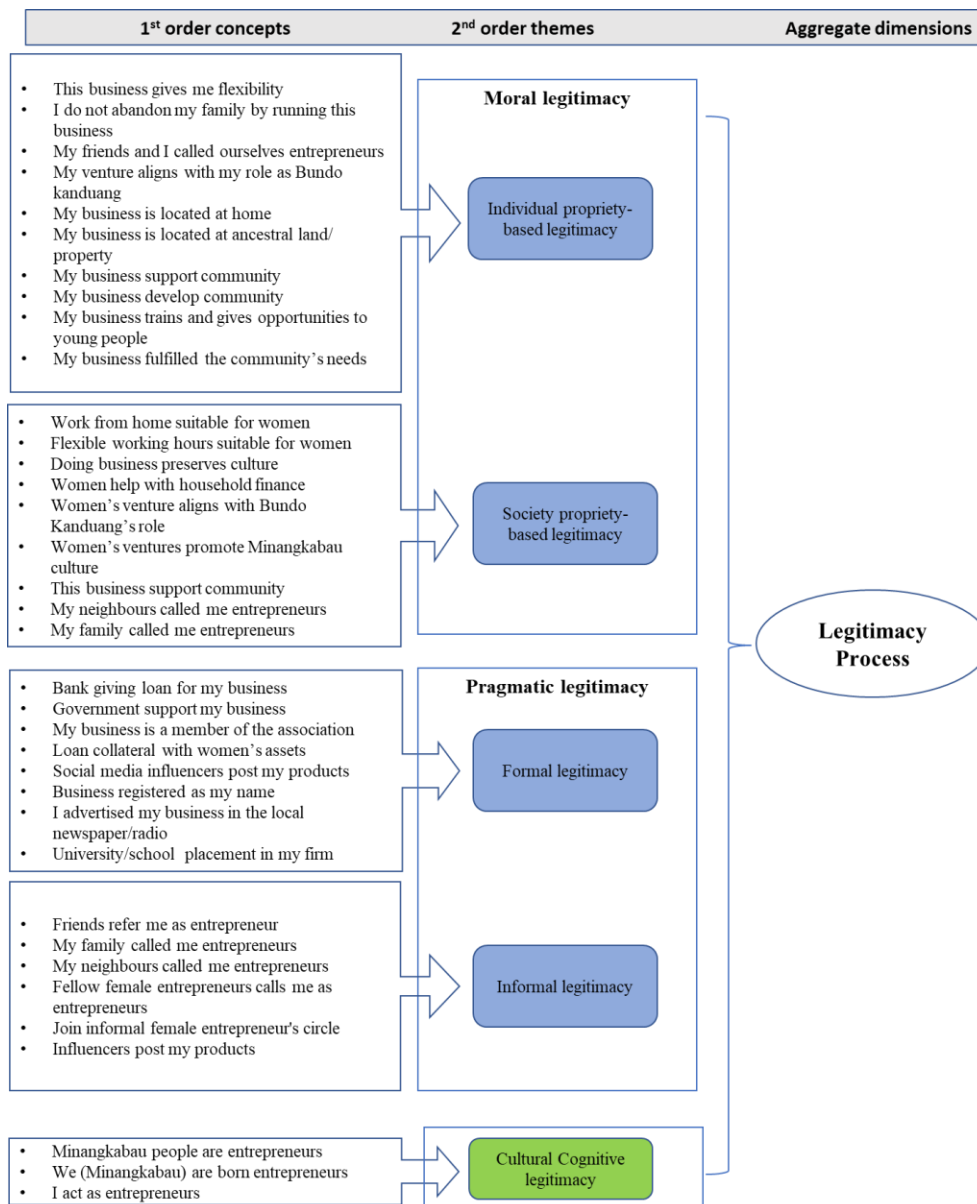
#### **4.6.4 Data Structure**

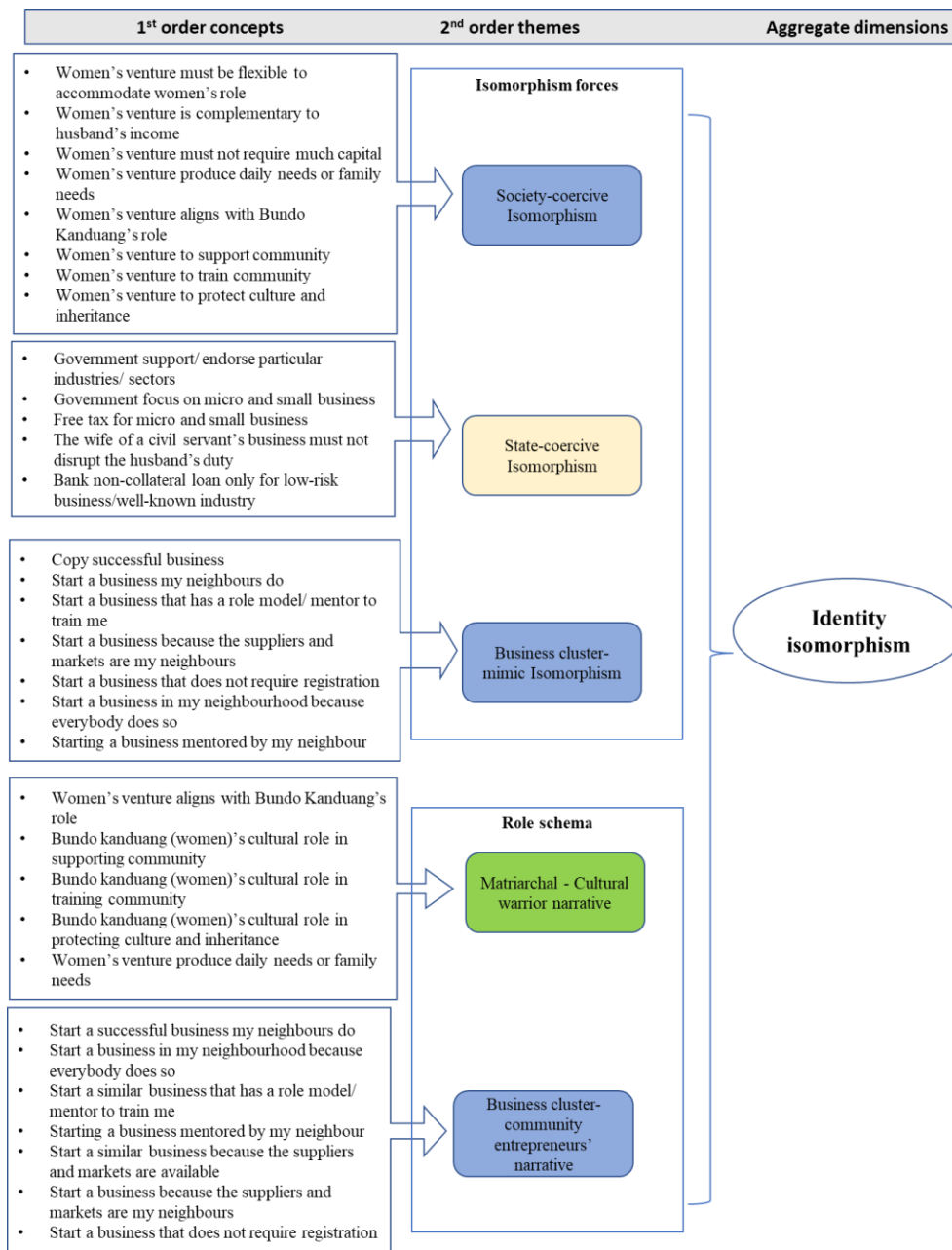
The data structure (Table 4-10) is coloured code. It highlights that several themes arise from the data in matriarchy or patriarchy only, while other themes can be found in both societies. It is in line with the constructionism philosophy of this research that context influences social realities, knowledge, and identities (Gephart Jr., 2018). Hence, it could be expected in this study that themes found in matriarchy and patriarchy could be different. The themes in blue colour were found in the patriarchal and matriarchal datasets. The box in green indicates that the themes were found in the matriarchal dataset. Respectively, the yellow indicates that the themes were found in the patriarchal dataset.

Table 4–10 Data structure









## 4.7 Research quality and rigour

Several steps were taken to ensure the quality and rigour of the research. These steps were guided by the conclusions of Anfara, Brown, and Mangione (2002) and Creswell and Miller (2000). According to these frameworks, there are four criteria for assessing the quality and rigour of a qualitative study: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These procedures are summarised in Table 4–11.

*Table 4–11 Research quality criteria and validation strategy*

Research quality criteria	Validation strategy
Credibility	Prolonged engagement in the field Triangulation Member checks Peer review
Dependability	Code-recode strategy Peer review Triangulation
Transferability	Provide a thick, rich description Purposive sampling
Confirmability	Practice reflexivity Triangulation

(Author; adapted from Anfara, Brown and Mangione, 2002)

### 4.7.1 Credibility

According to Anfara, Brown, and Mangione (2002), credibility is similar to internal validity in quantitative research. In line with this, the current study took several steps to achieve credibility. These are detailed in the following paragraphs.

***Prolonged engagement in the field*** – The fieldwork took around 4 months to complete, from November 2018 to March 2019. This enabled the researcher to understand the context and collect the necessary data.

***Peer review*** – The researcher was in continuous discussions with their supervisors and fellow PhD student in similar fields to obtain feedback on the findings. Some of the findings were published

in a book chapter, and this was reviewed by senior scholars during the publication process. These steps were taken to ensure the credibility of the study.

**Triangulation** – “Triangulation” involves “combining different sorts of data against the background of the theoretical perspectives applied to the data” (Flick, 2018). It is intended to achieve credibility and create a more comprehensive picture of the research problem, providing a shared understanding of the studied phenomena. In the current work, interviews were conducted with a diverse range of participants, with female entrepreneurs from various backgrounds and industries. Tribal leaders and government officials were also interviewed to obtain a different and higher-level perspective. Triangulation was achieved by supplementing the primary data with secondary data, including media reports, statistics, and regulations.

**Member checks** – To increase the data accuracy, participants were invited to review the accuracy of a summary of the findings. The participants provided this confirmation during second meetings or via other forms of communication agreed by both parties (telephone, social media, or email).

**Secondary data** – The validity and credibility of the secondary data were measured by the credibility of the data sources, as reflected by their reputation and competency (Dochartaigh, 2012; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016). This study involved collecting secondary data from government offices, such as Statistics Indonesia and the ministry offices (as mentioned in section 4.4). These sources are considered credible because the government uses their data to develop and formulate policies. Such data are also used by international organisations such as the OECD for their global reports.

The inscriptions and manuscripts were also obtained from credible sources – namely, museums, libraries, and the private collections of the participants.

#### **4.7.2 Transferability**

According to Anfara, Brown, and Mangione (2002), transferability is similar to external validity in quantitative research. This study employed purposive sampling and provides thick, rich descriptions to achieve transferability. Purposive sampling involves the selection of participants who are relevant to the research questions (Bell et al., 2019). In this study, it ensured that the respondents represent a range of categories in a very heterogeneous business environment



(Saunders et al., 2016; Robinson, 2014). As mentioned previously, SSM was also employed to reach the participants. The participant-selection criteria used for purposive sampling were also employed for SSM.

The second procedure applied to achieve transferability was the provision of thick, rich descriptions of the setting, participants, and themes. According to Creswell and Miller (2000), this creates verisimilitude, allowing the reader to experience the phenomena being described.

### **4.7.3 Dependability**

Dependability is similar to reliability in quantitative studies, as both concern the findings' consistency (Anfara, Brown, and Mangione, 2002). As discussed previously, several procedures were implemented to achieve dependability, including triangulation and peer review. In addition, a code-and-recode strategy was employed (as mentioned in section 4.6). This ensured the production of the best possible codes and themes for answering the research questions.

### **4.7.4 Confirmability**

Confirmability is associated with objectivity in quantitative research (Anfara, Brown, and Mangione, 2002). Qualitative studies embrace subjectivity. However, Creswell and Miller (2000) highlight the importance of reflexivity, acknowledging the inextricable nature of the researcher and the research process. On this basis, the current researcher's assumptions, beliefs, and biases are fully disclosed.

## **4.8 Ethical approval**

The ethical committee of the University of Sheffield approved this research on 26 September 2018. The ethics application and approval documents are provided in Appendix 2.

In line with the ethical requirements, this research complied with the General Data Protection Regulations and Data Protection Act of the University of Sheffield. First, to ensure the transparency of the study (Harvey, 2011), an information sheet was given to participants, providing clear and adequate information about the research. The participants thus understood that their data would be treated confidentially and anonymously, including in relation to the organisations with

which they were associated. The respondents also signed a consent form (Appendix 4). With the consent of the participants, the interviews were recorded and extensive notes were taken. All the obtained data were kept securely and not shared with person other than the doctoral researcher and the supervisory team.

## **4.9 Chapter conclusion**

In summary, this research is designed as qualitative research underpinned by a constructionist philosophy and institutional theory. Data were collected from participants in the Minangkabau and Javanese societies in Indonesia. Data were then thematically analysed to make sense of the phenomena. Several procedures were undertaken to ensure research quality, rigour, and ethics. The findings of this research will be presented in three chapters, with each chapter answering one research question. Next, Chapter 5 presents the findings in relation to three pillars of institutions.

## **Chapter 5: Three Pillars of Institutions and Female Entrepreneurs in Matriarchy and Patriarchy**

This chapter presents the research findings relating to the question, *How is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?*

Three themes were identified and constructed upon three pillars of the institution (Scott, 2014) to explain its impact on women's entrepreneurship. These themes are contextualised entrepreneurial motivations, enabling environment, start-up phase institutional challenges and grow-up phase institutional challenges. This chapter consists of three sections. The first section will analyse the themes identified in the patriarchy dataset; the second section analyse the themes from the matriarchy dataset. The last section is the discussion and conclusion of this chapter.

The analysis generated themes associated with the three pillars of institutions. At the aggregate level, the regulative, cognitive and regulative pillars construct contextualised entrepreneurial motivation, enabling environment and institutional barriers during the start-up and growth phases. Furthermore, it is found that matriarchy and patriarchy have different second-order themes. The comparison between second-order themes in patriarchy and matriarchy is summarised in Table 5-1 below.

*Table 5–1 Comparison of the three pillar themes in Matriarchy and Patriarchy*

Aggregate Dimensions	Second order themes	
	Matriarchy	Patriarchy
<b>Entrepreneurial Motivation</b>	Coping with society-sponsored femininity	Coping with society-sponsored femininity
	-	Coping with state-sponsored femininity
	Coping with poverty	Coping with poverty
<b>Enabling environment</b>	Matriarchal egalitarian norms	-
	Institutional-based resources	Institutional-based resources
	-	Prevalent informal economy
<b>Institutional barriers</b>	-	Gender-segregated industry
	-	Patriarchal resource allocation
	-	Patriarchal discriminative regulations
	Labour depleted society	-

(Author, 2019)

The different second-order shown in matriarchy and patriarchy can be taken in light of the thesis that matriarchy and patriarchy impact women's entrepreneurship differently. Table 5-1 shows that the theme of state-sponsored femininity can only be found in a patriarchal society and not present in the Minangkabau matriarchy. It implies that the regulative pillar plays fewer roles than many roles in building entrepreneurial motivation in a matriarchal society. On the other hand, society-sponsored femininity can be found in both societies, meaning the entrepreneurial journey in both institutions is affected by normative pillars, such as norms and values.

Furthermore, the theme of poverty in the patriarchy is linked to feminised poverty (poverty due to one being a female). Participants often imply or mention that females in Javanese society face poverty because they are female. It implies that women in a patriarchal society are more susceptible to poverty. In contrast, poverty is seen as a community issue, rather than a gender-

specific issue in a matriarchal society. However, this finding is nuanced and needs to be carefully understood with other themes (i.e. depleted labour society). A more detailed elaboration of these themes is in sections 5.1 and 5.2.

For the Enabling environment, the Minangkabau matriarchy highlights the role of matriarchal egalitarian norms, social capital and cultural capital in impacting their entrepreneurship journey. In comparison, the Javanese patriarchy emphasises the role of institutional-based resources (mostly focused on financial resources) and the overall informal economy in enabling women's entrepreneurship. Minangkabau respondents did not mention any obstacles to starting a business, while the Javanese patriarchal society highlights patriarchal resource allocation as the start-up phase challenge. Furthermore, it shows how women accessing resources can be contextually (institutional) bounded and can pose a challenge and enabler of women's entrepreneurship. Respondents from the Minangkabau matriarchy highlight a labour-depleted society as a challenge for them to grow their businesses.

Next, the findings from the patriarchal society will be discussed.

## **5.1 Women's entrepreneurship in Javanese patriarchal society and Three pillars of institutions**

Three themes identified in the dataset suggest that patriarchal arrangements have a role in shaping women's entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta. These themes are entrepreneurial motivation, the enabling environment, and institutional barriers. In addition, different themes arise in the institutional barriers in the start-up and growth phases. The definition of a "start-up" in this research is taken from McMahon (1998), who describes a small, young enterprise with a simple, highly centralised, and informal organisational structure. The grow-up phase is defined in line with McMahon (1998) and Lichtenstein and Lyons (2008) as a stage in which a business gains healthy profits and clear indications of growth potential. For example, a new branch opening, new products launched, more employees hired, seeking growth capital from loans or equity.

This section will be structured into Sub-section 5.1.1 Entrepreneurial motivation, 5.1.2 The enabling environment, 5.1.3 The Institutional barriers, and 5.1.4 Conclusion and discussion.

### **5.1.1 Entrepreneurial motivation**

The data structure in Chapter 4 shows that patriarchy shapes entrepreneurial motivations. This theme is labelled as contextualised entrepreneurial motivation. This theme consists of three sub-themes: coping with society-sponsored femininity, coping with state-sponsored femininity, and tackling feminised poverty. Each sub-theme is discussed in turn in the following sections.

#### **Coping with society-sponsored femininity**

The participants were asked whether there was a relationship between circumstances as Javanese women and their decisions to start a business. The interviews revealed that Javanese society constructs femininity derived from the Javanese patriarchal values. Femininity refers to any attributes or qualities possessed by a woman. It includes women's prescribed roles, spaces, careers, responsibilities to their elders, and so on. For this study, the femininity constructed by society is labelled society-sponsored femininity. Bound by collectivist values (Hofstede, 2001), Indonesians strive to fit or conform with their community. In line with Hofstede's work, participants in this study expressed that it was important to conform to social expectations such as society-sponsored femininity, as this is necessary to be identified as a member of Javanese society. Conforming to this society-sponsored femininity motivates Javanese women to start their entrepreneurial journey.

First, it is important to highlight that Yogyakarta's patriarchy is layered and constructed through a long historical and cultural process (see Appendix 5 - Section A 5.1.1, Yogyakarta patriarchy: Monarchy, colonisation and state). Javanese patriarchy is a social structure and space of strict and deeply embedded rules that are taken for granted by the wider society. It is found that society-sponsored femininity motivates women's entrepreneurship in two ways: First, entrepreneurship is motivated by the willingness/pressure to conform with the society-sponsored femininity related to women as individuals, such as prescribed roles, image, and career. Second, entrepreneurship is motivated by the willingness/pressure to conform with the society-sponsored femininity related to a woman's responsibility to others or broader society, such as filial piety and the preservation of cultural values. The next section discusses how society-sponsored femininity affects women's motivation to start an entrepreneurial journey.

**Prescribed role, image, and career.** The data reveal that women in Javanese society tend to start their entrepreneurial journeys to cope with the limitations of their prescribed careers, images, roles, and so on. The feminine attributes discussed in the dataset concern women's roles, such as caring responsibilities and reproduction. It highlights that the woman's role is seen to be in the domestic sphere. For example, the Javanese women's role is described by the Javanese philosophy *sumur, kasur, dapur*.<sup>19</sup> According to this norm, women's space is inside the house, and women are not expected to work outside the house. The interviews revealed that if women do work outside the house, they are expected to have careers that society considers prestigious or respected, such as becoming a doctor or lecturers. A civil servant role is perceived as a good fit for women, especially those with caring responsibilities. It is considered less hectic and has shorter working hours than a job with a private company. For noblewomen, in contrast, working in a prescribed career is intended to maintain the family's reputation and project an image of nobility. Therefore, doctors or lecturers have been prescribed as a 'career' for a noblewoman. Several participants expressed this:

*Culturally, Javanese women are not required to work. This is okay. Society will not call you lazy. This is how women are supposed to be in Javanese culture. If you cannot secure a prestigious job, it is better not to work. (Y20)*

*Everything is regulated as a woman, especially here in Java. You will be badmouthed if you do not comply with "cah wedok kuwi kudune..."<sup>20</sup> If you want to work, choose a woman's job. (Y14)*

These quotes also highlight society's expectations toward women, including careers. There is potential for social sanctions if a woman does not abide by social expectations.

However, not every Javanese woman can have a prestigious- prescribed career as a lecturer or doctor. With that in mind, some women see entrepreneurship as accommodating their career aspirations and social expectations. Most participants assert that by running their businesses instead of working as an employee, they could fulfil the obligation to stay at home and avoid social

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<sup>19</sup> Literal meaning; pond, bed, kitchen. It implies women's role of cleaning, sexual activity, cooking. See Appendix A 5.1.1 Javanese philosophy.

<sup>20</sup> *Cah wedok kuwi kudune...* [Javanese]. The literal translation is a "daughter or young woman must...", followed by some requirement for a "good" woman or deed. It is a common phrase, typically used when Javanese elders are giving advice to a daughter or young woman. The phrase is usually followed by reminder of how Javanese women are expected to behave.

sanction of neglecting the norms and at the same time, pursue personal aspirations. For example, as mentioned below:

*In Javanese culture – I do not know about other cultures – a woman is expected to stay home to serve her husband, manage the household, and give birth to heirs. [...] After being married for 1.5 years, I have not been pregnant. People said [I had not got pregnant] because I was so busy with work. Then I resigned. [...] I started a publishing company at home because I love books. (Y11)*

In addition to seeing entrepreneurship as a strategy to fit in with Javanese norms, some participants assert that they start a business ‘to prove’ something or as a disobedience strategy to avoid or challenge gendered norms such as prescribed careers. For example, is mentioned below:

*I started an IT company. I wanted to show them I could do something usually reserved for men. (Y14)*

The quote above implies that in addition to a ‘prescribed’/‘prestigious’ career for women, there is also a ‘career for men’, for example, work related to information and technology (IT). Therefore, even though some businesses ‘fit’ with Javanese norms, such as a digital venture running from home so it facilitates women to stay home, there is a possibility that the venture is deemed to be ‘not fit for Javanese women. For example, in this study, participants above (Y14) perceive IT as a male-dominated industry because of gender bias that women lack technological expertise (Dy, Marlow and Martin, 2017). The implication is there will be fewer women in this industry. However, this circumstance can also motivate women to enter this industry because they want to challenge the norms, as the quote above suggests.

**Filial piety and the preservation of cultural values.** “Filial piety” describes the Javanese philosophy of respect for one’s parents, elders, and ancestors. Filial piety is also found in Confucian<sup>21</sup> and Islamic teachings, but the bases differ. In Islamic teaching, filial piety, as written in Alquran, is mandated because parents and elders are the people who give birth to us and raise us. In Javanese philosophy and Confucianism, filial piety is linked to mystical beliefs that ancestors, places, and spirits can communicate with and care for the next generation (Geertz, 1956;

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<sup>21</sup> Filial piety is an article of Confucian teaching. It is prevalent in China and a norm in most Asian countries, as the basis on which children are taught to respect and prioritise their parents and elders. See Zhang et al. (2020) and Schwartz et al. (2010) for further reading on filial piety. Filial piety can also be found in Islamic teaching, where it is known as *Birrul Walidain* (Arabic: بر الوالدين).



Schwartz *et al.*, 2010). Hence, in Java, the elders must be respected to ensure harmony, even though they have passed away.<sup>22</sup>

In Javanese society, the value of filial piety is prevalent and deeply rooted in the social structure. For example, it is represented in the Javanese language structure and hierarchy (Berman, 1998). A child from a traditional Javanese household must use *krama ingil*,<sup>23</sup> the polite form of the Javanese language, to speak to their parents and elders. Filial piety's value dictates how a child must behave in front of their elders – for example, bowing when walking in front of them (Suseno, 1996). There is no written rule regarding which gender is responsible for caring for parents. However, the participants revealed that it was the norm in Javanese society for unmarried daughters and daughters-in-law to care for their parents. It's in line with the literature review that in Asian patriarchy, caring for children and the elderly is usually carried out by women because it is domestic responsibility (Sechiyama, 2013).

The dataset revealed that filial piety is one reason women engage in entrepreneurial activity. Following the previous elaboration, entrepreneurship provides Javanese women with flexibility in time and space to fit in with their prescribed careers. It also allows Javanese women to perform 'filial piety' tasks. Some women run their parents' businesses to live near – their parents and take care of them. This reason is sometimes intertwined with the motivation to preserve one's culture. The quotes below reveal that some participants decided to continue their family businesses out of filial piety, intertwined with affection for Javanese culture:

*I have to preserve what my parents have, what my customers love. I quit my job to manage Ninit so that my mum could rest. Ninit is a klangenan<sup>24</sup> business for my family and our customers. (Y21)*

*When I was a child, each morning, I saw aunties<sup>25</sup> weaving thread and spinning the yarn in front of their houses to supply for my mum. [When my mum died], the village residents expected me to*

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<sup>22</sup> See the discussion on Nyi Roro Kidul and the Labuan offering ceremony on page 81 for an example of filial piety intended to show respect for the ancestors and spirits.

<sup>23</sup> *Krama ingil* is also used when people from different classes are speaking to each other. For example, working-class people use *krama ingil* (the polite form) when speaking to *priyayi* or the noble class, and people of the noble class use *ngoko* (casual form) when speaking to people from a lower class.

<sup>24</sup> *Klangenan* (Java) means "fondness", "something you like, love, or value", and it is usually related to childhood, hobbies, and happy memories.

<sup>25</sup> In Indonesia, an "auntie" is not necessarily a relative. The term is used to describe address a female who is older than the speaker but younger than their parents. In Javanese culture (and in wider Indonesia and Asia), it is not polite

*continue this business to provide for the aunties. Their income depends on this business. My dad cannot [run the business] because weaving is women's expertise. (Y22)*

*Javanese women are usually perceived as meek and graceful. Our qualities are assessed as to whether we can cook tempe bacem<sup>26</sup> and sambal<sup>27</sup> and perform the traditional dance and macapat<sup>28</sup>. I teach them to dance so that they can meet society's expectations. (Y19)*

The quotes above explain that filial piety encourages women to take responsibility for their family businesses. It also implies that filial piety in Javanese patriarchy has motivated women to start a business because entrepreneurship allows women flexibility to juggle work and caring responsibility. So far, unlike the discourse that caring for children could impede women's careers, the datasets in this research do not reveal care for parents or elders could impede women's entrepreneurship. Again, it can be linked to the study that entrepreneurship provides flexibility that allows women to do both work and care.

It is an additional insight for the women's entrepreneurship study; most studies link it to the female's caring responsibility toward their children (Drew and Humbert, 2012; Ekinsmyth, 2014). It is understandable because, as mentioned in the literature review, most women's entrepreneurship research occurred in a Western/ developed setting (De Vita, Mari and Poggesi, 2014). However, the value of filial piety is prevalent and imposed on women in non-Western settings, such as in Asian countries where women/wives are responsible for their parents and/ or parents-in-law (Hamilton, 1990; Sechiyama, 2013). It highlights differences between patriarchal practices in Western and Asian societies (Hamilton, 1990). Hence, women in Non-Western patriarchal societies are responsible for the children and their parents.

It is beyond the scope of this study; however, from this finding, it can be suggested that this study be expanded into a policy study. For example, previous research on women's entrepreneurship and policy (Ahl and Nelson, 2015; Foss et al., 2018; Coleman *et al.*, 2019) highlights the impact of

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to refer to someone by their name. People who are older than the speaker are addressed by their seniority title ("auntie", "uncle", etc.). In this context, the participant was referring to older women in her neighborhood as "aunties".

<sup>26</sup> *Tempe* or *tempeh* is a traditional Javanese food made from fermented soybeans. *Tempe bacem* is *tempe* that has been marinated in sweet paste.

<sup>27</sup> Chili paste.

<sup>28</sup> Traditional Javanese song.

the social welfare policy/ or family welfare policy on women's entrepreneurship. However, this research focuses on Western settings (US, Canada, UK and Norway). It only highlights the policy related to caring for children, for example, parental leave and childcare provisions. While there is an economic cost for caring for the elderly (Mayston *et al.*, 2017) and gendered consequence of pension policy (Earles, 2013; Prattley and Chandola, 2021), it is beneficial to learn from the Javanese patriarchy and connect entrepreneurship/ women's employment study with the filial piety or elderly caring.

In addition to filial piety, the Javanese philosophy of *nguri-nguri budaya Jawi* (preserving Javanese culture) contributes to shaping women's entrepreneurial motivations. This philosophy is taught in Javanese schools, and society also expects mothers to teach their children about this at home. It is thus a norm in Javanese society that a mother plays an important role in preserving Javanese culture and introducing it to the younger generation. According to the interviewees in this study, this provides another motivation for female entrepreneurs: women start businesses related to or which preserve Javanese culture. For example, Y22 explains as follows:

*I really want to make bakpia<sup>29</sup> internationally recognised. It is a small family business at the front, but we have kitchens in several countries. My income is in Australian and New Zealand dollars. I am starting to sell it to Japan. If it is not us, who will preserve our culture? (Y2)*

Similar motivation to preserve Javanese culture is mentioned by other participants below:

*This business is important. The stagen<sup>30</sup> is an essential aspect of Javanese culture. For weddings, after giving birth, when dancing, Javanese people wear a stagen. It has to be preserved. (Y22)*

*Javanese weddings are sacred, with a lot of symbolism and philosophy. They [Javanese] choose modern wedding decorations, but they do not skip Javanese [wedding] ceremonies. I am an architect. I use my skills to design gebyok<sup>31</sup> as backgrounds for Javanese weddings. (Y7)*

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<sup>29</sup> A traditional Yogyakarta snack, a sweet roll stuffed with mung beans.

<sup>30</sup> *Stagen* is a Javanese traditional woven corset to hold or train the torso. It is part of the female wardrobe (though sometimes also worn by men). In Javanese culture, *stagen* represents patience, because it takes a long time to weave a corset and restricts the wearer's physical form. *Stagen* also represents "*panjang usus*" (the long intestine), a Javanese (Indonesian) phrase of patience. It is worn in many Javanese traditional ceremonies, such as weddings, dances, and so on. It is also a traditional postpartum remedy (Sugita and Widiastuti, 2016).

<sup>31</sup> *Gebyok* is Javanese furniture, usually used as a room separator, window, or door. It made of old teakwood and covered with typical Javanese carvings. *Gebyok* symbolise strong homes and they are usually used as decorations (backgrounds) on wedding stages to wish the couple a "strong" marriage and household.

*Javanese culture makes me who I am and inspires my business. Women's ventures are usually inspired by or close to daily life – batik, food, and handicrafts. For me, it is Javanese furniture. We nguri-nguri budaya Jawi<sup>32</sup> [preserve the culture] by running a business (Y16)*

Those quotes from the participants above show that the Javanese society is built on a strong culture and norms. It produces a strong sense of belonging to the culture, especially for women, who are then expected to preserve the culture in their role as a mother. Furthermore, it affects women's entrepreneurship, motivating them to start ventures that preserve or represent Javanese culture. This finding extends the conclusions of Rea and Volland (2014), who see entrepreneurship as providing cultural agency.

In summary, the Javanese patriarchy creates society-sponsored femininity or the value/attribute that Javanese society expects women to comply with or possess. One of the values is that Javanese women are expected to stay home, and working outside the home is deemed less than ideal. It results from spatial gender segregation norms and practices in Javanese society (see Appendix A 5.1.1 Yogyakarta patriarchy: Monarchy, colonisation and state). There is also a prescription for a suitable career for women (and men). Furthermore, it motivates women to start a business. The participants believe that starting a business or being an entrepreneur gives them flexibility in time and space. Entrepreneurship is thus a strategy for Javanese women to cope with society-sponsored femininity. Society-sponsored femininity motivates women to start a venture, allowing women to serve their personal aspirations and societal expectations.

From the institutional perspective, society-sponsored femininity is a normative pillar. It is because the society-sponsored femininity sets expectations that construct women as 'women'. Furthermore, society-sponsored femininity aligns with Scott's normative pillar (Scott, 2014) that society-sponsored femininity bears moral consequences and could bring shame or honor. The cognitive pillar also contributes to setting the entrepreneurial motivation in Javanese society. It can be attested that there is a negative affect from the Javanese participants toward Javanese femininity, particularly the society-sponsored femininity. According to Scott (2014), this negative affect often creates confusion or disorientation. It can be attested from the interview that some participants perceive entrepreneurship as good, but they are not sure if it is inline with Javanese femininity. It

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<sup>32</sup> *Nguri-nguri budaya Jawi* [Javanese language] means "to take care of and preserve Javanese culture".

explains why female entrepreneurs often conceal their venture as an informal business or limit its scale so that it does not become too big or exceed the main income from the husband. It will be discussed further in section 5.1.3, institutional barrier and 5.1.4, conclusion and discussion.

### **Coping with state-sponsored femininity**

Javanese women's motivation to start a business is also associated with the feminine attributes dictated by the state, labelled in this study as state-sponsored femininity. While society-sponsored femininity represents a normative pillar of institutions, state-sponsored femininity represents regulative pillars, as it is regulative rules and could bring a legal sanction.

As elaborated in Appendix 5.1.1 (National and regional legislation and policy), femininity construction in Yogyakarta is influenced by the women's national behavioural guidelines called *kodrat wanita* (women's nature), which maintains patriarchal values (Wieringa, 2003; Jones, 2010). Furthermore, *kodrat wanita* is elaborated into written rules called women's five duties (*panca dharma*) as follows: (1) women are their husbands' loyal companions, (2) women are housewives, (3) women are the bearers of descendants and educators of children, (4) women are the managers of the household, and (5) women are useful members of society. *Panca dharma* and/or *kodrat Wanita* are usually mentioned in documents such as Indonesia national development strategic plan (KemenPPPA, 2022) and Yogyakarta regional development plan (Pemda-DIY, 2019). The text of *panca dharma* is usually displayed on banners or posters at government offices.

In line with the national strategy, *kodrat wanita* and *panca dharma* on Yogyakarta are institutionalised through the school curriculum and a mandatory pre-marriage training. They are also institutionalised through rules and practices within state-sponsored organisations that are mandatory to be joined by the wife of civil servant/army/police. For example, the wife of a civil servant is expected to join *Dharma Wanita*, an organisation for the wives of civil servants. Soldiers' wives are expected to join PERSIT (a union for soldiers' wives), whilst the wives of policemen join *Wanita Bhayangkari* (see Appendix 5.1.1 National and regional legislation and policy).

State-sponsored femininity and state-sponsored women's organisations are national programmes. This research finds that Javanese participants discuss state-sponsored women's organisations more

than in Minangkabau. Furthermore, panca dharma or state-sponsored femininity, is more rigorously enforced in Javanese society or on Java Island than in other societies and regions of Indonesia (Wieringa, 2003). This is because of the Javanisation or domination of the Javanese ethnicity on Indonesia's polity and political culture (Thornton, 1972). In addition, panca dharma and kodrat wanita are derived from Javanese values, especially those of Yogyakarta palace. As a result, Javanese women are more familiar with these values, which are thus more accepted and more widely practised in Javanese society, including in Yogyakarta, than elsewhere. For a brief comparison, this theme of state-sponsored femininity does not arise in the Minangkabau dataset.

In addition, the enforcement of kodrat wanita and panca dharma is more salient for women affiliated with a state-sponsored organisation or their husband is a civil servants or army/police. Violation of panca dharma by the wife can affect the husband's career and result in a legal sanction. Therefore, state-sponsored femininity brings consequences to Javanese women's behaviour. Furthermore, it affects Javanese women's entrepreneurship or becomes the context-embedded motivation for female entrepreneurs in Javanese society. This research identifies two mechanisms of state-sponsored femininity that impact entrepreneurship: 1) Entrepreneurship to abide by state-sponsored femininity, and 2) Entrepreneurship as an alternative career. They are elaborated below:

***Entrepreneurship to abide by state-sponsored duties*** As a member of state-sponsored organisations, women have responsibilities that reflect the roles of their husbands. One participant explained that the entrepreneurial journey in her neighbourhood was started by the wife of the chief village, usually called "Bu RT".<sup>33</sup> As the wife of the village's chief, Bu RT is also a leader of local and national state-sponsored women's organisations. Consequently, Bu RT has conducted a regional and national development programme called the *Dasa Wisma*<sup>34</sup>. For example, Bu RT teaches women in the neighbourhood to grow and sell vegetables. As mandated by the government, she trains the women to earn additional money to empower them to improve their families' welfare.

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<sup>33</sup> The wife of a *Ketua* (chief of) *RT* is called *Bu RT* ("Bu" is "mother" or "ma'am", being a polite way to address married women).

<sup>34</sup> The PKK programme combined with the *Dharma Wanita* programme is "*Dasa Wisma*". The literal meaning is "10 houses", as the community activities are organised by and for 10 households in the area (RT). In practice, it is usually more than 10 households. A PKK leader is responsible for the family welfare programme for 10 or more households in her neighborhood.

With this, Bu RT abides by state-sponsored femininity, accomplishes her duty as a member of a state-sponsored organisation, and begins her entrepreneurial journey. It is mentioned below:

*Bu RT converted the abandoned land across from her house into a community allotment as part of the PKK<sup>35</sup> programme. Initially, we planted vegetables. We did not have a business model. Just an activity to spend our spare time, get together, and earn pocket money. After several harvests, Bu RT invited a real farmer to teach us the hydroponics method to increase our harvest. We will need to learn accounting to record our income and costs in the future because the business is getting bigger. We have also considered designing packaging. (Y18)*

The quote above is the perspective of a third party who witnessed another woman fulfilling a role mandated by state-sponsored femininity to encourage women's entrepreneurship. It shows how state-sponsored femininity may be a reason to start a venture.

***Entrepreneurship as an alternative career.*** Some participants who reported adherence to state-sponsored femininity expressed that entrepreneurship was a way of managing this set of responsibilities. Entrepreneurship can be a platform for women to channel their career aspirations whilst fulfilling their mandated roles to join state-sponsored organisations. It was expressed as follows by one participant:

*I sell outfits that fit the image of Wanita Bhayangkari <sup>36</sup>and bear traditional and cultural elements. For example, they are made of batik or tenun. I abide by the organisation's and state's expectations and simultaneously build my business. (Y13)*

*My friends sell snacks at PERSIT<sup>37</sup> meetings. My other friend became a professional photographer for PERSIT. (Y8)*

The interviews revealed that a woman will likely start a venture compatible with her circumstances. This is especially true for a woman who cannot have a career because she must move between cities to follow her husband. Furthermore, these ventures are usually related to the organisations in some way. For example, they may involve producing goods or services that can

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<sup>35</sup> PKK = Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga. The national programme of Empowerment of Family Welfare

<sup>36</sup> Wanita Bhayangkari is a state-sponsored organisation for police's wives

<sup>37</sup> PERSIT is a state-sponsored organisation for soldiers' wives

be consumed within the organisation, or the organisation becomes the buyer. With this strategy, women can easily continue or move their businesses when they move to a new city.

In addition to the normative pillar, women's entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta is also affected by the state-sponsored femininity as the regulative pillar of institutions. State-sponsored femininity motivates women to start a business. It works in two ways. First, state-sponsored femininity deters women from building a career, and they must support their husbands' careers. Hence, these women see entrepreneurship as a strategy to cope with this circumstance, that entrepreneurship could facilitate them to pursue career/personal aspirations and state's expectations.

### **Coping with poverty**

The third theme of motives for contextualised entrepreneurialism is coping with poverty. This study found that the patriarchal structure contributes to Javanese women's experiences of poverty. The data analysis revealed that some women start their entrepreneurial journey to avoid poverty, particularly feminised poverty. Marital status – and barriers to paid work and education – have together led to the feminisation of poverty in Javanese society. This sub-section will first contextualise feminised poverty in Javanese society. A discussion of marital status and feminised poverty follows it.

#### ***Contextualise Feminised Poverty in Javanese***

'Feminised poverty' refers to poverty that affects an individual primarily because she is a woman (Pearce, 1978; Chant, 2008; Bradshaw, Chant and Linneker, 2019). The notion of the 'feminisation of poverty' can be traced to Pearce (1978), who examined gender and poverty in the United States and proposed a female empowerment policy as a solution. Chant (2008) defines the feminisation of poverty as a "gendered disadvantage among the poor and which highlights the growing responsibility and obligations women bear in household survival" (p. 166), whilst Rodenberg, (2004) suggests that female poverty is related to a lack of decision-making power and agency.

The Indonesian Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA) reports that the feminisation of poverty is linked to a patriarchal structure (KemenPPPA, 2017). According to a report from KemenPPPA (2017), growing numbers of women live below the poverty line in Indonesia because patriarchal arrangements mean that women are less likely to attend school, be



offered paid work, and be politically represented. The same narrative appears in Yogyakarta, where feminised poverty is one impact of the patriarchal norm that prioritises male education (BPS, 2019) and employment (Tambunan, 2007).

*Table 5-2 Employment and education in Yogyakarta and Indonesia*

	Male (%)		Female National level (%)	
	Yogya	National	Yogya	National
No diploma/Did not attend or graduate from primary school	24.15	26.38	54.35	56.35
Attended high school and higher education	52.78	37.7	46.63	32.56
Illiterate	2.91	2.67	7.34	6.01
Work as employee	44.78	41.82	37.11	36.34
Do unpaid work	1.41	0.95	3.63	1.72
Head of household	80.39	84.83	19.16	15.17
Head of household and an employee	42.40	39.62	27.29	28.61
Head of household and self-employed/has own business	56.19	59.43	69.08	69.67

(Summarised from BPS [2019])

To obtain a picture of the feminised poverty in Yogyakarta, Table 5-2 summarises the BPS report (2019) on women's education and employment in Indonesia and Yogyakarta. Jobs in Indonesia typically require a high school graduation certificate (equivalent to an A-level qualification in the United Kingdom). As seen in Table 5-10, 46.63% of women in Yogyakarta graduate from senior high school and obtain higher education (compared to a national level of 32.56%). In comparison,

52.78% of Yogyakarta men graduate from senior high school and obtain higher education (compared to a national level of 37.7%). More than half (54.35%) of the women in Yogyakarta have no diploma and did not attend or graduate from primary school, compared to 24.15% of men. In conclusion, women are less likely than men to finish compulsory education.

In addition, 7.34% of the women in Yogyakarta are illiterate (compared to a national level of 6.01%), whilst 2.91% of men are illiterate (national level of 2.67%). Based on this data, it can be concluded that fewer women in Yogyakarta (and Indonesia in general) are qualified for work due to illiteracy and lack of qualifications. It is reflected in the data, with 44.78% of men employed, compared to 37.11% of women. In addition, the labour market is unfriendly to women regarding wages. The average salary for a woman in Yogyakarta is 23% lower than that of a man (compared to a national-level difference of 21%).

However, this inequality is ‘not a problem’ in normal circumstances. As previously discussed, Javanese women are culturally not required to have a formal job. If a woman is married, she is culturally expected to be fully supported by her husband. A Javanese woman can rely on parental resources if she is unmarried. This inequality in work and education becomes crucial when a woman is divorced, widowed, or abandoned. Next, the sub-section will explore the marital status and feminised poverty in Javanese.

### ***‘Unideal’ Marital Status and feminised poverty in Javanese.***

‘Un-ideal’ or ‘unfortunate’ marital status makes it difficult for women to be accepted in wider society, with social norms stigmatising divorcees and widowed women in Indonesia (Parker, Riyani and Nolan, 2016). These norms impact Javanese women more than women in other societies, as a widow and a divorcee are the antitheses of the ideal Javanese woman (Mahy, Winarnita, and Herriman, 2016). Living as a widow is challenging and stigmatised for women in Javanese society. Divorced women may hesitate to return to their parent’s houses, which this status can bring shame to their families. They may also find that returning to the job market after a several-year career gap due to marriage is very challenging. It leaves women poorer than men (BPS, 2019), especially women who become household heads (Chant, 2014). In addition, Indonesia has no welfare state or benefits scheme for those who are not in employment. Therefore, this unideal marital status provides an extra challenge for women in Indonesia.

BPS (2019) reports that 19.61% of households in Yogyakarta are headed by a woman (compared to a national level of 15.17%). In more than half (50.95%) of the cases, the woman became the household head when her husband died. Just 9.11% of cases are due to a divorce. Of the women who head households, 69.08% run their businesses (compared to a national level of 69.67%). This phenomenon of female heads of household running businesses is the consequence of factors discussed above, namely women struggling to enter (or return to) the job market due to a lack of qualifications, marital status, or a combination of the two (BPS, 2019). In line with BPS (2019), this thesis found that participants see entrepreneurship or starting a business as a solution for their marital status–related circumstances. It is expressed below by the participant:

*My husband passed away. I did not graduate from primary school. Women in those days were not expected to go to school. To work in a factory, you have to be a high-school graduate. Nobody wants to employ me. So, I sell fried chicken in the market. (Y23)*

In addition to the status of divorcées and widows, some circumstances are not presented in statistical data. For example, a woman might be registered as married when, in fact, she has been abandoned or receives no allowance from her husband. As a result, if the government provides aid or launches a programme to support women who are heads of households, widows, or divorcees, these women, with these unforeseen circumstances, would not qualify. It adds more layers to the question of feminised poverty in Indonesia, particularly in Javanese society.

*Figure 5-1 A woman sells cooked chicken in the market*



(Author; photograph taken during fieldwork, 2019)

Another circumstance not captured in the statistical data is that some women have unregistered marriages or *nikah sirri*.<sup>38</sup> Indonesian National legislation (Law No. 1, 1974) on marriage states that a marriage must be registered to have legal force.<sup>39</sup> At the regional level, law 7/2018 on family resilience states that the legality and integrity of the family require the “legality of marriage and residence” (Yogyakarta regional law [7/2018], Article 13[a]). According to these laws, unregistered marriages – or *nikah sirri* – are not legal, have no legal force, and are not considered to constitute a family. *Nikah sirri* is seen to subordinate and disadvantage women (KemenPPPA, 2016). For example, as the union has no legal force, the woman cannot claim alimony after a divorce, and the man cannot be named as a parent on his child’s birth certificate. Hence, in Indonesia, marriage must be registered to protect women from trafficking and domestic abuse.

In addition to being seen as breaching the law, women with *nikah sirri* also suffer from the stereotype. For the Javanese, *nikah sirri* is usually perceived as a norm deviation or immoral due to its association with polygamy and forbidden marriage (Sukaryanto, 2010). Therefore, owing to the social construction of Javanese, *nikah sirri* can put women in challenging situations because it is against the law and social norms. In this less-than-ideal circumstance, some women conceal their *nikah sirri* to avoid stigmatisation, which is difficult if they have formal jobs. Therefore, women in this situation may choose to work in the informal sector or start their own business, as this can avoid revealing their marital status to an employer. An example is shared below:

*I taught children in the refugee shelter. But being a teacher and a second wife is impossible. It is immoral, according to society. Therefore, I am positioning my dance club as an art centre rather than an educational institution. (Y19)*

This stigmatisation of *nikah sirri* needs to be addressed, as a previous study found that the impact is greater on women than on men (Sukaryanto, 2010). In this situation, these women need more

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<sup>38</sup> *Nikah sirri* is a religiously legitimate marriage but not legally registered with the civil bureau. In Indonesia, *nikah sirri* has a negative connotation because it is usually linked to polygamy or temporary contractual marriage. KemenPPPA (2016) have identified several drivers of unregistered marriage in Indonesia: parents' or carers' refusal to grant permission for a marriage, polygamy, government regulations concerning marriage and divorce permits for civil servants (Pegawai Negeri Sipil - PNS), differences in religion or nationality between the bride and groom, underage marriage, and hidden, contractual, or temporal marriage.

<sup>39</sup> Law No. 1 of 1974 on marriage (chapter II, Article 2) refers to marriage registration in various ways. It is clarified in Article 5 (1) of the KHI (Islamic Law Compilation), which states, “To ensure orderliness of marriage for the Islamic community, every marriage must be recorded”. Likewise, Article 6 (2) emphasises that, “marriages which are carried out outside the supervision of the marriage registrar have no legal force”.

support, such as finding a job. If entrepreneurship can help them be independent without stereotyping, then the support of a women's entrepreneurship program would be useful.

In summary, this sub-section discusses how patriarchy, especially normative and regulative pillars, contributes to feminised poverty among Javanese women. It is found that the normative and regulative pillars of Javanese patriarchy have created discrimination against women in terms of education and employment. In addition to that, these regulative and normative pillars have also created stereotypes for women in 'unideal marital status.' This discrimination and stereotype have deterred women from entering a formal job market, resulting in feminised poverty. These regulative and normative pillars are then taken for granted, becoming shared belief or cognitive pillars according to Scott's (Scott, 2014) framework. This thesis finds that feminised poverty has motivated women to start a business. The dataset reveals that entrepreneurship facilitates women in tackling this poverty because Javanese women can start a business without having a formal education/ qualification and also because they do not need to disclose their marital status. It confirms previous research that entrepreneurship is a way out of unemployment when women lack job opportunities (Hughes, 2003; Williams and Gurtoo, 2011; Svaleryd, 2015).

The enabling environment is the second theme in this study to affect female entrepreneurs' experience in the Javanese patriarchal society. The following section elaborates on the second theme –the enabling environment.

### **5.1.2 Enabling environment**

During the fieldwork, the participants were asked whether they received any support when starting and growing their businesses, what this support was, and from whom it came. This study found that the enabling environment identified concerns institutional-based resources and a prevalent informal economy. The sub-theme of 'institutional-based resources' is explained in the following section, followed by a discussion of the 'informal economy' sub-theme.

## **Institutional-based resources**

In this thesis, institutional-based resources refer to the resources embedded in an institution that its members can access. While studying Javanese patriarchy, this research found that kinship and community are prevalent social organisations in the dataset. Kinship is defined by Verver and Koning (2018) as the social institution of interpersonal ties grounded in blood, marriage, and a broader connection, such as shared ancestry and descent. To put kinship into the perspective of patriarchy, it refers to the interpersonal ties dominated/ ruled by men. In this thesis, the community is understood by borrowing a definition from Delanty (2009) to conceptualise community as a small-scale local grouping. The dataset reveals that patriarchal kinship and community in Javanese society have provided women with the resources to start their businesses. Several types of kinship were identified in the dataset to provide institutional resources. They are *trah* and nuclear family. The dataset identified *arisan* and female circle as the community to provide resources for women entrepreneurs. In addition to that, participants also mention government support to help them start the business. This sub-section will first elaborate on the *arisan* and female circle to provide institutional resources, followed by the *trah* and the nuclear family.

***Arisan* and Female circle.** *Arisan* and/ or community lending are prevalent in the dataset, with some participants considering *arisan* a primary resource to raise funds during the start-up phase. *Arisan* is the Javanese local wisdom of a rotating saving and credit association (ROSCA; Geertz, 1962), though it can be found across Indonesia under different names. *Arisan* is a prevalent practice in Java, originating from a Javanese cultural tradition called *jimpitan*,<sup>40</sup> or emergency community funds (Geertz, 1962). *Arisan* is slightly different from ROCSA and is found in other places in Indonesia. *Arisan* in Javanese is ROCSA combined with emergency funds (*jimpitan*). The portion of money for *jimpitan* is usually smaller than that for *arisan*. How *arisan* functions can be found in Appendix 6.

The purpose of *arisan* is to facilitate saving and future consumption. It includes accumulating assets (Ajija and Siddiqui, 2021); funding traditional and village ceremonies (Geertz, 1962); providing emergency community funds (Kuronayagi, 1999); and responding to non-economic

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<sup>40</sup> *Jimpitan* is intended to help residents in unfortunate circumstances. Upon *jimpitan*, every household puts a *jimpit* (a handful) of rice in the community warehouse, and this is usually collected by *petugas ronda* (community night patrol) and managed by *Bu RT* (or the wife of the village leader) or community treasurer. Today, rice is replaced with money.

issues, such as building identity and getting together (Cahyandari, 2014). In addition to those purposes, this study finds that *arisan* is often used to raise capital to start a business or increase working capital. With women facing difficulties in accessing funding to start businesses (KemenPPPA, 2012), the participants in this study highlighted the importance of *arisan* for microfinancing. One participant shared her story of starting a venture using money drawn from *arisan*. Initially, she joined *arisan* to begin saving, but when she withdrew the money, she used it as start-up capital:

*No matter how much money I have, it is used up for monthly expenses. That is why I joined the arisan so that I am forced to set aside money for saving. Fortunately, I got my turn to withdraw money in the second month. So, I used the money to raise chickens, cook them, and sell them at market. (Y23)*

*Arisan* funds an incremental working capital, as explained below:

*After six months of running my business, there was a spike in demand – almost 20 times my regular monthly sales, because of Lebaran.<sup>41</sup> I have to prepare inventories for both wholesale and retail buyers. It was a lot of additional working capital. Fortunately, I joined arisan. It has a large emergency fund. They lent me money, and I returned it after one month. No fee, no interest. And it isn't frowned upon. (Y24)*

*Arisan* provides non-financial support, as expressed below:

*I come to arisan because I can have them [the other members] try my new recipes. If you use a research agency to do this, it would be expensive, right? But in arisan, it is informal and cheaper, and I know them, so the feedback is reliable. They are happy to have free food, and I am happy that they are testing my food! (Y21)*

The quotes above show that *arisan* provides financial and non-financial support for women wanting to start a business. When joining *arisan*, women access networks, knowledge, mentorship, partnerships, working space, markets, supply chains, etc. It enables women to start and grow their businesses. *Arisan* is often found in a female circle or is one of the activities within a female circle.

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<sup>41</sup> *Lebaran* (or Eid -al Fitr) is a religious day and festival celebrated by Muslims after a month of fasting from dawn to sunset. It is the equivalent of Christmas for Christians.

As mentioned before, patriarchy regulates or limits Javanese women in various ways. Participants mentioned creating or joining spaces or platforms to channel their aspirations, separated from men. This platform, in this study, is labelled as female circles. Female circles can be founded and facilitated by the state to support the government's programme, such as the state-sponsored women's organisations discussed in relation to the previous theme. These include formal organisations registered with the Indonesia Ministry of Law and Human Rights, for example, the Indonesian Women Entrepreneurs Association (*Ikatan Wanita Pengusaha Indonesia* [IWAPI]). Female circles can also be informal platforms where women gather in one of their members' houses to do hobbies or learn new skills. The female circles found in this study are similar to the business networks explored in previous literature. However, business networks are usually dyadic relationships, with some (imbalanced) power dynamic between suppliers, competitors, and customers (Oparaocha, 2015; Costa, Lucas Soares and Pinho de Sousa, 2017). In this study, the female circle is conceptualised as a network in which members have multiple interactions simultaneously, with egalitarian and mutual partnerships. The female circle in Javanese society is a closed circle in which exchange with members is prioritised over connections with outside parties. The closed nature of this business circle could also be attributed to the association with the underground or informal economy, which will be discussed in the following section. In female circles, women share resources (e.g., financial resources, raw materials, networks, knowledge, etc.). Participants mentioned that they also encourage one another to start businesses.

Previous studies have analysed women's business circles through network theory (Sharafizad and Coetzer, 2017; Mozumdar *et al.*, 2019). However, this study analyses the female circle through the institutional lens, revealing that the norms and values of Javanese patriarchy drive women to create these female circles. The social norms mentioned in the interviews included *konco winking*,<sup>42</sup> which describes the unequal positions of Javanese men and women. Consequently, Javanese women are not expected to convey their ideas or thoughts to men; in response, they create female circles to share their views comfortably. It is a space perceived to share an equal position for women, in contrast to subordination experienced outside the circle. Participants mentioned that their potential and expertise are properly acknowledged within these female circles.

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<sup>42</sup> See page .



Another norm is “*sumur, dapur, kasur*”,<sup>43</sup> which implies that the Javanese woman’s position is in the domestic sphere. Thus, women are not considered suitable for work outside of the household, and it is assumed that they lack the skills for activities typically coded as masculine. In this situation, female circles help women do something outside of the house but within the ‘circle or boundaries’. Female business circles are also created because women must juggle domestic responsibilities and businesses. Therefore, they naturally gather with other women with similar responsibilities and schedules. Female circles are also built to reflect interests like hobbies or living in the same neighbourhoods. Finally, gender-segregated norms are practised in Javanese households and the palace, which makes it unusual for women to work together with men, with mixed-gender collaborations not being culturally accepted. Hence, Javanese women prefer to work with other women and utilise the female circle to avoid being frowned upon by society.

The interviewees discussed some of the norms that drive women to create female circles:

*We only take orders from female colleagues and procure from female suppliers. A female circle in Java is more suitable. It’s to avoid being scrutinised if we work too closely with men. (Y7)*

One participant explained that the Javanese construction of women’s roles means that women share similar daily schedules, which binds them together:

*Business, nowadays, especially when you are a woman, is usually community-based or a small group whose members have similar typical schedules. We have a business meeting after sending our children to school, and we finish before we pick them up from school (Y20)*

The quotes above show that female business circles are a strategy that allows women to pursue their entrepreneurial aspirations whilst continuing to perform their duties as Javanese women.

Another participant highlighted the importance of the female business circle for those in male-dominated industries, where women are often stereotyped as lacking skills. She preferred to join small groups of businesswomen from different industries rather than working with men from similar industries to her own:

*Being a woman in this industry [shoemaker] is challenging. Males dominate it. They are nice, but they look down on me because of the Javanese value that women are subordinate [to men], or*

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<sup>43</sup> See page 130.

*women are lacking. I found my space in an all-female collaboration. They [female colleagues] do not make shoes, but we make collaborations. (Y5)*

This study confirms previous findings that female business owners usually have small, closed networks (Sharafizad and Coetzer, 2017; Mozumdar *et al.*, 2019). It was found that women build female circles to cope with the social norms derived from the Javanese patriarchy. This circle eventually becomes an enabling environment that supports women seeking to start their businesses, with female entrepreneurs supporting each other and sharing financial and non-financial resources. Further analysis will show that this gender-segregated platform will limit women from growing their businesses. The institutional barriers will be elaborated on in Sub-section 5.1.3.

Notably, in this study, *arisan* and female circle– and not the family – was the participants’ first choice for raising capital. There are two camps in the dataset regarding the role of the family in the enabling environment. One side revealed that it could be difficult to access resources from one’s family because the Javanese patriarchy prioritises providing resources for the male. In contrast, some participants revealed that their families helped and supported them. The latter considered family social capital, especially in relation to *trah*. It will be elaborated next.

***Trah* and the nuclear family.** *Trah* is the Javanese term for a kin-based organisation with lineage from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Sairin, 1982; Robson, 1987). *Trah* is a patriarchal practice, with membership traced only to the father’s side. People with a maternal relation are not usually included. Every *trah* has a genealogy book to record and track the members. *Trah* gatherings are typically held several times a year to maintain member relationships. They are usually held by the elder or in the eldest member’s house. *Trah* members may travel to attend these events due to the filial piety discussed previously. Hence, attending a *trah* gathering is considered to show respect to the elders. These characteristics imply the importance, strong bond and influence of *trah* in Javanese society.

*Trah*, according to participants, is a reflection of patriarchy with some features of it discriminating against female members. For example, the leader of the *trah* must be the eldest male of the *trah*, even though there is a more senior female *trah* member. *Trah*’s resources, especially monetary resources, are often prioritised for men. However, some participants assert that *trah* can provide non-monetary support for female members. For example, participant Y21 explained how she uses *trah* gathering to test new products:

*Trah meetings are an opportunity to extend my network and gain knowledge because many family members also run businesses. You can find a collaboration if you are lucky. I use it for market research. When I started my business, I had them taste my food. Up to 200 people – including children – attend trah meetings in good times. They are my potential customers and can create marketing buzz. (Y21)*

Business opportunities and networks can also be found in *trah* meetings:

*Identifying yourself as a trah member, for me, can be beneficial. Our trah is big and well known, with some notable members. So, it gives me credibility. I secured my first project because my uncle recommended me, and his friend was in charge. It was not nepotism, okay. We followed the procedure for bidding. (Y16)*

It can be concluded that although it does not fully provide equal resources for male and female members, and there is discrimination against female members, *trah*, as a patriarchal-based kinship, provides non-financial support for women to start a business. It enables their female member to start a business. However, the dataset does not provide more information about how, when and why women entrepreneurs can utilise *trah* to support their businesses. For example, are there any criteria for women to access *trah*'s support? Or if women compete with a male family member (i.e. bidding for the same project), will *trah* prioritise a particular gender? It's a future avenue to explore to extend the research on the family business. It is in line with the suggestion from Verver and Koning (2018) that kinship theory could be a beneficial lens for studying entrepreneurship.

### **Prevalent informal economy**

Whilst there is an ongoing debate about whether informal entrepreneurship needs to be eradicated or embraced (Williams, 2015), the data analysis in this study suggests that the informal economy enables Javanese women to start their businesses. Informal economy in this study refers to the economic activities conducted outside formal institutional boundaries or not registered with any Indonesian authority while providing legitimate products and services. From the institutional perspective, in the context of Indonesia, the informal economy is a combination of regulative, normative and cognitive cultural pillars of institutions.

As discussed in Sub-section 5.1.1, participants mentioned the social norms imposed on them leave most women feeling as if it is not their role to start or run a business. As a result, if a woman decides to start a business, it is most likely prescribed to be run as a part-time and informal business so it will not disturb women's primary role (*sumur, kasur, dapur*). Consequently, participants prefer to run a business that is easy to start and manage to fit the nature of non-primary income sources. Here, the nature of the informal economy facilitates this 'ease in starting/ doing business', which is perceived as suitable for women's business. For example, the absence of business registration in informal entrepreneurship makes starting a business less complex, requiring less investment (time, money, etc.) and less risk.

One participant said that she had dared to start her own business because it was simple:

*It is easy to start a clothing business. You do not need a licence or permit. I do not know about other industries, but for clothing, it is easy. Nothing to lose, so I tried it. I would not have started a business if I needed to register or get a permit. (Y13)*

Starting an informal business is perceived to align with the norm that running a business is not Javanese women's primary role. It means that an unregistered business will be deemed more suitable for Javanese women because an unregistered business can be considered as not a serious business, a side hustle on non-primary income, as expressed below:

*I need pocket money, not as the household's main income. So, I do not think I need to register my business. Maybe someday, when it gets bigger, I will think about registration. (Y15)*

*We only accept wedding décor on weekends, a side hustle. Do we need to register? (Y7).*

From the perspective of the normative pillars, it can be concluded that patriarchy sets up norms for Javanese women. It includes some norms imposed on women entrepreneurs such as prescribed type of business, time spent managing business, etc. However, at the same time, this patriarchal arrangement also encourages women to utilise and take advantage of the informal economy to cope with their prescribed careers/ roles.

From the perspective of the cognitive pillars, Javanese women prefer to run their businesses informally because they perceive unregistered businesses as a norm. This discourse is taken for granted in Javanese society, as most Javanese do not register their businesses. For example, a

participant say the neighbourhood where she lives is a business cluster, but few are registered, and there is no punishment. Hence, informality is considered the norm and entirely legitimate or legal. It is expressed below:

*You do not need to register your business unless you sell your products to the supermarkets, put a signboard in front of your business place, apply for a bank loan or export your product. That is why many women start businesses from home. It is very common not to register your business.* (Y2)

*Every household in Jeron Benteng<sup>44</sup> is a home business. Every woman produces something. That house sells batik. That house [produces] silver crafts. Beef floss. Coffee shop – many more. We are not registered. The government knows that and still names this area a business cluster. It is easy to open a business here if you have the will. People will not consider you a criminal for not registering your business. All of this neighbourhood would be in jail! It is normal [to be unregistered]. Do not worry.* (Y25)

In addition to the normative and cognitive pillars that encourage the informal economy, as quoted above, the regulative pillars of patriarchy also contribute to the normalisation of women doing business informally. One of the examples is how the government, especially the Yogyakarta government, defines women's occupations. Most participants perceived their business as a “side job” because their primary role was stated on the national ID<sup>45</sup> as homemakers. Consequently, Javanese women do not see themselves as entrepreneurs (even though they own a business) and do not see business registration as necessary. It is mentioned below:

*My husband runs a business and calls himself an entrepreneur because his KTP [national ID card]<sup>46</sup> says so. My occupation [in KTP] is mengurus rumah tangga [managing household], not a business owner or entrepreneur, even though I have a workshop, employees, permit, etc. Maybe*

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<sup>44</sup> Jeron Benteng, a business cluster in Yogyakarta. See page 26.

<sup>45</sup> Every Indonesian citizen has a national ID card that cites their occupation. In Yogyakarta, most married women – regardless of their occupation – are identified as “*mengurus rumah tangga*” (“taking care of the household”), thus giving their occupation as “housewife”. Men who are not in employment are usually identified as “*wirausaha*” (“entrepreneur”). Further researchers could consider how the state's differentiation of males and females in this way (i.e., in terms of their respective occupations, genders, titles) reflect patriarchal values and construct entrepreneurial identity.

<sup>46</sup> KTP (*kartu tanda penduduk*) or the Indonesian national ID card. Every Indonesian citizen over the age of 17 years has a national ID card that they must carry with them at all times. The card contains their personal data, including their name, date of birth, religion, occupation, and home address.

*that is why we [Javanese women] do not identify ourselves as entrepreneurs because we are identified [by the government] as housewives in KTP [laughs]. I do not see the urgency to register my business. (Y21).*

This phenomenon of women's occupation in the national ID will be elaborated further on the theme of legitimacy later. It implies that Javanese women expect the government to formulate policies acknowledging them as entrepreneurs.

The prevalence of the informal economy can be linked to other regulations. For example, Government regulation number 46/2013 concerning income tax. It states that MSMEs that carry out trading and/or service business activities using facilities that can be dismantled and assembled do not need to pay taxes. Most street vendors and hawkers in Indonesia fall into this category and thus do not pay income tax. There is also a grace period for MSMEs, which means they do not pay tax during the first year of their commercial operations if their annual gross turnover is below 4.8 billion rupiahs (equivalent to £240,000). MSMEs also are not obligated to register their business, but it is suggested that they do to access government assistance – such as mentorships, grants, and loans. With this, the Indonesian government seems to let the informal economy grow, and in the end, it becomes the enabling environment for women to start their businesses.

The theme of the informal economy is mentioned more in the Patriarchy dataset but not mentioned in the matriarchy dataset. The government official from KemenPPPA explains this phenomenon of prevalent informality in Javanese. She linked the informal economy, female entrepreneurs, and Javanese patriarchy as below:

*The informal economy is always here – not only in entrepreneurship but in any employment. You can see from the data that more women than men work in the informal sector.<sup>47</sup> In Javanese culture, where women are konco winking,<sup>48</sup> women hesitate to claim their achievements and identities. Work is subordinate to their identity as someone else's wife. A business – no matter how big – is a side job. Hence, they do not bother to make extra effort to register a business. Also, if they did*

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<sup>47</sup> 59.95% of the women working in the Yogyakarta province are in the informal sector, compared to 49.92% of the men (BPS, 2019c).

<sup>48</sup> *Konco wingking* is a Javanese value that positions women behind or as supporters of their husbands. The literal meaning is “women behind”. This value is often criticised as a patriarchal practice intended to subordinate woman (Pirus and Nurahmawati, 2020). For more on this, see the previous section on Yogyakarta patriarchy.

*register it, whose name would they put? It would create more problems in the family. We [KemenPPPA] just embrace it. I think the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs have the same perspective. Currently, there is no sanction for unregistered small businesses. Personally, as long as a home business can improve family welfare and empower women, I am okay with it if it is not registered. When the business gets bigger, that's another thing. We need to find a way to support them as they grow. (JGov3)*

This quote implies that the government is aware that the informal economy is related to Javanese patriarchal norms. Patriarchy constructs Javanese women's identity, prescribed careers and roles as discussed in the previous section. Hence, Javanese women start their businesses informally to cope with these norms. On the other hand, the informal economy facilitates entrepreneurship, especially for women, to start a business. Informality makes it easy to start a business. With this, informality helps women to cope with patriarchal arrangements.

Furthermore, the government is also aware that prevalent informality on women entrepreneurs reflects women's position in Indonesia's wider patriarchal economic system. This informality is also rooted in the Yogyakarta monarchy and Javanese history. It is expressed below:

*Yogyakarta is home to [a school of thinking about the] people economy, populist economy,<sup>49</sup> the economy for “wong cilik”<sup>50</sup>[small people/commoners].<sup>51</sup> Yogyakarta is always like that – known for anti-capitalism, anti-neoliberalism, and grassroots. Fought the Dutch against industrialisation and colonialism. Even though Yogyakarta is a monarchy, it is not glamorous. The sultan and his family are very humble, earthy, and spiritual. Women in Yogyakarta see themselves as wong cilik. They are wong cilik compared to men. They are also wong cilik compared to conglomerates or oligopoly. So, a woman is double wong cilik – small, smaller. Wong cilik perceives themselves to*

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<sup>49</sup> Populist economics – known as “people economics” in Indonesia – is an ideology that proposes an economic system based on the interests and prosperity of the people. It is a critique of the oligopolist and monopolistic economic systems in Indonesia (McCawley, 1982; Hastangka, 2012).

<sup>50</sup> The literal meaning of *wong cilik* (Javanese language) is “small people”, and it refers to commoners (a social class opposite to the noble class, or *priyayi*).

<sup>51</sup> Yogyakarta scholars are known to support marginal people (*wong cilik*) and the grassroots, despite Indonesia's economic system that is capitalist and oligopolist. For example, Prof. Mubyarto (1938-2005), professor of economics at Universitas Gadjah Mada (Yogyakarta), introduced the concept of the “Pancasila” economy, which is the people/populist economy based on Pancasila (the ideology of Indonesia). Prof. Revrisond Baswir (1985-present), professor of economics at Universitas Gadjah Mada and disciple of Prof Mubyarto, has elaborated further on the notion of the Pancasila economy. Also known as the “father of cooperatives”, he argues for an economic system based on cooperatives rather than corporations.

*be exempt from the rule because a rule is for conglomerates and rich people. That is the concept of a populist economy. According to them, it is acceptable not to register their businesses because theirs are so small. Especially for women, it is a side job.*

The quote above elaborates that Yogyakarta's informal economy is linked to Indonesia's economic system. Unfortunately, informality reflects women's subordination in the broader economic ideology. The Javanese patriarchy positions women as a lower class in the social structure. Therefore, for Javanese women, not registering their businesses results from women's prescribed careers and roles and their societal and broader economic positions. Normatively and cognitively, Yogyakarta women identify as a lower class within Yogyakarta's populist economic system. Populist economic systems prioritise people (low-class people). With that in mind, Javanese women believe and are positioned as a secondary class. As secondary or low-level class people, women perceive that it is okay not to register, pay taxes or obey the related rules. This quote again reveals how patriarchy constructs women's societal position and affects their employment, including how they operate and register their businesses.

In summary, the findings discussed in this section show how Javanese patriarchal institutions manifest in social structure (Scott, 2014) and space (Ogutle, 2021) – intertwined with the economic system and ideology – facilitate the informal economy. Like other patriarchal contexts, Javanese patriarchy limits women's choices and opportunities to work outside the home. To overcome this barrier, many Javanese women become entrepreneurs in an informal setting, launching invisible, hidden, or unregistered businesses. Using this strategy, women can build economic independence whilst abiding by the norms imposed upon them. The dataset shows that the informal economy has enabled female entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta in three ways: 1) The informal economy is 'allowed' by the government (regulative pillars). 2) Informal economy aligns with the normative pillar of patriarchy on Javanese femininity (women's role/career). 3) Cognitively, it is a shared belief that an informal economy is allowed and not illegal. This finding supports previous research that the informal economy is an incubator of new ventures (Williams and Martinez, 2014). The combination and alignment of three pillars, as Scott (2014) suggested, makes the informal economy in Indonesia persist and prevail.

However, in addition to the enabling environment, the informal economy is also found to signify women's position as a second class in a broader patriarchal economic system. Furthermore, staying



in the informal economy is disadvantageous. Often, it left women with unequal access and assistance (Chen, 2014). Women need to register to grow their businesses, for example, to get support, licenses, loans, exports, etc. Business registration is also linked to legitimacy (Sutter *et al.*, 2013). While women entrepreneurs are reported to find it challenging to obtain legitimacy (Swail and Marlow, 2018), business registration can be a tool to earn legitimacy. Legitimacy will be further discussed in Chapter 6. Lastly, further study is needed and linked with the policy formulation to develop a path for women informal entrepreneurs so they will not be trapped forever in the romanticism of the informal economy (Williams and Round, 2008).

In the following section, the institutional barriers will be discussed.

### **5.1.3 Institutional barriers**

As Chapter 4 shows, the regulative, cognitive and normative pillars of Javanese patriarchy create institutional barriers. Specifically, they are gender-segregated industries, patriarchal resource allocation, and patriarchal discriminative regulations. From the institutional perspective, normative pillars create barriers through the norms and values, manifest in patriarchal resource allocation and gender-segregated industry. Furthermore, the regulative pillars create barriers through discriminative regulations. The cognitive pillars manifest in a negative affective element toward patriarchal arrangement, resulting in a level of adoption, such as grow or not grow strategy, funding and supply chain choice, etc. It will be elaborated next.

#### **Patriarchal resource allocation**

The dataset informs various patriarchal mechanisms that disadvantage Javanese women and hinder their ability to start a business. These data were analysed, refined and labelled as patriarchal resource allocation. Section 5.1.2 shows that institutional-based resources enable women to start a business. However, it is found in this study that the resources are often allocated unequally between men and women, and women receive fewer or no access to resources compared to men in the family. This resource allocation system in Javanese patriarchy has brought disadvantages for women entrepreneurs.

As elaborated in the literature review, patriarchy is a social structure in which a male heads the family and holds authority over women, children, and family assets (Christ, 2016). The implication is that males are prioritised to access resources to maintain their roles, authority and hegemony over family members (Walby, 1989). Therefore, it leads to unequal resource allocation between men and women in patriarchy, where women are disadvantaged. The resources are varied. However, this study highlights some resources allocated unequally in the dataset. Those resource allocation that poses a barrier for women is the time (to do paid work) and family resources (monetary and non-monetary)

**Time allocation to do work.** As discussed in section 5.1.1, Javanese women are subject to state and society-sponsored femininity. It is found that Javanese women's roles are instilled through Javanese philosophy, such as *sumur*, *kasur*, *dapur*. This philosophy implies women's roles are caring or unpaid work related to the domestic sphere. Men, on the other hand, are positioned as primary breadwinners in Javanese society. Hence, men are allocated more time for paid work. In addition, as previously discussed, the government imposed state femininity. For example, through the *Panca dharma*, women must support their husbands' careers by becoming agents to deliver the government's programme. Participants found that these responsibilities disrupt or reduce their availability to work on entrepreneurial projects or to do paid work. Participants from affluent backgrounds say their domestic duties can be reduced or transferred to helpers or family members, giving them more time to work on their businesses. However, participants from lower-income backgrounds do not have this privilege. Hence, it is more challenging for lower-income women to develop and execute a business plan due to lack of time. In addition, regardless of their economic background, participants mention that state duties to deliver government programmes cannot be delegated to others, and it often takes too much time.

On average, participants mentioned working 2-3 hours daily on their business, usually when children are at school. Therefore, it is challenging during the launching of the business, as they need more working hours to prepare for the launch. The lack of time allocated to work on business makes them postpone the launching or reduce the scale of the business launching. It makes lack of time a barrier to starting a business for them. It is expressed below:

*I planned to launch my (fashion) collection in January to target people who buy outfits for Eid. However, I postponed it for two months because I had insufficient time to prepare the packaging and recruit an assistant. If only I could work longer time (P13).*

As discussed in section 5.1.1 on state-sponsored femininity, participants assert that they found business opportunities when they engaged in state-sponsored organisations. However, it does not mean they have enough time to work on it because the activity mandated in this organisation has taken a lot of their time. With this, it can be asserted that women's difficulties in allocating time for their business are not only derived from the normative pillar of the institution (i.e. cultural gender role). It is, instead, also the impact of the regulative pillars imposed on them, such as state-sponsored duty mandated by the government.

It is expressed below:

*When the government mandated every official to wear Batik on Friday, I was confident I could prepare enough Batik to sell. However, by then, we had so many PERSIT<sup>52</sup> activities. I did not have enough time to produce Batik as planned (P4).*

Overall, patriarchy has imposed norms on Javanese women. These norms related to women's roles are reflected in the time allocated to do paid work. Javanese women are prescribed not to work and focus on domestic/ caring activities (see section 5.1.1 on coping with society-sponsored femininity). Consequently, time allocated to work outside their role is very limited. It takes longer for these women to realise their business; sometimes, they lose the momentum to sell or start it. Finally, time allocation derived from the patriarchal arrangement has deterred women from starting a business.

Previous research has found that males and females struggle to balance work and prescribed gender roles. However, female entrepreneurs face more challenges dividing time between private and work (Parasuraman *et al.*, 1996; Hsu *et al.*, 2016), as confirmed in this study. Male entrepreneurs' family activities and responsibilities are usually reduced to accommodate their work (Agarwal and Lenka, 2015). Previous research asserts that women leave corporate life and enter the entrepreneurial journey to gain a work-life balance (Parasuraman *et al.*, 1996; Allen and

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<sup>52</sup> The union of armies' wives

Curington, 2014). In addition, previous research has discussed that entrepreneurship can blur the boundary between work and personal life and make women entrepreneurs exit entrepreneurship (Hsu *et al.*, 2016; De Clercq, Brieger and Welzel, 2021). However, previous research often assumes women have enough time (but lack flexibility). The study of how women's intention to start a business is deterred by insufficient time is overlooked. Previous studies also highlight financial resources and skills as important resources to start a business or as the resources women often lack (Roper and Scott, 2009; Chen, 2010). This study builds a foundation for this research area by finding that time is an important resource that women entrepreneurs often lack due to patriarchal gender roles. Therefore, it could disrupt women's plans to start their entrepreneurial journey.

**Family resources allocation.** As discussed in section 5.1.2, institutional-based resources such as resources within *trah* (Javanese extended family) and nuclear family enable women to start a business. However, like time allocation, family resource allocation follows a patriarchal arrangement to prioritise males. Hence, it is difficult for women to use family resources to build their businesses. Family resources here can be financial and non-financial resources. It can be money, place, networks, education, knowledge, etc.

In Javanese society, as discussed in Section 5.1.1 on feminised poverty, it is found that fewer women receive education than men. If a family has limited money for education, they will send their son to go to school over their daughter. A man will receive the inheritance twice as much as a woman. In addition to that, if a woman has assets, they are usually registered under her husband/father's name. Participants mention that their assets or company bank accounts are registered under the husband's or father's name. Similarly, the business is usually named after the husband or father, even though it was founded and run by a woman.

There are two reasons for this. First, in Javanese patriarchy, men are the head of the family. Hence, men are prioritised to get family resources because they need money, knowledge, network, etc., to lead the family. Therefore, family assets are normally named after the man in Javanese society. Second, in line with men's role as head of the family, men are also expected to be a family protector. It is assumed that the husband/father will protect the assets when it is named after them. Participants assert that they do not mind the family asset being named after a male in the family

because it is how it used to be in Javanese society. It implies this norm has cognitive legitimacy, taken for granted by the Javanese.

This resource allocation, especially how the assets are registered, becomes problematic when women need assets to expand their businesses. For example, applying for a bank loan usually needs collateral named after the business owner. Applying for a bank loan requires authorisation from the business owner. If the business or the assets are named after the husband/ father, the woman will need consent from the husband/ father to apply for a loan. In short, this family resource allocation/ registration gives women no full control of their business even though they found and managed it. A business usually needs additional resources/ capital to fund an expansion. This norm on family resource allocation could deter women from growing their businesses. It is expressed below:

*I ordered stuff to expand the chicken farm. I also planned to start a duck farm. I have the money. I have the plan and feasibility study. But it was not realised because my husband refused to sign the purchase order. He did not agree to expand because he thought of the risk. He does not have any business skills or knowledge to say that. This is my company, my money. But Javanese registered assets in husband's name, including my company's and bank account. I need his signature for a big purchase. (Y5)*

*It took a long time to convince my husband to sign bank loan application. I bought this warehouse with money from my business. However, it is [the warehouse] registered in my husband's name. When I apply for a bank loan, they need the landowner's signature. The complication began (Y12).*

The quotes above highlight that patriarchy has set a norm on how resources or assets are allocated, named or registered in the Javanese household. Registering assets with husband's name is a common practice in Javanese society. As discussed above, this norm disadvantages women entrepreneurs that women do not fully control their business because it is not registered in their name. Some paperworks need to be signed by husband as the 'businessowner'. In addition, this thesis also found that the resource allocation between males and female can also be a reason for women operating in an informal economy or cannot grow their businesses. This research found that it is not because women do not want to expand their businesses or do not want to formalise their businesses. Oftentimes, women cannot expand or formalise their businesses because the

assets or resources needed are not in their name. It is difficult for a Javanese woman to apply for a loan or acquire a license or any permit necessary to expand or formalise the business if husband does not agree. Next, the theme of gender-segregated industries will be discussed.

### **Gender-segregated industries**

As discussed previously, the female entrepreneurs cited the female circles as providing an enabling environment during the start-up phase of a business. When more resources are needed during the growth phase, some women may propose expanding the circle to include a male colleague. This aligns with a previous study that found that as MSMEs have restricted resources, collaboration is needed to expand the businesses (Cosenz and Bivona, 2021). The participants said they found accessing or exchanging resources with men challenging, especially when women worked in male-dominated industries. This is primarily due to stereotypes of women as incapable, which means that their male counterparts are often unwilling to include women in their business circles. This was expressed by one participant as follows:

*The publishing industry in Yogyakarta has always had a serious and masculine image. Yogyakarta publishers either publish literary books or books on philosophy. They have never published chick lit.<sup>53</sup> But on the other hand, my publisher publishes chick-lit and parenting books. They intentionally exclude me from collaborations because they think my publishing company disgraces Yogyakarta's publishing industry's image. When I asked the association chief, he laughed and said, "Are you sure you are a publishing company? I think you are Cherrybelle".<sup>54</sup> (Y12)*

*Livestock is considered to be for men. When I bought ducks for my farm, my purchase was not processed seriously. I returned several days later with my husband, and they invited my husband to join the livestock association. Can you imagine? My husband cannot even differentiate between a hen and a rooster. It is me who organises my farm, but they think I'm not capable. (Y3)*

Those two quotes show how women can be excluded from business circles due to the gender stereotypes promoted by the patriarchal structure. The participants explained that this disadvantages them because it hinders their access to broader networks and resources. Therefore,

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<sup>53</sup> "Chick lit" is a fiction genre in which women are at the centre of the narratives.

<sup>54</sup> "Cherrybelle" is a famous Indonesian girl group, consisting of nine female singers. They are portrayed as cute and highly feminine, singing in a light and cheerful musical genre.

whilst gender segregation does not affect women's entrepreneurship during the start-up phase, it is clear that when the business grows, and collaboration is needed, gender-segregated industries are a hindrance.

### **Patriarchal discriminative regulations**

Participants cited discriminative regulations as barriers to expanding their businesses. This research found two laws that bring disadvantages to female entrepreneurs. The first is the Yogyakarta regional law of 5/2007, which banned prostitution. The second law is the Indonesia law on Marriage No. 1/1974, Article 31[3]. ‘

Yogyakarta regional law 5/2007 on banning prostitution is regarded by KomnasHAM<sup>55</sup> as discriminating against women (KomnasHAM, 2014). One participant said that this law was designed to leave women walking on eggshells, especially those who work during the night, as these women are susceptible to being mistaken for prostitutes, arrested by municipal police<sup>56</sup> (Satpol PP), and treated without dignity. The participant explained as follows:

*We usually finish [decorating] at 2 am or 3 am for the wedding event at 9 am. If I were caught roaming the street at that hour, police would think I was a prostitute. To avoid that, I prefer to stay at the wedding venue until the morning come. (Y7)*

Furthermore, the participant expressed that ‘sweeping out’ a prostitute is discriminative because it targets only women. At the same time, men can freely roam at night and do not have to worry about being caught. She explained that this affects her business. As a result of this restriction, she can only accept one project per day, whilst she could decorate two venues if she could move freely from one venue to another at night.

The Indonesian law on marriage is the second regulation that brings disadvantages for women entrepreneurs. It states, “The husband is the head of the family, and the wife is a housewife” (Indonesia Law No. 1/1974, Article 31[3]). The implication of this law is it names the husband as the decision-maker in the household because the husband is the head of the family. It impacts

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<sup>55</sup> The Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM).

<sup>56</sup> The municipal police are under the control of the local government and have a duty to enforce the local government's laws and regulation. Municipal police are different to the Indonesian national police, with the latter enforcing Indonesian national regulations and laws.

women entrepreneurs in various ways, some of which have been previously discussed, highlighting that women do not have full control of their ventures. It also impacts other institutions to put husband responsible for wife. For example, husband needs to sign the loan application in bank loan processing. This practice is a norm in the Javanese region but not in other regions<sup>57</sup>. Seemingly, some business practices comply with Indonesian marriage laws. It explains the phenomenon of many MSMEs owned by women, but only a few got external funding. Section 4.1.1 mentioned that 60% of Indonesian MSMEs are currently owned by women (Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, 2018). However, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy reported that only 2.3% of women-owned start-ups get external funding (Kemenparekraf, 2021). This report implies that women face difficulties in getting external funding that might impact their ability to grow their businesses.

#### **5.1.4 Discussion and Conclusion**

This study found that the Javanese patriarchy affects women's entrepreneurship in two ways. First, it supports women's entrepreneurship by creating contextualised entrepreneurial motivations and an enabling environment. Second, patriarchy hinders women's entrepreneurship by creating institutional barriers. On the other hand, Javanese women also restrict their entrepreneurial activity or venture to fit with patriarchal values.

The contextualised entrepreneurial motivation in this research is either due to the necessity, opportunity, or the combination of those two. Moreover, it is found that entrepreneurial motivations are related to the femininity of women as individuals and women as part of a broader community. This research finds that the state and society construct Javanese femininity. Both do not favour women working outside the house and deter women from having careers. This finding is in line with Walby (1990), who asserts patriarchy limits women's participation in economic activity and limits women's agency.

This research finds that Javanese women are motivated by various push-and-pull necessities and opportunities. In this study, the pull factors, such as agency and the need to maintain Javanese identity, combined with the push factors, such as poverty, have motivated women to start a business. It echoes previous research that women in patriarchal societies are motivated by complex

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with government official of the Indonesia Ministry of cooperative and small and medium business.



interaction of push and pull factors (Tlaiss, 2015) or amalgamation of the necessary and opportunity reasons (Adom, 2014). Javanese women's entrepreneurship also serves as strategic disobedience (Barragan, Erogul and Essers, 2018) toward patriarchal values, such as the Javanese women's movement or agenda to break the stigmatisation of women. Therefore, this study confirms previous research that entrepreneurship is often started by dissatisfaction with current conditions or is a tool of social change (Bruton, Ahlstrom and Han-Lin Li, 2010).

It is found that dissatisfaction toward femininity or patriarchal arrangement motivates female entrepreneurs to start a venture. It confirms Scott's framework (2014) that the cognitive pillar includes the affective dimension, ranging from negative to positive affect. According to Scott (2014), the prevailing cultural framework's negative effect could cause confusion and disorientation. It explains that Javanese women engage in entrepreneurship to cope with Javanese femininity while limiting their entrepreneurial journey to cope with that femininity.

The Javanese patriarchy also creates an enabling environment. This study shows that due to normative pillars such as gender segregation and patriarchal resource allocation, women can get access to resources in two ways: through *trah* or patriarchal extended familial resources and the female network. Both resources enable women to start their own businesses. It confirms previous research that women usually use informal funding, such as personal savings and family money, to start a business (Buvinić and Furst-Nichols, 2016). It was also found that the expectations of female entrepreneurs toward the government have not yet been met or provided by the government. It is implied by choice of support that female entrepreneurs highlight informal support, such as family and female circle, instead of formal support, such as bank loans and government training. On the other hand, the government perceives themselves as incentivising.

However, to have access to family resources does not mean female entrepreneurs get equal priority with male family members. The finding shows a complex interaction between patriarchal resource allocation and who has priority to access or use the resources. On one side, *trah* or extended patriarchal family provide a potential resource for women. On the other hand, women are often not prioritised using those resources. Hence, women cannot secure resources to start or grow their business. Previous research asserts that women face difficulty securing funding to start a business (Marlow and Patton, 2005; De Bruin and Flint-Hartle, 2007; Alakaleek and Cooper, 2018). This study, in line with previous research, also finds that women in Javanese face difficulties in

accessing resources, especially due to patriarchal practice that prioritises males to get family resources. Most Javanese women get resources from the female network such as '*arisan*'. However, this informal funding is not enough for women to facilitate their growth in the growth phase. It confirms previous research that women's businesses are difficult to grow or choose not to grow due to a lack of access to resources, especially funding (Klapper and Parker, 2011; Yusuff, 2013). This enabling environment limits how big a women's business can be.

This research finds the link between informality and women's entrepreneurship. At the regional level, the informal economy in Yogyakarta enables women's entrepreneurship. The void and incentive in the regulative pillars in Indonesia have facilitated a prevalent informal economy that eventually allows women to start a business. It is especially in Javanese society where working women are not favoured; given this opportunity, women establish their ventures as informal businesses to fit the patriarchal values.

The institutional theory implies the interaction and alignment between normative, regulative, and cognitive pillars of patriarchal values, and this alignment supports women's entrepreneurship in Javanese. This finding offers a new perspective to the literature on women's entrepreneurship and informality. The Informal economy is usually a heated debate to be eradicated (Williams, 2015) and is the product of asymmetrical institutions (Williams and Vorley, 2015). In the Javanese patriarchal society, the informal economy results from alignment or symmetry between regulative, normative, and cognitive pillars, as discussed in Section 5.1.2. Informality is also an enabling environment for female entrepreneurs that would be unfortunate if eradicated. However, it is also found that in addition to enabling women's entrepreneurship, informality could hinder business growth because formality, such as permits and licenses are needed to expand (Babbitt, Brown and Mazaheri, 2015). Therefore, the informality level of women's ventures requires further investigation and conceptualisation so that a policy on women's entrepreneurship could also consider informality as a factor enabling the start-up and limiting the growth phase.

Finally, it can be concluded that Javanese patriarchy shapes women's entrepreneurship in two ways. First, it supports women's entrepreneurship by creating contextualised entrepreneurial motivations and an enabling environment. Second, patriarchy hinders women's entrepreneurship by creating institutional barriers. On the other hand, Javanese women also exercise their agencies, for example, by shaping their entrepreneurial activity or venture to fit with patriarchal values. Next,

the impact of the three pillars of institution on women entrepreneurs in Minangkabau matriarchy will be discussed.

## **5.2 Women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau matriarchal society and Three Pillars of Institutions**

This section presents the research findings relevant to the question, *how is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?*

Based on the data analysis, three themes are identified to explain the impact of Minangkabau matriarchy on women's entrepreneurship. They are entrepreneurial motivation, enabling environment, and institutional barriers.

### **5.2.1 Entrepreneurial motivation**

This theme, entrepreneurial motivation, consists of two sub-themes: coping with society-sponsored femininity and coping with poverty. Unlike the Javanese patriarchy section, this section on matriarchy does not discuss the theme of state-sponsored femininity. There is a formal or written definition of *bundo kanduang* on West Sumatra provincial law 7/2018 on Nagari. *Bundo kanduang's* definition in provincial law aligns with the conceptualisation of *bundo kanduang* in cultural mediums (*tambo/folklore*). The inclusion and alignment of *bundo kanduang's* definition in provincial law imply that the regulative pillar at the regional level is to be aligned with normative and cognitive pillars. However, the participant does not mention the regulative pillars and government to shape femininity in Minangkabau. Hence, regulative pillars or themes of state-sponsored femininity do not arise in the matriarchal dataset. In line with that, Appendix 5.2 elaborated that femininity in Minangkabau is constructed through cultural and historical elements. It implies that the primacy pillars that shape entrepreneurial motivation for women in Minangkabau are normative pillars, which differ from the Javanese (normative and regulative). These differences can be attributed to matriarchy and patriarchy, which will be further elaborated in this section.

This section also discusses poverty as entrepreneurial motivation. It is found that instead of feminised poverty as discussed in Javanese patriarchy, the Minangkabau participants highlight community poverty due to Minangkabau matriarchal practice. Again, it highlights differences between matriarchal and patriarchal arrangements that impact entrepreneurship differently in the respective society. Furthermore, this subsection discusses the interplay of matriarchal institution's regulative, normative and cognitive pillars in constructing the entrepreneurial motivation, and whether the interplay between matriarchy and patriarchy is similar.

### **Coping with society-sponsored femininity**

Data analysis shows that femininity in Minangkabau is highly influenced by norms and values constructed and shared by the Minangkabau society. The normative and cognitive pillars play a significant role in constructing Minangkabau femininity. On the other hand, participants do not mention the regulative pillar, for example, central and local government, to construct Minangkabau femininity. With that in mind, femininity in Minangkabau matriarchy in this study is labelled as society-sponsored femininity to reflect the femininity that originated from the norm and value in society. The words clan, tribes, nagari, and community will be used interchangeably in this section to represent society or a group of Minangkabau people bound by kinship and ancestral land. Further elaboration on Minangkabau femininity construction can be found in Appendix A 5.2.1 [Minangkabau matriarchy: The egalitarian social structure].

As elaborated in Appendix A 5.2.1 (Minangkabau matriarchy: The egalitarian social structure), the matriarchal structure in Minangkabau constructs femininity through concepts of *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang* (the central pillar of *rumah gadang*). *Bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang* are cited several times in the dataset as the triggers for women to start entrepreneurial journeys. *Bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang* encompass many aspects of Minangkabau life, including cultural, social, economic, and political aspects<sup>58</sup>. Adult woman in Minangkabau is addressed as *bundo kanduang*. The literal meaning of *bundo kanduang* is ‘the maternal/womb mother’. It is a respectful way of addressing women, especially those who have married or who have child(ren). *Bundo kanduang* also refers to an elite woman, a leader, or the eldest woman in the family or clan, regardless of her marital status. While *limpapeh rumah gadang*

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<sup>58</sup> See Appendix 5.2 [Contextual setting: West Sumatra, home to the Minangkabau]

refers to a conception that women have a significant role as the foundation of the rumah gadang (ancestral house), passed down through women.

During the pre-colonial period, the concept of bundo kanduang could be found in several tambo conveyed through cultural mediums such as kaba (folklore), storytelling, folksong, and poetry. It implies that the concept and practice of bundo kanduang have existed long ago and persisted until today. Today, bundo kanduang and *penghulu* (male leader) leads the *nagari*<sup>59</sup>(village). At the household level, Bundo Kanduang leads the household and manages the ancestral house with her maternal uncle. This leadership role of bundo kanduang implies that women have a strategic position in Minangkabau matriarchal society and within the household.

Concerning entrepreneurship, this study found that Minangkabau women start businesses to fulfil their role as *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang*, providing for their family or clan and educating young people. The overarching aims are to bring prosperity to the clan/ community and to provide the next generation with a better future. Since ancestral property is passed down to women, women are responsible for using it for the clan's benefit. The notion of starting a business to cope with the societally prescribed roles of *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang* is expressed in the quotations below:

*Women inherited the land [paddy fields], so we must use it for the clan. I am considering a brand and packaging to sell rice outside the village so our clan can earn more money. (P3)*

*We need to ensure our people are not useless, playing on gadgets, or unemployed. I teach the village teenagers to make songket<sup>60</sup> souvenirs, such as keychains, sandals, purses. This will be good for their future. That is why women are limpapeh rumah gadang – limpapeh of the nation (pillar of the nation). (P8)*

*We need to make a legacy for our clan. I built this bathhouse for my granddaughter<sup>61</sup> so she can inherit this. (P4)*

As women inherit ancestral property, the *bundo kanduang* must make the most of it for the clan, especially the future generations. The quotes above depict how *bundo kanduang* started businesses

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<sup>59</sup> See Appendix 5.2.1 dualism authority.

<sup>60</sup> Hand woven silk or cotton bearing traditional pattern with gold or silver thread.

<sup>61</sup> She has sons, that is why she said will inherit to granddaughter instead of child(ren)

and taught skills to people in the village to ensure their future independence. This aligns with the roles of Minangkabau women as *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang*, discussed in the previous section, as they teach and nurture future generations and provide for the clan. *Bundo kanduang* must also find a way to optimise the ancestral property to provide for the clan as it grows.

The participants suggested they could better fulfil the role of *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang* when running a business than doing another job. This belief is expressed below:

*When you run a business, you can do anything. You can give work to people who need it. Your relatives, your friends, neighbours. If I am an employee, how can I give them a job? (P9)*

*Almost everything is small businesses here, unlike in Jakarta.<sup>62</sup> But it is good, from us to us. I do not know where the money goes if I work at a large company. If I open a business, the money circulates here in the community. (P10)*

The quotations above reveal the participants' concern about the development of their community. They explained that opening a business benefits the community in ways that working for a company does not. Therefore, by running businesses, the participants contribute to community development and fulfil their roles as *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang*.

In conclusion, women entrepreneurs in Minangkabau start a venture to fulfil society-sponsored femininity. The femininity elements manifest in Minangkabau women's roles are 1) a *bundo kanduang*, in which a woman is expected to be a mother, teacher, and leader. 2) *limpapeh rumah gadang*, in which woman has a role to support their household and community.

From the institutional perspective, it can be concluded that in Minangkabau, entrepreneurial motivation is triggered by normative pillars such as norms, values and social expectations toward Minangkabau women. In line with that, entrepreneurial motivation in Minangkabau is also triggered or sustained by the cognitive pillars that participants take for granted in the matriarchal arrangement. The difference between Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy relies on the affective dimension within cognitive pillars. Entrepreneurship in Minangkabau is linked to a positive affect on Minangkabau femininity. In the Javanese society, entrepreneurship is linked to

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<sup>62</sup> Jakarta, capital city of Indonesia where a lot of large company in there.

a negative affect on Javanese femininity, as discussed in section 5.1.1. This finding aligns with Scott's framework (2014) that the cognitive pillars can range from positive to negative feelings. The positive affect will bring the feel of competent and connectedness (Scott, 2014). It can be attested in Minangkabau that participants embrace femininity in Minangkabau matriarchy. The alignment of entrepreneurial value and affection toward Minangkabau femininity makes female entrepreneurs feel competent, confident, and motivated to start their entrepreneurial journey.

### **Coping with poverty**

The interviews revealed that some participants start businesses to overcome poverty. In Javanese society, poverty is linked to women's exclusion from education and paid work opportunities, as well as changes in marital status (see Section 5.1.1). Amongst the Minangkabau, they are concerned with community poverty, not feminised poverty. For example, Participant said, 'Our clan is poor' (P2). Minangkabau people believe the matriarchal arrangement prioritises women, if not equal to men, to access ancestral or family resources. Hence, participants assert that Minangkabau women are self-sufficient with ancestral assets they have. However, the observation and interview reveal that Minangkabau women experience community poverty. It is because 1) Minangkabau men have gone *merantau* (cultural migration), and women are left financially vulnerable in the village, and 2) mixed tribal marriage where women who are not of Minangkabau descent neither inherited nor have access to ancestral property.

### ***Merantau***

As elaborated in Appendix 5.2.1, Minangkabau has a *merantau* tradition, meaning that each man leaves the village for an unknown duration. A married man usually leaves his wife and children in the village to be cared for by the clan. The purpose of *merantau* is to bring prosperity and wisdom to Minangkabau. The participants mentioned that *merantau* is one of the reasons that inheritance is passed down to women, as this ensures they can provide for themselves when the men leave for *merantau*. This view is expressed below:

*They [men] leave the village or the island for years. When they are away, they earn money, or sometimes do not. They leave their children and wife in the village. How will women provide for their necessities? Of course, the woman should start a business. Women inherit family assets, so*

*they manage the assets, sell the results, and seek opportunities to maximise income [...] That is why Minangkabau women are used to starting businesses [...] It is common for women to run businesses. (R1)*

This quotation reveals several observations. First, those families left in the village for *merantau* face financial vulnerability. In response, women use their ancestral property to make a living.

However, the inheritance of ancestral assets does not automatically guarantee prosperity for the family left in the village. Sometimes, inherited ancestral assets are insufficient to provide for the family or clan. Using the ancestral property traditionally – for example, planting rice, vegetables, livestock, and so on – requires labour and often has limited outcomes. Secondly, the labour available in the village may be limited because males of productive age perform *merantau*. Thus, it becomes challenging for women to manage their inherited ancestral property with a limited workforce to draw upon. This challenge is described below:

*They [women] inherit paddy fields, farms. If they do not have any siblings to help them, they plant rice by themselves, taking care of that but it is difficult (P8)*

The quote above illustrated that some women must work on the ancestral property themselves when limited labour is available. Furthermore, some ancestral properties must be abandoned due to a lack of human resources and failure to generate sufficient income for the clan – the result is poverty.

To tackle this situation, Minangkabau women (*bundo kanduang*) must think creatively and seek opportunities to maximise income and add value to their ancestral property. In this situation, women seek business opportunities that are not labour-intensive, such as building huller<sup>63</sup> services or using intercropping or vertical gardening techniques that require less space, hence less labour, but generate more income. In non-agricultural parts of the region, Minangkabau women may use their ancestral properties as coffee shops, restaurants, kitchens to produce packaged food, souvenir workshops, stores, and even tourist attractions. In this way, Minangkabau women engage in entrepreneurial journeys to manage their ancestral property and prevent poverty. The lack of a

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<sup>63</sup> An agricultural machine to remove the chaff of grains of rice.



workforce is not only a trigger for women embarking on entrepreneurial journeys, it also poses challenges. These will be elaborated upon in the section on institutional barriers.

### ***Mixed tribal marriage***

Understandably, Minangkabau man will likely marry Minangkabau woman, then create cooperation to manage ancestral assets (will be elaborated in section 5.2.2 enabling environment). However, some men married women who were of Minangkabau descent. These women do not inherit ancestral assets that can be used to support them in their daily lives or as capital to open a business when their husbands are merantau. This leaves them more vulnerable than those of Minangkabau descent, who inherit assets. Therefore, women start entrepreneurship to tackle poverty in the immediate family or clan and the wider community. It is explained below:

*There are two women in my neighbourhood who cannot earn enough money for their household. They are not from here, do not have inheritance. Their husbands are away on merantau. I have the recipe, and they want to work, so I teach them to make potato crisps.*

(R3)

Minangkabau, who are not natives, do not enjoy the privilege of inheriting high-ancestral property. Children from such inter-tribal marriages are usually “clan-less” in the eyes of Minangkabau because the Minangkabau father does not inherit lineage for his descendants. In addition, these children do not inherit lineage from their non-Minangkabau mother, who usually comes from a patriarchal society. The clan-less children cannot inherit the high-ancestral property because they do not belong to the matrilineal clan. Hence, another probability of community poverty could arise.

The interview with a tribal leader identified that their grandmother’s clan takes care of these children. Unfortunately, due to the scope of this study, no further data on “clan-less” women and children in Minangkabau and how this status affects their daily lives were collected. It would be useful to further enquire into these clan-less women and children and their life experiences in Minangkabau. This raises a further question of whether matriarchy serves as an egalitarian structure for clan-less women. A study by another researcher interested in this phenomenon could take an intersectionality perspective.

In summary, community poverty due to merantau and mixed tribal marriage has served as entrepreneurial motivation for Minangkabau women. From the institutional perspective, these motivations primarily rest on the normative pillar of matriarchy, such as norms, values and cultural practice of *bundo kanduang*, *limpapeh rumah gadang* and *merantau*. This normative pillar is then supported or aligned with the cognitive pillars that Minangkabau people take for granted in adopting norms/values/ and practices related to *merantau* and mixed marriage. It is also found that during the fieldwork, there are no rules or laws in Minangkabau about *merantau* and mixed tribal marriage. Hence, the regulative pillars do not contribute in shaping entrepreneurial motivation due to *merantau* and mixed marriage.

It is also interesting to understand Minangkabau's perspective on poverty. Suppose feminised poverty is defined after Rodenberg (2004) to see female poverty because of lack of decision-making, power, and agency. In that case, it supports Minangkabau's people that there is no feminised poverty in Minangkabau. Minangkabau matriarchy allows women to make decisions, have power and agency. Minangkabau women have access to resources and education. They are considered self-sufficient. Previous research highlights that the feminisation of poverty is the impact of gender inequality in accessing resources and education and women's subordination (Pearce, 1978; Rodenberg, 2004; UNWomen, 2021). In a context of matriarchy where women have power, agency and access to resources, poverty can still be experienced due to male migration that leads to a depleted labour community. With that in mind, participants see poverty in Minangkabau is an issue at the community level rather than the gender level, which is interesting for further study, especially in gender and regional development. This finding extends our knowledge on feminisation of poverty that recently become attention across the globe (UNWomen, 2021)

### **5.2.2 Enabling Environment**

During the fieldwork, the participants were asked whether they received any support when starting and growing their businesses, what this support was, and from whom it came. The answers to these questions were then analysed and labelled as the 'enabling environment'. The data analysis suggests that the regulative, cognitive and normative pillars of Minangkabau matriarchy create an enabling environment for women's entrepreneurship. This section discusses matriarchal

egalitarian norms and Minangkabau social and cultural capital as two themes of the enabling environment.

### **Matriarchal egalitarian norms**

Participants mentioned in the interviews that the matriarchal arrangement has created an egalitarian society in Minangkabau. Minangkabau people highlight that women and men have equal societal positions. This egalitarian norm is reflected in several dimensions, such as cultural, social, economic, and political, as discussed in Appendix A 5.2.1 [Minangkabau matriarchy: The egalitarian social structure]. These research findings show egalitarian norms of matriarchy have served as the enabling environment for women's entrepreneurship because it facilitates women having resources and making decisions. These resources and decision-making abilities enable Minangkabau women to decide and act self-sufficiently when they want to start and grow their businesses.

From the institutional perspective, the egalitarian norm is linked to the normative pillars such as matriarchal inheritance arrangement and women's position and cultural role (*limpapeh rumah gadang* and *bundo kanduang*) discussed in the previous section. Regarding regulative pillars, the enabling environment of entrepreneurship is not explicitly addressed in West Sumatra regional regulations, but it is mentioned in the West Sumatra regional regulation 12/2017 about young people. The government commits to supporting and developing young people's entrepreneurship in this regulation.

The researcher found no specific legislation or programmes intended for female entrepreneurs. This void was confirmed in the interview with the government official, who revealed that the West Sumatra government currently has no programmes or regulations focused on female entrepreneurs, as quoted below:

*Anyone can be an entrepreneur, male or female. Gender does not matter as long as you are professional. That is why we do not have a different programme for different genders. If we made one, it could be discrimination against the other gender who was omitted. (Pgov1)*

The statement above reveals that the Minangkabau government believes anyone can be an entrepreneur, regardless of gender; therefore, no gender-based programme or regulation is needed. It also implies the cognitive pillars that gender equality has taken for granted by the Minangkabau society and manifested in many aspects of Minangkabau's life. The point that a gender-specific entrepreneurship programme could be discriminatory is interesting and rarely discussed in previous literature. This point should be considered, and a new discussion on policy-based research in entrepreneurship should also be opened.

The dataset also shows that egalitarian norms allow a copreneurship or business owned by a married couple. Previous studies usually portray copreneurship as having an imbalance power dynamic between males and females. However, the matriarchal arrangement in Minangkabau allows a different portrayal of what had been previously studied. It will be discussed next.

### ***Copreneurship***

Copreneurship refers to an entrepreneurial married couple (or a couple in a marriage-like relationship) with joint responsibility for running or operating a family business (Fitzgerald and Muske, 2002; Franco and Piceti, 2018). Scholars have used several criteria to define copreneurship, such as ownership, commitment, sharing of risk, and so on (Fitzgerald and Muske, 2002). Fitzgerald and Muske (2002) found that copreneurship usually occurs in home-based businesses. Previous studies have highlighted an imbalance of power between men and women in family businesses, with women usually having a hidden role in the business or being uninvolved in decision-making about the venture (Al-Dajani *et al.*, 2014; Micheletto, 2014; Edvinsson, 2016). Fitzgerald argues that copreneurship differs from joint ownership or a spouse simply giving time to “help” the family business. The shared decision-making in a spousal partnership characterises a copreneurship (Fitzgerald and Muske, 2002). Smith (2014) suggests that copreneurship works well in small and family businesses due to equality of power-sharing between the couple who runs the business. Amidst the debate, most copreneurship research sees it as a business run based on equality or power sharing between the couple, a fresh discourse amidst women's subordination/invisibility in family business. Franco and Piceti (2020) argued that copreneurship does not guarantee an egalitarian relationship.

Copreneurship in Minangkabau society aligns with egalitarianism and equality characteristics of copreneurship, thanks to its institutionalised matriarchal egalitarian system. It offers a new insight into what we have studied in a patriarchal context. Copreneurship in a patriarchal society is usually still owned, initiated, or led by a male or husband, with equal power sharing with a spouse. In Minangkabau matriarchy, where women's position is considered to be equal with males in the household and wider community, and women have a cultural role to be responsible to the household and a wider community, copreneurship is usually initiated, owned, and led by women or wife. The female participants in this study highlighted their active roles in their ventures.

Based on data analysis, matriarchy facilitates copreneurship in three ways. First, the egalitarian structure of matriarchy provides women with agency, puts women in a respected position, able to build an equal business partnership with her husbands and share equal responsibility for running the venture, the main characteristics of copreneurship. Second, the matriarchal inheritance arrangement enables women to open a business with their money. This is a freedom to choose a business partner, as an investor or other professional contact does not provide the money. As such, a woman can partner with whomever she wants, and she will often choose copreneurship - partnering with spouse, as indicated in interviews. Third, the egalitarian aspect makes it common practice for a husband to work for his wife. This can be linked to the self-respect possessed by the Minangkabau, discussed in previous literature. A model of male work for his spouse is rare in a patriarchal society. The husband-and-wife relationship in a copreneurship is illustrated below:

*I am the designer and CEO of this company, and my husband oversees marketing. (P15)*

*She [his wife] decides most of the company strategy – opening new branches, recruiting new employees, new business lines. I am just a supporter here. When she needs to deal with authorities, I will do it. (PT1)*

*I have the swimming pool and guesthouse. My husband is a worker here. I pay him monthly. (P4)*

*I am the supervisor of this shop. My wife is the owner. (PT3)*

These quotations suggest several models of copreneurship amongst the Minangkabau. They highlight the normalcy of a husband working in his wife's business or of a husband or son-in-law being paid to work for his wife or mother-in-law's business. Tribal leaders and government

officials said they helped their wives run their businesses rather than their wives helping them run the ventures. The structure of Minangkabau copreneurship can be summarised by several scenarios, as illustrated in Tables 5 and 3.

*Table 5-3 Scheme of Minangkabau copreneurship*

Scenario	Wife	Husband
A	Owner	Paid manager, worker
B	Owner & manager (i.e., HR & design)	Manager (i.e., marketing and legal)
C	Owner & manager	Consultant

As shown in Table 5-3, in scenario A, the wife is the business owner and is not involved in daily operations. At the same time, the husband is a paid manager or worker who oversees the daily operations. In scenario B, both husband and wife act as managers of different functions and are involved in daily operations, and the wife is also a business owner. In scenario C, the wife acts as owner and manager and is involved in daily operations, while the husband is a consultant who is not involved in daily operations.

As mentioned in the above quotations, when a husband runs a venture, his wife is not usually involved, as she tends to be running her own business. However, a daughter will usually help her father, as she expects to inherit the venture eventually. This illustrates how business succession in Minangkabau prioritises the female heir. When he returns, the son is expected to perform merantau and help his wife or build his own business.

The list of scenarios in Table 5-3 is inexhaustive. This study found that there may be more scenarios of wife and husband job allocation or division of labour in Minangkabau copreneurship. In addition, this thesis does not investigate how shared decision-making or egalitarianism – as criteria of a copreneurship (Fitzgerald and Muske, 2002) – are practised. For example, in Table 6-1, scenario A leans towards an owner-employee dynamic, with the wife having more power than in an equal partnership. However, this finding could open a new perspective to study family businesses, showing that women do not always provide hidden or unpaid labour. This study provides empirical evidence that there can be quite different situations in which the wife takes an

active role and the husband is the supporting partner. Further research is needed to gain more insights into copreneurship in matriarchal societies.

In addition to matriarchal egalitarian norms, copreneurship is also supported by the Minangkabau cultural capital to prefer work for family or spouse rather than work for other people/company. It will be further elaborated in the next social and cultural capital sub-section.

### **Minangkabau social and cultural capital**

The participants largely agreed that capital is important for starting a business. This capital can be financial or non-financial. Previous literature has highlighted how capital can enable or constrain opportunities for individuals (McAdam, Harrison and Leitch, 2019). Most Minangkabau participants in this study mentioned that they had not faced any barriers when starting a business because they were supported by matriarchal institutions, as manifested by their inheritance, clan networks, etc. According to the participants, Minangkabau matriarchy provides women financial and non-financial capital. The excerpts in Table 5-4 illustrate how matriarchy enables women to start businesses by providing them with resources. All the quotations are grouped as either financial capital or social-cultural capital.

*Table 5-4 Resources provided by Minangkabau matriarchy*

Financial capital	“I use the property from my parents as a workplace.”
	“Rumah gadang became our workshop, and we produce the souvenirs at rumah gadang.”
	“I sold the harvest from the ancestral paddy field and used the money to build a huller.”
Social and cultural capital	“Every woman in my clan’s house [rumah gadang] is an entrepreneur. I have learned business since childhood from them.”
	“Bundo kanduang from each rumah gadang help each other. If a household does not have enough production

	to fulfil the order, they can borrow stock from other houses.”
	“I did not have money when I started my business. I borrowed songket from people in my village and sold them for profit. I did it three cycles until my profit was enough to produce souvenirs.”
	“When I started my business, female relatives took care of my children in rumah gadang. My teen boy taught at surau after school.”
	“I return to my village once a week to teach young people to design and print. Some promising talents learn embroidery.”
	“My aunt taught me to make potato crisps and told me to open my business.”

As mentioned in the previous sections, ancestral properties are passed down to women. This arrangement gives women a source of capital that can be used to start a venture. Minangkabau women can use high (community/clan assets) and low (parental assets) ancestral property to start a business. In interviews, it was suggested that the rent for a workspace occupied a significant portion of the initial capital required to open a business. Therefore, most participants used ancestral property – such as *rumah gadang* and land – as a workspace or workshop, as shown in Table 5-4. This reduced the amount of money needed to open a business, saved them the initial funding, and lowered the barriers to entry. It also means that women can rent out their property and use the money from the rent either to start a business elsewhere or as working capital. Some women said they saved the income from ancestral property to open new businesses. For example, they might save money from an ancestral paddy field harvest to build a restaurant.

In addition to financial capital, Minangkabau matriarchy provides cultural and social capital that enables Minangkabau women to be entrepreneurs. It is discussed next.



**Cultural and social capital.** Cultural capital in this study refers to an individual's familiarity with the "legitimate" culture and essential knowledge (Bourdieu, 1986). Meanwhile, social capital refers to possessing a social network (Bourdieu, 1986). The social and cultural capital discussed in this thesis are linked with the matriarchal arrangements and/ or Minangkabau culture and have implications for entrepreneurship. The conceptualisation of social capital in Minangkabau is similar to the theme of women's circle in Javanese patriarchy (see Section 5.1.2 institutional based resources). However, it is labelled as social capital in Minangkabau because Bourdieu (1986) argued that social capital is linked or socially instituted to the cultural framework. Matrilocal and cooperation of *bundo kanduang* are rooted in the Minangkabau cultural framework. Hence it meets the characteristics of social capital. The women's circle in Javanese is not specifically derived from the Javanese cultural norms/ practices and can be found in many other cultures or societies in Indonesia.

Two Minangkabau arrangements contribute or can be considered to provide cultural and social capital. The first is matrilocal arrangements, and the second is the Minangkabau speech tradition.

***Matrilocal arrangement.*** *Rumah gadang* (ancestral house) is an important element of matrilocality in Minangkabau and enables social and cultural capital development in three ways. First, *rumah gadang* enables community childcare that helps women to manage their work and caring responsibilities. Second, *rumah gadang* serves as the entrepreneurial training spot. Third, *rumah gadang* provides social network.

Community childcare - In Indonesia, where government-funded childcare is not available to support women who work, women must build their own "village" to manage work and raise children. It could be hiring a childminder, paying for a nursery place, bringing their children to work, and so on, which is sometimes challenging in many aspects. Previous research has found that juggling careers and caring responsibilities whilst facing "role conflict", contributes to women's decisions to leave their careers (Mustapa, Noor and Mutalib, 2018).

This does not seem to be the case amongst the Minangkabau. The participants suggested they did not experience role conflict and were not forced to choose between caring responsibilities and employment. In the realm of the Minangkabau matriarchy, childcare is the community's responsibility – particularly the responsibility of the clan or extended family. Family members who live together in *Rumah Gadang help* take care of the children in turn. This is a common

practice in Minangkabau society, as everyone will ultimately take care of their nieces and cousins in return. In addition, men are also responsible for childcare and children's education. As explained in Appendix 5.2.1 [social aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy], the clan's males (*mamak*) teach their nieces and nephews at the *surau* in the evening. Therefore, dualism in caring responsibilities between *mamak* and *bundo kanduang* blurs the line between paid work and caring responsibilities existing in patriarchy, where paid work is usually assigned to males and caring responsibility is for females. Dualism in caring responsibility makes 'working women' not portrayed as a deviation of the Minangkabau culture, as also discussed in the previous sub-section on entrepreneurial motivation.

Training spot - Rumah gadang is also an entrepreneurial training spot. As Tables 5-4 above noted, some businesses are located in Rumah Gadang. It is a common practice in Minangkabau to combine home and working space. It allows family members – especially the children who live in rumah gadang – to gain early entrepreneurial experience by seeing the family run a business from home. In addition, different households and generations who live together in *rumah gadang* might have different ventures. As a result, younger women living in *rumah gadang* are exposed to other family members' various skills and entrepreneurial activities. They become accustomed to seeing female members of the family working as entrepreneurs. This exposure to entrepreneurial activity and role models becomes social capital for the younger women in *rumah gadang*. It familiarises them with entrepreneurship, shows them that it is a possible career for women, and provides them with essential skills. Thus, women entrepreneurs are normalised and prevalent in Minangkabau in the eyes of younger generations.

Social network - Cooperation between *bundo kanduang* from various clans and households provides a social network and safety net that supports women who wish to start a business. Minangkabau women or *bundo kanduang* help one another – giving training, sharing source materials, lending money, and so on. The participants said they had not worried about finding capital or money when starting their businesses. According to them, in Minangkabau, where the community helps and trusts one another, it is simple to secure an investment or borrow money from the community to start a business.

Providing support sometimes means helping a family member to open a similar business. This might be expected to result in tighter competition in the industry. However, most participants

indicated that they did not worry about extra competition. Instead, as shown in Table 6-4, they treated relatives who produced similar goods as stock buffers: when their venture could not produce enough to fulfil an order, they asked relatives to lend stock. The participants said that teaching others how to produce something and helping others to open their businesses was also an alms. Rather than worrying about competition, they believed these good deeds would someday be returned to them or their children. This confirmed the discussion in the previous section that the Minangkabau matriarchy promotes a gift economy and balanced economic reciprocity, as suggested by Goettner-Abendroth (2017).

***Speech tradition*** - the oral or speech traditions of Minangkabau facilitate the development of cultural capital. It is widely recognised that communication skills, especially negotiation skills, are central to entrepreneurship (Artinger, Vulkan and Shem-Tov, 2015; Odewale *et al.*, 2019). The people of Minangkabau, a consensus society, are well-trained in negotiation. Young Minangkabau study speech in the *surau* as part of their informal education. The quotations below describe the speech training of the Minangkabau:

*Minang people's expertise in processing words stems from the surau. There, cultural speeches are taught, along with Al-Quran studies and martial arts. (PT1)*

The quotes above explain that speech skills are taught from childhood in Minangkabau community spaces (*surau*) and are as important as religious study and martial arts. Following their classroom studies at the *surau*, students are encouraged to practise their speech in real-life discussions, such as clan meetings. The Minangkabau take speech education seriously and integrate it into daily life. This training system has proven successful, history has written that war has largely been avoided in Minangkabau because the people can negotiate with the party in conflict, such as the Majapahit<sup>64</sup> and the Dutch (Anshoriy and Tjakrawerdya, 2008). These speaking abilities and negotiation skills are also valuable when performing entrepreneurial activities, as illustrated by the quotations below:

*Our [traditional] markets are very lively. We love to speak loud, chit-chat, to persuade buyers. (P11)*

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<sup>64</sup> See the story in the previous section about the calf that fought the buffalo, as an illustration of the Minangkabau method for avoiding war.

*Minangkabau people are good traders because we are good at speech and persuading people.*  
(P13)

These quotations reveal how their speaking abilities help Minangkabau to sell their goods and show why they are considered good traders. Overall, the speaking tradition and training – combined with the matriarchal norm that means women’s opinions are valued – increase women’s ability to negotiate and build self-confidence. For these reasons, Minangkabau women are renowned as successful entrepreneurs in Indonesia (Buang, 2014).

In summary, the findings here suggest that elements of Minangkabau matriarchy, particularly matrilocality, leadership roles for women, and speech training and traditions, all contribute to building social capital for female entrepreneurs. The factors enable Minangkabau women to develop entrepreneurial skills and to see entrepreneurship as a legitimate and desirable career. Minangkabau women are exposed to entrepreneurship since early age. These conditions also facilitate building entrepreneurial legitimacy for women, which is elaborated upon in the legitimacy section (Section 6.2.1). From the institutional perspective, these social and cultural capital are derived from the normative pillar – the matrilocality and speech tradition- that also links to the cognitive pillars. These two practices and norms are institutionalised in Minangkabau society and seem to be taken for granted.

Globally, scholars and practitioners have investigated methods of incubating business startups and building entrepreneurial ecosystems (Audretsch *et al.*, 2018). Minangkabau have built their own business incubator with local wisdom of matrilocality or rumah gadang. The business spaces, management training, funding, networking, and so on, usually highlighted in business incubator programmes, are all available in Minangkabau, embedded in daily life as part of the matriarchal arrangement that includes *rumah gadang* and the gift economy. This practice allows Minangkabau to develop capital for entrepreneurship and has made them renowned ethnic entrepreneurs amongst people of either gender. Next the institutional barriers will be discussed.

### **5.2.3 Institutional barriers**

The final theme extracted from the dataset is institutional challenges to growth. It was reported that matriarchal arrangements resulted in human resource constraints, which hindered further growth. The main reason for this was the men performing *merantau* or the cultural migration,

discussed in sub-section 5.2.1 on community poverty. Merantau can motivate the Minangkabau women to start a venture, but it has also been found to limit the business' growth.

The lack of men in West Sumatra is evident in the Indonesian population census (BPS 2011), which records a sex ratio of the Minangkabau in West Sumatra below 1 (0.97), with an excess of females in the province. In contrast, the sex ratio of the Minangkabau in other provinces is above 1 (BPS 2011), indicating male-dominated migration or *merantau* outside of West Sumatra. Furthermore, the male deficit in West Sumatra is considered higher than that recorded in the population census, as temporary migration is not reflected there.<sup>65</sup> According to Indonesian statistics, someone is considered to have migrated if they have left the region for more than 5 years (BPS, 2015). Therefore, the population census does not reflect much of the male outflow from Minangkabau. Some of this is portrayed in the Indonesia migration census, but those figures do not include any migration that occurred fewer than six months before the census (BPS, 2015). The 2015 migration census found that male net migration in West Sumatra was -405,966, compared to a female rate of -384,841. This means that 405,966 males and 384,841 females left West Sumatra in 2015 (BPS, 2015), which is believed to be an underestimate of the true figures.

As discussed previously, *merantau* triggers many women to start their entrepreneurial journeys. However, during business expansion, *merantau* can become a barrier for women. As previously noted, women may prefer a copreneurship to run their business during a period of growth, but this is not possible when her husband is away performing *merantau*. Furthermore, a larger workforce may be required to expand, which is impossible if large numbers of men from the village are away performing *merantau*. As a result, women may be necessary to delay business expansion until the men in the family return. This situation is described below:

*Sometimes, we cannot fulfil big orders because there is no workforce when the males in the village are away on merantau. (P15)*

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<sup>65</sup> The Indonesian population census is based on the household census. It records the number of males and females in a household, regardless of whether that person was actually in the region when the census took place (*de jure method*). The man's household is likely to be registered in West Sumatra because his wife and children will be living there during his period of migration outside of the province. Therefore, the man's movements (and the male deficit) are not fully captured in the population census.

*I need male workers to work the night shift, but we do not have any [explaining why she cancelled her plan to open another pharmacy]. (P6)*

*I plan to add another pool and guest house, but it has been suspended because my husband is away and my son is in military training. Maybe next year. (P4)*

*I bought more cars, but we do not have enough drivers. (P12)*

These quotations depict various circumstances in which women have been obliged to suspend their business expansion due to a lack of staff or their husband's absence. Some women seek to recruit new employees from another village or clan, but this is not always successful because other men are also doing *merantau*. Another option is to recruit people from the neighbouring provinces – such as Riau and Jambi – because some Minangkabau historically live there as part of the Pagaruyuang kingdom. However, as suggested in the migration census above, this remain challenging because a limited workforce is available in the neighbouring province. Minangkabau who resides in neighbouring provinces usually have established lives and businesses and are unwilling to return to West Sumatra.<sup>66</sup>

Since 2016, an ongoing attempt has been to bring workers from Java Island to Minangkabau via a national transmigration programme. However, according to an interview with a government official, local governments – such as regencies and municipalities in Minangkabau – have not offered any new land for transmigration placements since 2018. Due to the decentralisation policy, Neither the central nor the provincial government can interfere in these matters. From the perspective of the central and provincial governments, they can understand this decision. The local government seeks to protect customary or ancestral land and local people's rights, making it difficult to bring people in to work in Minangkabau. Thus, labour shortages remain a challenge in Minangkabau today, especially for women who must stay and run their businesses in Minangkabau whilst overseeing their ancestral property. It implies that the labour-depleted community as the institutional barrier is primarily linked to the normative and cognitive pillars, the cultural practice of *merantau*. The government's regulative pillars, such as centralisation or decentralisation policy, cannot tackle or influence this issue.

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<sup>66</sup> Interview with the West Sumatran government official.

#### **5.2.4 Discussion and Conclusion**

This study found that the Minangkabau matriarchy affects women's entrepreneurship in two ways. First, it supports women's entrepreneurship by creating contextualised entrepreneurial motivations and an enabling environment. Second, it also found that matriarchy hinders women's entrepreneurship through its institutional barriers. These themes are similar to the Javanese patriarchy. However, some themes in patriarchy is built upon different second-order themes of patriarchy. It implies that matriarchy and patriarchy impact women's entrepreneurship in different ways, which is expected in this thesis.

Like Javanese patriarchy, the entrepreneurial motivation in Minangkabau is due to the necessity, opportunity or the combination of those two factors. Echoing the findings in patriarchy, the entrepreneurial motivations in Minangkabau also link to femininity. However, in the Minangkabau matriarchy, femininity is affected by women's roles and positions in the broader community instead of women as individuals. For example, Javanese society prescribed regarding women's careers, space, and expected behaviour (see national women's code). In Minangkabau, the women's role has a cultural framework (*Bundo kanduang* and *Limpapeh rumah gadang*) that expects women to contribute to society.

As proposed in the introduction, Matriarchy has built an enabling environment for women's entrepreneurship. The egalitarian norms construct Minangkabau women to have a respected and strategic position. It enables women to make decisions, including to start a venture. In addition, the matriarchal arrangement provides Minangkabau women with the social and cultural capital allowing the women to start a business. This study found a Matriarchal arrangement to provide Minangkabau women with the power and resources to start their entrepreneurial journey. This finding aligns with previous research that shows that the agency's ability to exert power and access resources makes entrepreneurship possible for women (Tlaiss and Kauser, 2019).

The finding in matriarchy that is not found in the patriarchy dataset relates to the *merantau* or male migration. The practice of *merantau* serves as the motivation to start a business and becomes an

institutional barrier because merantau leads to a depleted labour community. The study of migration and entrepreneurship usually highlights the impact of migration on the entrepreneurial success of the migrant (Thomas and Inkpen, 2013). Migration also becomes a foundation of the research on ethnic entrepreneurs (Trupp, 2015). However, migration and entrepreneurship research rarely touches on the issues of those being left and how entrepreneurship evolves after being left for the migration. It could be a future research avenue, especially for the regional development study.

It is also found that in Minangkabau, the normative pillars highly affect femininity. It is due to two reasons. First, the nature of an egalitarian community and gender equality in Matriarchy has influenced the local government of Minangkabau (West Sumatera province) for not having any regulations or policy rules specifically designed for women's entrepreneurship. Secondly, the regulations imposed by the central government are linked with patriarchal values due to the nature of patriarchal central government. The Minangkabau people perceive these regulations from the central government as not in line with matriarchal values. Hence, the regulative pillar is often poorly received and institutionalised within the Minangkabau society. This phenomenon confirms Stark's (2013) work that the persistence of Minangkabau matriarchy amidst the patriarchal arrangement in the national level is due to the patriarchy not being permeated into the core of matriarchal institutions. This phenomenon also confirms that the normative pillar or informal institutions will be taking over without the formal/ regulative pillar (Williams, Williams and Vorley, 2017), as happened in Minangkabau. Finally, the normative and cognitive pillars highly influence women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau. The institutional asymmetry between Minangkabau matriarchy and the Indonesian patriarchal state, especially asymmetry in the regulative pillars, has made the matriarchy persist.

### **5.3 Discussion and Conclusion**

This subchapter brings together research findings from the matriarchal and patriarchal society to answer the first research questions: How is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?



It is found that matriarchy and patriarchy as the institutions have constructed entrepreneurial motivation, enabling environment and institutional barriers, as discussed in the discussion and conclusion of each dataset (section 5.1.4 and section 5.2.4). It confirms previous research that institution as context simultaneously provides opportunity and boundaries (Ahl and Nelson, 2010; Welter, 2011; McAdam and Cunningham, 2021).

This study focuses on gendered social structure, particularly on patriarchy that prioritising masculinity over femininity (Walby, 1990), and matriarchy that is recognised to be egalitarian toward gender and put women in a respected position in society (Goettner-Abendroth, 2017). Borrowing conceptualisation of institutions from (Scott, 2014; Ogutle, 2021), matriarchy and patriarchy in this study is conceptualised as the institutions; space where entrepreneurship takes place, and causal mechanism that interact with agent to construct and reconstruct gender and entrepreneurship. In addition to findings from Minangkabau and Javanese institutions as elaborated in Section 5.1 and 5.2, having two contexts allow this study to compare and contrast the finding and advance our knowledge, that opportunity and boundaries faced by female entrepreneurs could be different in every context.

For example, women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau and Javanese are motivated by the femininity led by matriarchy/ patriarchy. It is in line with previous research in entrepreneurship and gender study, that norms and value will shape women's entrepreneurship (Ahlstrom and Bruton, 2002; Engle, Schlaegel and Delanoe, 2011; Ahl and Marlow, 2012). However, it is also found that femininity built differently in different context. The study in Minangkabau and Javanese societies bring the empirical evidence that femininity in these two contexts is constructed differently even though these two tribes are in one national legislation, Indonesia. Hence the fostering factors of entrepreneurship such as motivation and enabling environment are different, thus eventually shape the entrepreneurship and venture differently (will be discussed further in Legitimacy and Isomorphism). Likewise, it is found that matriarchy and patriarchy set institutional barriers for female entrepreneurs. These barriers are different in Minangkabau and Javanese. For example, the institutional barrier due to depleted labour society in Minangkabau will not be found in Javanese, because no cultural framework mandates Javanese men to perform cultural migration/ merantau, unlike in Minangkabau.

Therefore, context in entrepreneurship study is not only a place where entrepreneurship should be controlled, such as in most quantitative studies. Instead, context is part of the entrepreneurship story (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014), and context influences the dynamic mechanism that shapes entrepreneurship (McAdam and Cunningham, 2021). Hence, context needs investigation and recognition as a significant factor influencing entrepreneurship. Considering context while studying entrepreneurship will allow us to advance the entrepreneurship theory by contrasting and competing findings from different contexts. At the policy and practice level, understanding context could lead to a more grounded support and policy formulation. For example, by including cultural approaches in policy formulation and programs, to understand what really happens in that area, rather than copy and paste a standardised policy or programs that might be not relevant in another context.

As mentioned above, studying entrepreneurship in different contexts allows us to contrast and compare the findings and advance our knowledge in this area. With that in mind, themes from each dataset are compared and analysed to understand the women's entrepreneurship phenomena in a matriarchal and patriarchal context. The summary and comparison of themes arising from both datasets is provided in Table 5-5 below.

*Table 5–5 Institutional pillar themes summary and comparison*

Aggregate Dimensions	Matriarchy				Patriarchy			
	Second order themes	R	N	C	Second order themes	R	N	C
Contextualised Entrepreneurial Motivation	Society-sponsored femininity		√	√	Society-sponsored femininity		√	√
	-				State-sponsored femininity	√		
	Community poverty		√	√	Feminised poverty	√	√	√
Enabling environment	Minangkabau matriarchal egalitarian norms		√	√	-			
	Minangkabau social and cultural capital		√	√	-			
	-				Institutional-based resources		√	√
	-				Prevalent informal economy	√	√	√

Start-up phase Institutional barriers	-				Patriarchal resource allocation		√	√
Grow-up phase institutional barriers	-				Gender-segregated industry		√	√
	-				Patriarchal resource allocation		√	√
	-				Patriarchal discriminative regulations	√		
	Labour depleted society		√	√	-			

Note: R = Regulative pillar, N = Normative pillar, C = Cognitive pillar

As mentioned in Table 5-5 above, patriarchy and matriarchy impact women's entrepreneurship by creating contextualised entrepreneurial motivation, enabling an entrepreneurial environment, and setting up institutional barriers. Interestingly, the combination of the institutional pillars and on what pillars this institution is primarily resting differs between the Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy.

In the Javanese patriarchy, the regulative, normative and regulative pillars contribute to shaping the entrepreneurial motivation, the enabling environment, and institutional barriers. The finding is slightly different in Minangkabau matriarchy in that the regulative pillar is not perceived as shaping women's entrepreneurship. There are three explanations for this, first, by borrowing Scott's (2014) assertion that the acceptance of the actor (by the other actors) could affect the creation and adoption of the institution. This study in Minangkabau matriarchy attests that the state-nation, as the actor, is not welcomed in Minangkabau due to political and historical animosity of Minangkabau toward the central government (see Appendix 5.2). It makes the regulation brought by the central government difficult to enforce in Minangkabau (West Sumatera province). In the absence of the regulative pillars in Minangkabau, because the regulative pillars brought by the government is not adopted in Minangkabau, the normative and cognitive pillars of matriarchy take over (Williams and Vorley, 2015). Hence, the construction of entrepreneurship in Minangkabau primarily rests on normative and cognitive pillars.

The second explanation accounts for the concept of asymmetric institutions (Williams and Vorley, 2015; Williams, Williams and Vorley, 2017). The alignment between pillars is important for the institution in shaping which pillar will take the primacy (Scott, 2014; Williams and Vorley, 2015). In this study, the regulative pillar brought by the patriarchal central government is not aligned with the matriarchal value of Minangkabau. This misalignment between regulative patriarchal pillars with the normative matriarchal and cognitive has caused the regulative pillars not to take primacy in shaping Women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau. This phenomenon confirms Stark's (2013) work, that the persistence of Minangkabau matriarchy amidst the patriarchal arrangement in the national level is due to the patriarchy not being aligned with matriarchy and cannot permeate into the core of matriarchal institutions. This finding contributes to extending the research on the asymmetry of institutions and entrepreneurship (Williams and Shahid, 2014; Williams and Vorley, 2015). The trigger of the asymmetry institution is not only due to misalignment between the informal-formal institutions or among the institutional pillars. The misalignment in different levels of institutions, i.e., patriarchal state versus matriarchal subnational level, can also cause the asymmetry of institutions and impact entrepreneurship differently to other contexts where the institutions are symmetrical. Whilst the legitimacy of the policy to support women's entrepreneurship is often questioned (Arshed, Chalmers and Matthews, 2018), it is attested in this study that the symmetry between normative, cognitive and regulative pillars will make a regulation is more accepted or institutionalised (Scott, 2014). Therefore, the symmetry between regulative pillars with the cognitive and normative pillars should be considered in formulating the regulation or policy. The policy could adopt some cultural elements in the formulation and implementation to align with the normative and cognitive pillars and gain legitimacy and support from the targeted audience.

The third explanation of the regulative pillar's absence in influencing women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau by investigate the influence of context on how the actor interprets, evaluates and influences the legitimacy of the policy to support women's entrepreneurship. Ahl and Nelson (2015) asserted that policy to support women's entrepreneurship sometimes creates 'otherness' or 'female deficit' discourse that makes women not want to participate in women's entrepreneurship support programs. Ahl and Nelson's work took place in a patriarchal setting, echoed in the Javanese patriarchal dataset. However, it is found that the Minangkabau/ West Sumatra local government has different takes on women's entrepreneurship policy. As the actor engaged in formulating

policy, Minangkabau local government is influenced by the matriarchal value, seeing women as having equal positions and opportunities with men. The local government of West Sumatera province argues a policy or regulation to support women's entrepreneurship can be gender discrimination. There is no specific program designed for female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau. Hence, no regulatory aspect is specifically designed to influence women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau. Therefore, actors who formulate policy and actors to whom the policy is targeted to adhere to the cultural framework. Again, it highlights the importance of context in shaping entrepreneurship.

Another interesting finding is that femininity in Minangkabau and Javanese is built upon different affect. It is found that the Minangkabau enforces femininity through positive affect, such as appreciation and respect for women (i.e., women as *Bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang*). The Javanese enforce femininity through shunning and shame (i.e., discrimination, the national women's code, and Javanese philosophy). These negative and positive affects are the elements of normative pillars that impact behaviour (Scott, 2014). Even though normative pillars affect women's entrepreneurship in both societies, the implications also differ due to the different types of affect.

The conformity with the ascribed femininity through the positive affect makes female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau feel connected with their role and culture and proud to do their entrepreneurial journey, as Scott (2014) suggested. Female entrepreneurs become an aspiring career for Minangkabau women. Minangkabau women run their ventures in the open and do not worry that their entrepreneurial journey will abandon their main role because becoming entrepreneurs can be their main role. In Javanese, entrepreneurship provide conformity with the ascribed femininity through shaming women who work outside the house. Therefore, Javanese women do not feel confident running their venture. Their entrepreneurial journey often concealed by making it as an informal business or part-time business, to be fit with the femininity and worry to be shunned or punished if entrepreneurship makes them forget their main role as Javanese women (*sumur-dapur-kasur*). In the end, it will lead to a different legitimacy route and isomorphism process between female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau and Javanese that causes Javanese female entrepreneurs to be in a disadvantaged position. The takeaway of this finding is that society can favour women's entrepreneurship when the ascribed femininity is built upon

positive affect. It is inline with previous studies that female entrepreneurial propensity is higher in a society that gives power to women (Shahriar, 2018). The policymakers could implement this stance. For example, by formulating policies that appreciate femininity instead of formulating policies to tackle female deficits.

The last highlight in comparing women's entrepreneurship in matriarchy and patriarchy is whether entrepreneurship is a strategy to change the circumstances or to maintain the status quo. The current stream of entrepreneurship research highlights entrepreneurship as a strategy to change the institution, labelled as the institutional entrepreneurs (Bruton, Ahlstrom and Han-Lin Li, 2010). In line with that, research using the place perspective highlights that women entrepreneurs are important in making a better place to live (Hanson, 2009). The feminist perspective often portrays entrepreneurship as a social change (Calais, Smircich and Bourne, 2009). Likewise, entrepreneurship is recognized as a strategy to challenge gender norms and practices (Ritchie, 2016; Bianco, Lombe and Bolis, 2017). The similarity of those research is the stance that women's entrepreneurship is a strategy to change something. It is plausible because most of the research occurred in a patriarchal context where women tried to challenge the ascribed femininity or patriarchal structure (Ritchie, 2016; Barragan, Erogul and Essers, 2018). This discourse confirms in the Javanese dataset that Javanese women are doing entrepreneurship to channel women's suppressed agency and to improve women's lives.

On the other hand, the Minangkabau dataset shows that entrepreneurship does not always change the structure. It is found in this study that entrepreneurship is to maintain women's strategic position as *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang*. It complements our understanding of the phenomenon of institutional entrepreneurs (Aldrich, 2010; Aldrich and Ruef, 2018) that women engage in entrepreneurial activity as a strategy to maintain the status quo.

In summary, this chapter answers the research question that matriarchy and patriarchy affect women's entrepreneurship through motivation, environment, and barriers. The primacy pillars that impact women's entrepreneurship in matriarchy and patriarchy differ. It is due to the acceptance of the actors and the institutionalisation process, the asymmetry institution, and how the actor interprets and practises the institutions. It shows the importance of the context and the interaction between institutions and actors. The implication of these differences is reflected in the legitimacy

route and isomorphism process that are different in Minangkabau and Javanese. It will be discussed next.

## **Chapter 6:      Legitimacy and Female Entrepreneurs in Matriarchy and Patriarchy**

This chapter presents the research findings relating to the question, how do female entrepreneurs differently pursue and gain legitimacy under matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements?

As discussed in the previous chapter, three pillars of institutions affect women's entrepreneurship. It is found that the primacy pillars that affect entrepreneurship in matriarchy and patriarchy are different. It then differently impacts the process of gaining legitimacy in respective institutions. In this context, Legitimacy is defined by Suchman (1995, p. 574) as a "generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions".

As discussed in the literature review, research on legitimacy usually highlights the process of gaining legitimacy and where the legitimacy comes from. In line with that, the themes arising from the matriarchy and patriarchy dataset are moral legitimacy, cultural cognitive legitimacy, and pragmatic legitimacy. After Suchman (1995), pragmatic legitimacy is defined as legitimacy gained by meeting the stakeholders' interests. Moral legitimacy is derived from the stakeholders' judgement of one's actions, conforming to ideals (Suchman, 1995). Cultural cognitive legitimacy is adopted from Suchman (1995) as a taken-for-granted legitimacy or support by the cultural framework. The themes are also labelled, considering whether the authorities confer legitimacy (Suchman, 1995; Tost, 2011; Scott, 2014) or are self-conferred (Bitektine and Haack, 2015), implying the macro and micro level of the legitimacy process.

This chapter follows the main premise of this PhD thesis that matriarchy and patriarch influence women's entrepreneurship differently, which is also a premise in this chapter. In addition, this chapter also follows previous studies that show that women in a patriarchal context often engage in an entrepreneurial journey to change the structure or challenge current norms (Ritchie, 2016; Barragan, Erogul and Essers, 2018). s

The female entrepreneurs in the Minangkabau matriarchy highlight their perspective on changing the business landscape or the legitimation process when they operate in a wider area or outside the



Minangkabau. Their matriarchal norms conflict with the wider patriarchal norms outside Minangkabau. This phenomenon signifies the questions of institutional change and agency raised by Battilana, Leca and Boxenbaum (2009, p. 67) that if ‘our norms and collective beliefs are institutionally determined, how can human agency be a factor in institutional change? It will be further discussed in each section. The themes summary related to legitimacy is provided in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1 Legitimacy themes summary and comparison

Aggregate themes	Matriarchy	Patriarchy
	Second order themes	Second order themes
Legitimacy process	Cultural legitimacy	-
	Pragmatic legitimacy	Pragmatic legitimacy
	Moral legitimacy	Moral legitimacy

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section will analyse the legitimacy process from the patriarchy dataset; the second section analyse the legitimacy from the matriarchy dataset. The last section is the discussion and conclusion.

## 6.1 Women’s entrepreneurship and legitimacy in patriarchy

This section will highlight four findings from the dataset. First, legitimacy in Javanese patriarchy consists of moral and pragmatic legitimacy. Second, legitimacy in a patriarchal society concerns the person’s and venture’s legitimacy. It implies the different multilevel elements of legitimacy. They can be pursued simultaneously but sometimes through different legitimization processes. Third, the type of pursued legitimacy is different in different life cycles. In the start-up phase, women’s entrepreneurship is evaluated through the appropriateness criteria or the moral legitimacy. It assesses whether entrepreneurship is good or bad and fits with the norms/not. During the growth phase, female entrepreneurs pursue pragmatic legitimacy. Last, it is found that Javanese female entrepreneurs pursue legitimacy in what they perceive as a stable institution.

### **6.1.1 Moral legitimacy**

Participants from patriarchal society highlights the importance of moral evaluation in gaining legitimacy. Especially when they were starting the business. Borrowing the type of legitimacy from Suchman (1995), this legitimacy is labelled as moral legitimacy. It concerns whether entrepreneurship is in accordance with the ideal norms in Javanese and/or the right thing to do.

According to participants, judging whether entrepreneurship is right or wrong (as in moral legitimacy, Suchman 1995) is tricky to assess. It is because the Javanese patriarchal value does not favour women to work outside the house. Hence, any paid work women do is deemed unacceptable or morally illegitimate in Javanese society. However, at the same time, entrepreneurship is seen to be suitable for Javanese women because it could facilitate women's ability to earn money from home (see Section 5.1.1 –entrepreneurial motivation).

Regarding whether entrepreneurship is acceptable or right (moral legitimacy), Participants mentioned two sources of legitimacy. First, a self-conferred legitimacy where the participants evaluate themselves. It is labelled as the individual propriety-based legitimacy. Second, society evaluates women's entrepreneurship and confers legitimacy. It is labelled as the society's propriety-based legitimacy. It implies that Javanese female entrepreneurs seek to gain moral legitimacy from multiple evaluators. That will be discussed below.

#### **Individual propriety-based legitimacy**

Female entrepreneurs in Javanese society assert that they often evaluate whether being an entrepreneur is acceptable, against their values and a wider belief/ norm. The evaluation is based on the identity that the participants want to convey to the public and or/if the venture they have established is acceptable according to Javanese values. For example, Section 5.1.1 on contextualised entrepreneurial motivation discussed a female entrepreneur who started a venture to avoid working as an employee due to her unideal marital status (on behalf of the Javanese value). In this circumstance, the participant evaluates the consequence of her becoming an entrepreneur is better for her and others than if she works as an employee. It is expressed below:

*I am better this way, open this art and dance training. People now call me business owner. That is better rather than previously people call me teacher and questioning my moral because my marital status does not fit to be a teacher (Y19) - (context – see nikah sirri or unregistered marriage at section 5.1.1)*

In addition to evaluating the consequence of being an entrepreneur with the other type of work, a participant also self-conferred moral legitimacy by comparing between them opening a business and not working at all.

*I should work like this (selling fried chicken) rather than I do not work and ask money from somebody else (Y23).*

Participants also evaluate moral legitimacy if entrepreneurship could hinder or support their role as women. Again, what participants consider as a role is influenced by social value, for example, Javanese femininity as expressed below:

*I believe that being an entrepreneur will make me a better wife or mother because I can work from home –(Y12).*

*Culturally, Javanese women are not required to work. So, at the beginning I convinced myself that to start a business is correct. It is not a ‘work’ as they usually call ‘work’ (Y20).*

This study confirms that Bitektine and Haack (2015) assert that the individual or micro-level legitimacy evaluation is not done in a vacuum. As the quotes above, participants evaluate the legitimacy of what they believe/ claim as their value. For example, the Javanese femininity or patriarchal values. According to Bitektine and Haack (2015), it is a result of social interaction. However, it should be highlighted that even though personal value could be a proxy of collective value, self-conferment or individual propriety-based moral legitimacy plays a strong role for the participants in deciding to continue, grow or dismiss the business. It is quoted below:

*Before I start a business, I must be sure it will bring a good cause. If I find that being an entrepreneur is not good for me, my family, or society, I may not continue. As you can see this business is still running, which means it brings good cause (Y11).*

As shown in several quotes above, sometimes individual propriety-based legitimacy is evaluated by assessing if entrepreneurship could fit the aspired identity/ self-image. Interestingly, entrepreneurial identity is not a prevalent theme in this study. For example, the above quote highlighted by the participant is that she pursues entrepreneurship to avoid the identity of a 'jobless person' or 'beggar' or to be an ideal wife or mother. This phenomenon can be linked to the previous chapter on contextual entrepreneurial motivation, which states that the cultural framework or state and society-sponsored femininity highly influences motivation and identity construction in Javanese. Javanese women do not evaluate themselves toward an ideal portrayal of an entrepreneur; instead, they evaluate the legitimacy of the femininity framework. This finding can be an alternative perspective to see the relationship of legitimacy, identity and gender. Swail and Marlow (2018) attest that feminine identity does not always support an emerging entrepreneurial identity. However, this PhD thesis finds that femininity can contribute to women's entrepreneurial moral legitimacy.

The explanation for this phenomenon can be attached to the work of Bitektine and Haack (2015), who argue that the legitimacy process under the stable social order is due to 1) the institutionalisation of organisation structure and practice and 2) the institutionalisation of legitimacy judgment. In this study, female entrepreneurs' individual judgement contributes to institutionalising patriarchal structure and practice. Javanese female entrepreneurs are evaluated (and self-evaluated) using the Javanese femininity derived from patriarchal values. Hence, entrepreneurship in Javanese fulfils the first condition of stability of social order; entrepreneurship institutionalizes the patriarchal structure. It also fulfils the second condition of institutionalisation of legitimacy judgment, as it can be attested that the individual's judgement then becomes a collective consensus. The collective consensus or the society's propriety-based legitimacy will be discussed next.

### **Society propriety-based legitimacy**

In addition to the individual propriety-based legitimacy, participants mentioned that society also confers legitimacy based on evaluating whether entrepreneurship is right for a woman. Javanese society has standards regarding what is deemed the ideal Javanese woman, or in this study, is labelled as society and state-sponsored femininity (see Section 5.1.1). Participants stated that

Javanese society generally approves women's entrepreneurship because it supports some elements of Javanese femininity. For example, the philosophy of *sumur, kasur, dapur* (implies women to stay at home or have domestic responsibilities). Hence, moral legitimacy is assessed by society, for example, by evaluating whether entrepreneurship facilitates women to work from home or have flexible working hours that cannot be achieved if women work as employees. Moral legitimacy is also conferred by society by assessing whether starting a venture will make women neglect their main role mandated in the national ethics code. It is expressed below:

*I started a business at home after I resigned. So I guess it is a suitable choice according to Javanese value. The previous one (work as employee) is deemed to be wrong by society so this one (to start a business) must be a correct one (Y11).*

According to participants, the challenge in pursuing moral legitimacy arises when the business starts growing, because what previously makes entrepreneurship flexible and can be operated from home may differ in the grow-up stage. It is because more working hours or space are needed, so they have to be done outside the house. It is expressed below:

*My mother-in-law asked me to resign from my job and instead start a business from home. I agree. But you know, as an employee I worked from 9-17, but as a business owner I work longer hours. I will wait when she (mother-in-law) or my family say it is wrong to continue the venture, and maybe I'll cease the business. I hope it will not have happened (Y12).*

When moral legitimacy is difficult to gain, Javanese women seek other types of legitimacy. For example, pragmatic legitimacy is achieved by registering their business or joining relevant business associations. Pragmatic legitimacy will be discussed next. Consequently, there is the probability that moral legitimacy will not be gained along with pragmatic legitimacy, and vice versa. According to participants, this asymmetrical legitimacy will not cause a problem, and they are okay with only having one type of legitimacy as long as there is no social protest (even though, according to Bitektine and Haack, [2015], it is better to have legitimacy from multiple evaluators).

Another interesting finding that was briefly discussed in the previous subsection is, amidst the discourse in the literature that women struggle to gain legitimacy due to the masculinity standard (see literature review 2.3.1 and 3.1.4), the Javanese participants constantly mentioned that they

evaluate the moral legitimacy by comparing entrepreneurship to the ideal portrays of Javanese women or Javanese femininity, instead of to the ideal portrayal of entrepreneurship (see Finding section 5.1.1). From the institutional perspective, this phenomenon can be linked with the degree of institutionalisation. The Javanese philosophy that prescribes Javanese femininity is more institutionalized in Javanese society compared to the portrayal of ideal (masculine) entrepreneurs. It can be attested from the several Javanese philosophies and national codes to regulate women's behaviour, but not so many norms or regulations on entrepreneurship (see Appendix A 5.1.2 Yogyakarta entrepreneurship).

In conclusion, the Javanese women can easily gain moral legitimacy conferred by themselves or by the society as the Javanese cultural framework offers norms that line with women becoming entrepreneurs. Javanese female entrepreneurs and society enact women's entrepreneurial moral legitimacy by comparing entrepreneurship with Javanese femininity, not the portrayal of the ideal (masculine) entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship helps Javanese women fit into what is considered appropriate women or appropriate work for women. However, I will also carefully and critically review this finding for further study. This finding of the legitimacy process in Javanese patriarchy as a stable process may also account for industry selection. The majority of the participants targeted female customers, such as female textile, footwear, food, home décor, etc. Therefore, more investigations in various industries are needed to see if this phenomenon holds in different settings.

### **6.1.2 Pragmatic legitimacy**

In addition to moral legitimacy, the dataset reveals that legitimacy is obtained by meeting the interests of other actors, known as pragmatic legitimacy. The dataset shows that pragmatic legitimacy is conferred by others instead of self-evaluated as in moral legitimacy. This phenomenon is understandable because, according to Suchman (1995), there is an exchange between two parties in evaluating pragmatic legitimacy. In this thesis, pragmatic legitimacy consists of two themes, formal legitimacy and informal legitimacy, to express the source of this legitimacy. The word 'validated' is used here to follow Bitektine and Haack (2015), who consider validation or collective consensus as the element of pragmatic legitimacy in addition to appropriateness.

In this study, two levels of legitimacy are found. They are pragmatic legitimacy for the entrepreneurs and pragmatic legitimacy for the ventures. It adds the nuance of current knowledge on the multilevel legitimacy process, that in addition to the multi-level legitimacy evaluators; the individual and the collective consensus (Bitektine and Haack, 2015), the multi-level legitimacy could also exist in the object that is evaluated by the person and the venture, as attested in this study. The entrepreneurs' pragmatic legitimacy aligns with Pushkarskaya *et al.*, (2021) to see personal reputation will positively affect legitimacy. This database's medium, small, and micro enterprises often rely on one person: the owner-manager or business owner. Hence, some entrepreneurs' legitimacy is proxied into the venture and vice versa. For some participants, the legitimization process between the person and the venture could happen simultaneously. While for some other participants, gaining pragmatic legitimacy for people has a different process or route from the venture's legitimacy. This is because the evaluators of legitimacy for the individual could differ from those for the ventures. It is also because the person's legitimacy criteria could vary from the venture's. This phenomenon supports Bitektine and Haack's (2015) assertion that multiple legitimacy evaluators could exist. It is in line with Bitektine and Haack's assertion (2015) that different evaluators could have different legitimacy judgments toward a similar object, which is also found in this thesis.

In addition, it is also found that pragmatic legitimacy is mostly pursued during the grow up phase, unlike the moral legitimacy that is pursued since female entrepreneurs start their ventures. It will be discussed next.

### **Formal legitimacy**

Formal organisation-validated legitimacy in this study refers to the legitimacy the formal organisation confers. Participants mentioned that other parties or society take their venture' seriously when a formal organisation acknowledges it. From the individual level, pragmatic legitimacy can be attained when the entrepreneur or founder can signal her capability in managing the venture. This signal can be that the entrepreneurs accomplished managerial training, win an award, or are recognised by other formal bodies. Then, as mentioned above, the pragmatic legitimacy earned by the individual can be mirrored in their venture. It is expressed below:

*When my design was featured in NatGeo (magazine), my company received a lot of order (Y14).*

*I am a lecturer in veterinarian, I put my academic title and position on my business card, so people knows that I have a capability and qualification in this industry. It works, customers said they feel assured to buy chicken and duck from me because they know I was formally trained in veterinarian (Y5).*

The two quotes above imply the alignment between the entrepreneur's legitimacy and the venture's legitimacy that their business automatically gains legitimacy when the entrepreneurs earn one. However, there are circumstances that which a person's legitimacy cannot be claimed for their business. This is illustrated below:

*I am fully certified as a leather craft person, but I need a license for my products as well, such as a quality assurance that my leather products comply with the industrial standard. I can display that license logo in packaging (Y3).*

*I am a design interior and furniture makers for a long time. People in Jogja know who I am. But when I decided to work with the government, my personal reputation means nothing. So many paperwork I have to complete to be a government's supplier (Y16).*

These quotes imply that in some industries, the person's and venture's legitimacy should be obtained in different routes.

The strategy to gain legitimacy for the venture can be to get a license from related ministries or authorities, be a member of a business association, get a recognition award, get connected or acknowledged by international bodies, sell products in a well-known digital marketplace or supermarket chain, etc. A participant mentioned that her venture became more famous and got more orders after winning an award from international bodies (Y14). Another participant highlights that the business partner considered her venture legitimate after she registered the company (Y7). The ability of the company to secure a bank loan or external investment is also considered by the participants as a form of pragmatic legitimacy, as a signal that their venture has fulfilled certain standards.



The participants highlight that they start to pursue pragmatic legitimacy during the grow up-phase because that legitimacy is required for business expansion. Some of the strategies to gain legitimacy from the formal organisation are illustrated below:

*My school is the first school in Yogyakarta to be taught in English. At first, it did not grow very well. Two years later, when the school was successfully accredited for the Cambridge curriculum, people started to see this school as the ‘real’ international school, not only as a school delivered in English (Y10).*

*I started to sell my product at home and online. After that, I tried to sell it to the famous supermarkets. People told me that it would be a waste of time, the profit margin would be low, and there was no guarantee that it would be sold well. I insisted because displaying my products in the supermarket would tell people that my product is good quality (Y2).*

These quotes imply that the formal organisation-validated legitimacy can be attained in different ways and from various bodies. This legitimacy from a formal organisation also plays a significant role for a company or entrepreneur, especially as the evidence of the venture’s credibility, and it is needed to signify their presence in the market or for the business expansion. It is in line with previous research (Suchman, 1995; Bitektine and Haack, 2015), that legitimacy can signal validity and credibility.

However, as can be attested, to earn pragmatic legitimacy can be a long and tedious journey. Some female entrepreneurs cannot earn pragmatic legitimacy from the formal organisation whenever they want. This is related to the institutional challenge discussed in Section 5.1.3, which is that some regulations can be discriminatory to females. For example, the regulation for the bank loan collateral, or the norms about whose name (husband or wife) to be put in the registration deeds, and the concern on breaching the Javanese femininity that women will spend more time outside the house if they make the business formal, no longer as the side job. It is discussed below:

*I cannot expand my business bigger. It will need a new building and registration which is difficult to gain. It is not about the money; the income can cover the new building, but I will work and spend more time outside the house (Y12).*

*I cannot export my product, I do not have a license, and I will not get the license. There are so many things to be considered (Y3).*

Participants generally agree that a pragmatic legitimacy, especially a venture's pragmatic legitimacy, conferred by formal legitimacy significantly impacts the company's growth and sustainability. It also allows the company to access various resources. Some entrepreneurs, knowing obstacles to build pragmatic legitimacy through the formal organisation, pursue pragmatic legitimacy through the informal organisation, that is easier to pursue. It is elaborated next.

### **Informal legitimacy**

According to the participants, pragmatic legitimacy can also be pursued through informal organisations or fellow entrepreneurs, particularly female entrepreneurs. As discussed in Section 5.1.2 on the Enabling environment, female entrepreneurs often mobilise resources through the female circle, or the informal organisation consists of several female entrepreneurs. This female circle provides financial resources, training, and networks. It can confer legitimacy or signal society that a company within its circle is legitimate or part of the industry. It is usually done, for example, by mentioning each other's products on social media or by cross-selling each other's products. It is expressed below:

*I asked my fellow entrepreneurs to mention my company's name in their company's Instagram post. It is like an acknowledgement for my company (Y13).*

*To build a collaboration with other brands could be beneficial. It makes both companies look trusted (Y20).*

In addition, this female circle affirms that someone is a legitimate entrepreneur by acknowledging them as entrepreneurs, for example, by calling each other by the title 'boss' or *juragan* (business owner).

*I feel like I am a real entrepreneur when I am with my entrepreneur's friend because we call each other 'boss'. I know we are just having fun, but it feels I am a real business owner when someone call me with the title of my work, such as boss (Y22)*

In line with the sub-theme of the female circle in an enabling environment, the participants also mentioned that the informal organisation pragmatic legitimacy is also useful in a male-dominated industry. Participants mentioned some difficulties in building a reputation or legitimacy because the venture's owner is a female or because it targets female consumers. For example, below:

*To establish my venture in Yogyakarta book publishing industry, I have to asked female publishing from other provinces to promote my business. The publishing company in Yogyakarta is very masculine. They produce books for male customers and the company is owned by male. So, they saw me as not part of them, and left me out of joint promotional event (Y12).*

*Computer and IT is a 'male-dominated' industry. It isn't easy to earn trust and be considered part of the business association because I am a female. I rarely join their informal party or meetings (Y14). But the good thing is, my customer is retail customers and they do not need to know the owner's gender. I position my company as a gender-neutral company. For example, I use yellow and orange in our logo, instead of blue or pink. I also hire male software developers so I can use them to get connected with this male industry.*

Moral legitimacy can be easily attained by meeting the Javanese's femininity; the informal pragmatic legitimacy often has an 'ideal' entrepreneur, who is often not female. However, this thesis finds that female entrepreneurs in Javanese society utilise several strategies to gain legitimacy. Firstly, in moral legitimacy, the female entrepreneurs gained legitimacy by conforming to the environment, which is why these female entrepreneurs conform to Javanese femininity. Secondly, in a wider environment, when Javanese femininity is not aligned with the norms in the industry, these women seek to choose an environment that fits with them. For example, rather than compete in the B2B 'masculine' IT industry, the participants serve the niche market of the B2C IT industry that does not need to reveal the owner's gender. Or choose the industry that the buyer is women, for example, women's fashion industry. These two strategies are highlighted by Suchman (1995).

The third strategy from Suchman (1995) is not found in the database to gain legitimacy by manipulating the environment or to change institutional change (institutional entrepreneurs as in Bruton, Ahlstrom and Han-Lin Li, 2010). It could be the case that the patriarchal value is highly institutionalised in Javanese society. It creates conformity pressure on individual evaluators,

particularly female entrepreneurs. Therefore, in this case, female entrepreneurs in Javanese society suppress their deviant opinions. For example, they avoid challenging discriminatory legitimacy processes and instead choose different environments that could accommodate and give them legitimacy (i.e., informal organisation or self-conferred legitimacy). Secondly, it could also be that the female entrepreneurs see the situation as valid and fit with the institutionalised patriarchal value, so they do not perceive the urgency to change the institutions (i.e., during the start-up phase, entrepreneurship supports women's role according to Javanese femininity).

With this, the legitimacy process in Javanese society seems to be under a stable institutional condition, which is not expected in this thesis. This finding needs more investigation to see whether this phenomenon happens across industries in Javanese society or just a dynamic in a particular industry.

## **6.2 Women's entrepreneurship and legitimacy in matriarchy**

Table 6-1 summarises that women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau matriarchy pursues moral and pragmatic legitimacy. In addition to these two, Minangkabau acknowledges cultural-cognitive legitimacy. Like the patriarchy, moral legitimacy in Minangkabau consists of individual and society's propriety-based legitimacy. Unlike in Javanese, the pragmatic legitimacy in Minangkabau only consists of formal organisation-validated legitimacy.

As discussed in the introduction and literature review, this study assumes matriarchy as a stable and favourable environment for female entrepreneurs. However, this study found that Minangkabau women face challenges in gaining legitimacy, particularly in the grow-up phase. The reason for this can be the scope/space of the business operation. Bitektine and Haack (2015) asserted that legitimacy can cut across levels. So far, Bitektine and Haack focus on the individual and collective level of the evaluators or judgment, assuming they are within the same spatial boundaries. This study highlights spatial differences or/ and the scope of the venture's operation may lead to a different legitimacy process. For example, a venture operating at a regional level may face different legitimacy processes when operating at a national level. In the matriarchal dataset, the business expansion means Minangkabau women may operate or sell their products outside the Minangkabau region. It means different norms may apply, and it undergoes legitimacy

processes different from what is usually done in the home region. It will be further discussed in the next section.

### **6.2.1 Cultural-cognitive legitimacy**

Cultural-cognitive legitimacy refers to ‘inevitable’ legitimacy conferred or backed up by the cultural framework. According to the participants, cultural-cognitive legitimacy is the most important legitimacy. It provides female entrepreneurs and society with a shared belief that women are accepted to be entrepreneurs and that entrepreneurship is good for women. Hence, without evaluation and meeting anybody’s interest, legitimacy is already there for Minangkabau female entrepreneurs.

This legitimacy process covers multi-level elements. First, from the macro perspective, the wider system or the collective judgment supports that entrepreneurship is for women. It implies the endorsement of the cultural role of *Bundo kanduang and limpapeh rumah gadang* that allow, motivate, and shape them as entrepreneurs (see Section 5.2.1 contextualised entrepreneurial motivation). Hence, the discourse of entrepreneurs as a masculine activity is not a norm in Minangkabau. Entrepreneurship is culturally/institutionally a legitimate career for Minangkabau women, a taken-for-granted belief and practice that even the participants cannot elaborate how this belief is started, or why people question whether women can be entrepreneurs. It is expressed below:

*Of course, matriarchy allows women to start a business. Why cannot women start a business?*  
(P10)

Minangkabau women are institutionally supported to be entrepreneurs that they do not feel to ask permission from other individuals, such as family members or husbands, as expressed below:

*I wanted to start a business. Then I started a business. Why should I ask my husband's permission?*  
*It is my money, my building, my land* (P4)

Or regarding legitimacy acquired by registering a business using a woman’s name, which is a norm in Minangkabau, and participants do not know other practices (i.e., for comparison, Javanese women register their business in their Husband’s name):

*It is registered using my name. Why not? Then whose name if not mine? (P15)*

From the participant's responses, it can be concluded that female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau does not need any validation or justification to start their businesses. They just open a venture because they want to open a venture. The legitimacy of entrepreneurship conferred by matriarchal value is deeply rooted in their cognitive system. Hence, no question is needed if women can be entrepreneurs or not. Cognitive-cultural legitimacy is not something they have ever worried about before.

Second, from the individual or micro perspective, women believe they are legitimate entrepreneurs because their skills and identity as entrepreneurs have already been embedded since childhood (See Section 5.2.2 social and cultural capital). So, entrepreneurship is also a taken-for-granted career in the eye of the individual female, and they do not need a reason to be one.

*Of course, I have a business. My mum, my grandmother, my great-grandmother built this huller. It is just like that (P3)*

*Everybody in my village is a trader. I have trained since I was a baby. It is just a path I should take. I can be a doctor or something else if I want to, but to be a businesswoman is every Minangkabau woman's usual job. Nobody will question why I am a Minangkabau woman is an entrepreneur (P5).*

This finding extends the knowledge of female entrepreneurs and legitimacy. Previous research usually highlights female entrepreneurs' struggle to obtain legitimacy (Swail and Marlow, 2018), but that is not the case in Minangkabau's matriarchal society, especially for the legitimacy backed up by the cultural-cognitive element. In addition to the cultural-cognitive element, Minangkabau women consider other legitimacies, such as moral and pragmatic legitimacy.

### **6.2.2 Moral legitimacy**

Minangkabau participants expressed that they also evaluate their entrepreneurial journey based on right or wrong, moral evaluation, or labelled as moral legitimacy. Similar to the Javanese dataset, moral legitimacy in Minangkabau concerns whether entrepreneurship is under the ideal norms or the right thing to do. Also similar to the Javanese dataset, there are two sources of moral legitimacy

in Minangkabau. First, a self-conferred legitimacy where the participants evaluate themselves. It is labelled as the individual propriety-based legitimacy. Second, society evaluates women's entrepreneurship and confers its legitimacy. It is labelled as the society's propriety-based legitimacy. It implies that Minangkabau female entrepreneurs seek to gain moral legitimacy from multiple evaluators.

### **Individual propriety-based legitimacy**

Minangkabau female entrepreneurs self-evaluate themselves whether entrepreneurship is right or wrong. In particular, participants attest that they evaluate the appropriateness of entrepreneurship against the matriarchal value. For example, as discussed in Section 5.2.1, Minangkabau women is influenced by society-sponsored femininity in starting their venture. According to this, women start their entrepreneurial journey to fulfil the cultural role of *bundo kanduang* and the *limpapeh rumah gadang*. As expected, Minangkabau women see entrepreneurship as right because it is aligned with their norms and values, as also discussed in cultural-cognitive legitimacy. The difference between moral legitimacy and cultural cognitive legitimacy is that there is an evaluation process for moral legitimacy. Participants mention that they do not find any difficulties in evaluating moral legitimacy as the matriarchal norms are well institutionalised and rooted in individuals and society for a long time, so they use this matriarchal norm to assess entrepreneurship (see Appendix A 5.2 contextual setting). So, the matriarchal value automatically grants Minangkabau women a cultural-cognitive legitimacy and gives a positive evaluation for women to self-conferred the moral legitimacy of entrepreneurship.

### **Society propriety-based legitimacy**

In addition to the self-conferred moral legitimacy, Minangkabau participants also evaluate propriety through the collective consensus or society's propriety-based legitimacy. The data set shows that the rest of the society shares the individual judgement in Minangkabau. Hence, the individual's judgement becomes the collective consensus. For the Minangkabau people, women's entrepreneurship is right and in line with the matriarchal value. This alignment between individual and collective evaluation makes women's entrepreneurship supported and prevalent in Minangkabau, as discussed in section 5.2.1 contextualised entrepreneurial motivation. It is a

collective consensus that women in Minangkabau are legitimate to be entrepreneurs, as illustrated below:

*Everybody sells something in Minangkabau, mostly women. You can see it in the [traditional] market. The majority of the sellers are women because Bundo kanduang responsible to clan. Also, shops [outside the market] or other businesses are owned by women. And there are products sold on the internet (P6).*

*To be an entrepreneur is okay. Women can be anything they want. Every woman in my rumah gadang runs a business (P11).*

This finding on the moral legitimacy of Minangkabau women's entrepreneurship is similar to the finding in the Javanese dataset. Moral legitimacy in Minangkabau and Javanese contributes to many women-owned businesses in Minangkabau and Javanese (KemenPPPA, 2012). However, it can be attested that entrepreneurship is morally legitimate in Javanese as a strategy to cope with prohibition and subordination (i.e. to work outside, to work on a particular career, work part-time). In the Minangkabau, entrepreneurship is morally legitimate because it aligns with the women's respected societal position. It extends the knowledge we know regarding the institutional environment and affect, that moral legitimacy, similar to the cognitive pillar, can also be based on the different affection motive (Scott, 2014). It is understandable because, within the moral legitimacy process, there is the involvement of the cognitive pillars of the individual actor (Bitektine and Haack, 2015).

### **6.2.3 Pragmatic legitimacy**

Like the Javanese female entrepreneurs, the Minangkabau female entrepreneurs also seek pragmatic legitimacy. Minangkabau entrepreneurs pursue the pragmatic legitimacy through several formal organisations, such as registering their venture, applying for a license, patenting their product/ brand, etc. In addition, it is found that Minangkabau women pursue pragmatic legitimacy from the start-up phase, which is different from Javanese female entrepreneurs who, in this study, pursue pragmatic legitimacy during the grow-up phase.

This difference can be linked with the cultural-cognitive legitimacy discussed in the previous section. The Minangkabau female entrepreneurs have the privilege to be granted cultural-cognitive



legitimacy since the start-up phase of their venture. This cultural cognitive and moral legitimacy give a strong foundation for them to pursue the time-consuming and tedious pragmatic legitimacy since they started the business. In addition, the role of Bundo kanduang is in line with the Minangkabau (West Sumatra province) legislation, Minangkabau femininity and entrepreneurial value. With this alignment, Minangkabau women may attain pragmatic legitimacy because it fits the interest of the evaluators (i.e., local government, business association).

Some strategies utilised by Minangkabau female entrepreneurs to gain pragmatic legitimacy is expressed below:

*I registered my brand and my logo when I started my business. The product can be the same, but the brand must be distinctive (Y7).*

*As a pharmacy, of course it needs a permit and license. I obtained it before I ran this pharmacy (Y6).*

Most female entrepreneurs in the start-up phase expressed no difficulties in gaining pragmatic legitimacy. Especially because they know the procedure and have gotten help from the related local authorities, as expressed below:

*If you visit the SME's centre, there will be people to help you design the logo. If they design your business logo, it contains the picture of Rumah gadang to highlight it as the product form Minangkabau (P7)*

In general, the participants convey that it is easy for them to register the business, which means it is easy for them to attain pragmatic legitimacy. As mentioned above, the symmetry between the normative, cognitive, and regulative pillars of institutions is proxied in the alignment among the legitimacy elements and evaluators. Borrowing the assertion from Bitektine and Haack (2015), this alignment between elements and evaluators implies that the pragmatic legitimacy process happened in the stable condition in Minangkabau.

However, participants convey the challenge of pursuing pragmatic legitimacy during the grow-up phase, a similar issue raised by female entrepreneurs in Javanese patriarchy. It is conveyed below:

*People in the trade ministry (central government) seem to have trust issues with women or what? They were not convinced that I could satisfy the export requirements (P3).*

*I visited a research centre at a university in Bogor (outside Minangkabau) to test my new product. They only speak to my husband like I am invisible or know nothing about the product. They should know all of the paperwork is on my name, I am the owner. It never happens here (in Minangkabau) (P1).*

The quotes above imply that these females face cultural or norms differences when interacting with evaluators outside the Minangkabau. The explanation for this phenomenon can be linked to dispositional legitimacy, where the evaluators confer legitimacy to those with dispositional attributes that fit the institution's interest (Suchman, 1995). During the growth phase, the business expansion may happen outside the Minangkabau or involve people from outside Minangkabau where matriarchal value is not practised. For example, to open a new branch in other provinces or to export a product influenced by patriarchal values. It means the evaluators' interest from outside Minangkabau might differ from that of the Minangkabau evaluators. The dispositional attributes expected from the entrepreneurs could differ between evaluators from the Minangkabau and outside Minangkabau because different values and norms influence them.

In Minangkabau, as discussed in cultural -cognitive legitimacy, these women are taken for granted by society and themselves. They are entrepreneurs. In Minangkabau, they are in an environment that grants them cultural cognitive legitimacy. They do not need to explain themselves to become entrepreneurs. However, this is not the case outside Minangkabau, a non-matriarchal institution. For example, as illustrated in the quote, the patriarchal central government does not have a cultural framework that could confer cognitive legitimacy for female entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, as discussed in the literature review, entrepreneurship is perceived as a masculine activity, and ideal entrepreneurs are usually portrayed as men (Marlow and Patton, 2005; Ahl, 2006), especially in the patriarchal context. With that, the Minangkabau women may face difficulties in earning pragmatic legitimacy because women entrepreneurs may not have dispositional attributes that fit with what is portrayed as the entrepreneur in a patriarchal society. Hence, the legitimacy process could be longer or different from what Minangkabau women usually experience in Minangkabau.

These differences in matriarchal and patriarchal values inside and outside Minangkabau, according to Minangkabau women make them need to prove themselves as a legitimate entrepreneur to be able to gain legitimacy for their venture, a similar route that Javanese women, as discussed in Section 6.1. It then is seen by the Minangkabau women as a challenge or barrier in pursuing legitimacy during the grow-up phase, especially when it involves evaluators from outside Minangkabau or if the legitimacy process is done outside Minangkabau. It is an interesting phenomenon worth further investigating how a matriarchal value is challenged outside the Minangkabau and affects the entrepreneurial journey. Further study is also needed to determine if this spatial scope of legitimacy can differ for other industries not attached to physical boundaries, such as businesses using digital platforms or the Internet.

As mentioned in the literature, the differences between the evaluative framework and the actor's judgment, according to Bitektine and Haack (2015), can start a process of legitimacy change or trigger an unstable environment. Unfortunately, the dataset cannot capture if the participants seek to change or challenge the legitimacy process or judgment outside the Minangkabau. However, if they do so, it needs a large number of them who voice it, or they borrow big actor voices such as media or NGOs so it can be a ripple and initiate the change process as suggested by Bitektine and Haack (2015), another future avenue for the research.

### **6.3 Discussion and Conclusion**

This subchapter brings together research findings from the matriarchal and patriarchal society to answer the first research question: How does patriarchy/matriarchy affect women's entrepreneurship legitimacy? Based on the findings, the answer to this question is that matriarchy and patriarchy impact the pursued legitimacy in different business life cycles. It is summarised in Table 6-2 below:

Table 6-2 Summary of the legitimacy finding.

	Minangkabau Matriarchy		Javanese Patriarchy	
	Start-up	Grow up	Start-up	Grow up
Source of legitimacy				
Institutional conferred	√	Y/N	x	x
Evaluators conferred	√	√	√	√
Self-conferred	√	√	√	√
Type of legitimacy				
Cultural cognitive legitimacy	√	Y/N	x	x
Pragmatic legitimacy	√	√	Y/N	√
Moral legitimacy	√	√	√	√
Object of legitimacy				
Individual	√	√	√	√
Venture	√	√		√
Scope/spatiality of legitimacy				
Local	√	√	√	√
Across region	X	Y/N	x	√

As summarised in Table 6-2, it is found that female entrepreneurs in matriarchy and patriarchy pursue legitimacy from multiple evaluators to solidify or validate their position as entrepreneurs. The type of pursued legitimacy can be different in different business life cycles. The object of legitimacy can be the female entrepreneurs or their ventures. It is also found that legitimacy could be attached to a scope or spatial boundary.

From the analysis in Sections 6.1 and 6.2, it can be concluded that the most significant difference of legitimacy between the Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy is the cultural-cognitive legitimacy. It is granted to Minangkabau women but not to Javanese women. Along with the matriarchal arrangement where women have a strategic cultural role and equal position to men, Minangkabau matriarchy provides the cultural framework to confer a taken-for-granted cultural-cognitive legitimacy. With this, Minangkabau women can be entrepreneurs, and there will be no question about it from society. Previous research found that women in a patriarchal society should pursue legitimacy and often find it challenging (Bourne and Calás, 2013; Swail and Marlow,

2018). Hence, this research extends knowledge of women's entrepreneurship and legitimacy by finding that legitimacy could be easy to gain for female entrepreneurs when there is a cultural framework, such as in a matriarchal society.

The other important finding is regarding when female entrepreneurs start pursuing legitimacy. As summarised in Table 6-2, moral legitimacy is acquired or self-conferred in both societies since the start-up phase. This phenomenon can be linked to how legitimacy is measured and how easy it is to be measured (Schoon, 2022). Moral legitimacy links to individual orientation (Suchman, 1995; Schoon, 2022). According to participants, moral legitimacy is easy to pursue and measure because it could involve their judgment. During the start-up phase, where women's venture faces the challenge of limited resources (Dalborg, 2015) and liabilities of newness (O'Toole and Ciuchta, 2020), moral legitimacy is an option to pursue.

Pragmatic legitimacy is also been pursued since the start-up phase in Minangkabau. In Javanese patriarchy, it is usually pursued during the growth phase. It links to resources owned by the entrepreneurs. As discussed in Section 5.2.2, enabling environment, women entrepreneurs in Minangkabau have the privilege to own ancestral property and inherit family assets. Those can be used to pursue pragmatic legitimacy. In addition, female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau have been granted cultural-cognitive legitimacy since the beginning. Therefore, since the beginning, this cultural-cognitive legitimacy can be used to access resources and networks and serves as the foundation to pursue a more complicated pragmatic legitimacy process such as registration, licensing, etc.

On the other hand, female entrepreneurs in Javanese patriarchy are not granted cultural role that privilege them to family or ancestral assets and cultural-cognitive legitimacy. Lack of resources and legitimacy for themselves as entrepreneurs could be a challenge during the start-up phase that deter them from pursuing pragmatic legitimacy during the start-up phase. Therefore, in Javanese patriarchy, pragmatic legitimacy tends to be pursued during the grow-up phase. It is when entrepreneurs are confident that pursuing a complicated pragmatic legitimacy is worth their time and other resources, or when they feel that they are themselves the legitimate entrepreneur.

This phenomenon reveals another legitimacy element worth investigating: the unit analysis of legitimacy (Schoon, 2022), elaborated by Bitektine and Haack (2015) as the macro and micro level of legitimacy. This thesis, echoing Swail and Marlow (2018), finds that women pursue legitimacy

for themselves and their ventures in a patriarchal setting. It implies there are two different objects of legitimacy, and they are on different units of analysis: Individual and venture/ organisation. This thesis finds that women entrepreneurs in Minangkabau do not mention anything about individual legitimacy. This is understandable because, as discussed in Section 6.2.1, they are granted cultural-cognitive legitimacy following their cultural role as *Bundo kanduang and Limpapeh rumah gadang*. So, Minangkabau female entrepreneurs do not have to pursue individual legitimacy and can immediately pursue the venture's legitimacy. As discussed in Section 6.2.1, the Javanese women must pursue both individual and venture legitimacy, and it can be either parallel or one after another. It implies that the legitimacy process for women in Javanese patriarchy could be more complex than for women in Minangkabau matriarchy because it involves two objects, individual and organisation.

However, it is also found that the simplicity of the legitimacy process for female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau could be disrupted when the business expansion is done outside Minangkabau or involves actors from outside Minangkabau. Outside the Minangkabau, the legitimacy could be evaluated using a non-matriarchal framework. It means their privilege of cultural-cognitive legitimacy is not available in a non-matriarchal setting. With that, female entrepreneurs from Minangkabau follow the legitimacy process similar to those from a Javanese society. This phenomenon reveals a spatial element of legitimacy that is underexplored in entrepreneurship studies, but has been discussed in regional or urban studies (Vermeulen, Laméris and Minkoff, 2015). A previous study that highlights gender, spatiality and entrepreneurial legitimacy could be the work of Bourne and Calás (2013), which highlights women's strategy to establish their entrepreneurial identity through the separation of 'work' and 'home', a classic discourse in gender and entrepreneurship (see Section 2.2.3). However, amidst the call to study entrepreneurship and context (Welter, 2011), the entrepreneurial legitimacy across neighbourhoods, regions, or any spatial context affected by different institutions is still awaiting further exploration.

Following the discussion on the spatial element of legitimacy, this thesis also found that the challenge faced by Minangkabau women when pursuing legitimacy outsider their matriarchal institutional/spatial boundaries implies a legitimacy process within an instable situation. Borrowing Bitektine and Haack's (2015) framework, these Minangkabau women's legitimacy evaluation could become deviant against a macro-level patriarchal evaluation framework. Whether

this ripple could lead to an institutional change could be a future research avenue to study matriarchal female entrepreneurs who operate in a patriarchal context. However, Claude (1966) asserted that changing the institutions to earn legitimacy does not necessarily regard the actors (i.e., women entrepreneurs) as the usurper or status quo. According to Claude (1966), it is instead a process of convincing themselves of the rightness of their position. As expressed in quotes in Section 6.2.3, when expanding outside Minangkabau, these women question and convince themselves that they are legitimate entrepreneurs within the patriarchal structure. Thus, it can be said that matriarchal female entrepreneurs operating or expanding their business to a non-matriarchal context can be the start of an institutional change.

In summary, the institutions of matriarchy and patriarchy play important roles in shaping the legitimacy of female entrepreneurs and their ventures. Matriarchy and patriarchy provide a framework and exert forces that female entrepreneurs must obey to be deemed legitimate. On the other hand, female entrepreneurs also exercise their agency in pursuing legitimacy. It's done by selecting the environment that could provide legitimacy or adjusting themselves to fit the environment. It aligns with Cesaroni, Sentuti and Pediconi (2021) that female entrepreneurs will transform their identities in response to their environment to gain legitimacy. Through this legitimisation or institutionalisation process, it is found that the homogenisation process has occurred. It is discussed in the next chapter on Isomorphism.

## **Chapter 7: Isomorphism and Female Entrepreneurs in Matriarchy and Patriarchy**

This chapter presents the research findings relating to the question, what is the influence of patriarchal and matriarchal institutional arrangements on identity construction by women entrepreneurs? How and why does this differ?

It has been discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 that matriarchy and patriarchy interact with female entrepreneurs in creating barriers, enabling environment and motivation. It also shapes the legitimacy process available to them. During the process of gaining legitimacy, one of the options is to conform to the environment. This conformity pressure is derived from the norms, values, shared knowledge and understanding. It eventually homogenised female entrepreneurs in respective societies. This phenomenon is known as institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this thesis, the isomorphism process is particularly concerned with identity isomorphism, or the ‘coherent identity inclusive of shared expectations and accountabilities’ (Hughey, 2014, p. 267). As shown in the data structure (Chapter 4), themes relating to isomorphism consist of sources of isomorphism forces and the role schema. The comparison of themes that arise in the Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy dataset is summarised in Table 7-1 below.



Table 7-1 Isomorphism themes summary and comparison

Aggregate Dimensions	Matriarchy	Patriarchy
	Second order themes	Second order themes
Isomorphism force	Society -coercive Isomorphism	Society -coercive Isomorphism
	Business cluster- mimic Isomorphism	Business cluster- mimic Isomorphism
	-	State -coercive Isomorphism
Role schema	Matriarchal – cultural warrior narrative	-
	Business cluster – community entrepreneurs’ narrative	Business cluster – community entrepreneurs’ narrative

In general, female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau and Yogyakarta undergone coercive and/ or mimetic isomorphism. The respective patriarchal/ matriarchal institutions influence both. In line with the finding relating to entrepreneurial motivation and legitimacy, it is also found that isomorphism in Yogyakarta is affected by the patriarchal cultural/social expectation and (patriarchal) state. In Minangkabau, isomorphism is only linked to matriarchal cultural/social expectations. The matriarchal society does not consider the state to affect their venture’s structure. It will be elaborated further in the next subsection. These patriarchal/matriarchal frameworks also influence how these females identify as entrepreneurs or what type of entrepreneurs they are.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section discusses findings from the patriarchal dataset. The second section analyses the isomorphism process in the matriarchal setting. The last section is the discussion and conclusion.

## **7.1 Women's entrepreneurship and isomorphism in patriarchy**

The dataset shows the isomorphism process of female entrepreneurs in Javanese patriarchy, which exists at the venture and individual levels. At the venture level, the isomorphism homogenised the chosen industry, location of the venture, working hours or working pattern, and the scale or size of the venture. This isomorphism process is found to be related to the patriarchal cultural framework, or in this thesis, is labelled as Javanese femininity.

The datasets show that Javanese society's isomorphism links to the legitimacy process. These female entrepreneurs or women-owned ventures become similar to gain legitimacy by trying to fit in with the patriarchal institution's moral, pragmatic, and cognitive cultural aspects. It implies that the isomorphism process is the interaction between the macro level structure (matriarchy or patriarchy) and the micro level (female entrepreneurs' agency). The dataset shows three forces affecting institutional isomorphism in Javanese society (See Table 7-1). These forces are labelled as 1) Society -coercive Isomorphism, 2) Business cluster- mimetic isomorphism, and 3) State -coercive isomorphism. In addition to the themes of isomorphism forces, the dataset also reveals some similarities or characteristics derived from the role schema. It will be elaborated next.

### **7.1.1 Isomorphism forces**

#### **Society -coercive Isomorphism**

During the interview, Javanese female entrepreneurs mentioned that in starting the business, they consider the Javanese norms (as discussed in society-sponsored femininity in Section 5.1.1). One consideration concerns Javanese norms that require women to stay at home and be able to tend to their families. It makes them choose a working space near home or at home. Of 22 participants, 18 started their venture as a home-based business. The other four have business locations near home or in the same neighbourhood. The area was chosen not because it was to get near the target market/ raw materials/ cheap rent/selling price. Instead, participants choose a location near their children's school or home to fulfil their obligation dictated/ shaped by the Javanese femininity. It is expressed below:

*I started my business from home (Y22)*

*It is more accepted for women to stay at home, so it is good to produce hijab from home (Y24)*

*These women doing batik at home so they can oversee the children or do the chores (Y4)*

*We do not have dedicated office space. I made the decoration in the garage. I'll rent a workshop for one or two weeks for a bigger or more complicated order. If I expand my workshop, I will consider buying a building behind this house (Y7).*

Furthermore, it is also found that the location, business scale and working hours are designed around the norms of Javanese femininity, where women are not expected to work, or males are expected to be primary breadwinner (See Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3). According to Javanese norms, women's income is deemed complementary or not a primary family income source. Therefore, these women spend as little as possible for the initial capital because they do not expect a massive income in return. By the initial capital, participants mentioned the money spent for business venue and registration. It is expressed below:

*It is not a primary income, so we just used the garage for production and the spare room upstairs as storage. It saves money (Y2)*

*The problem with women's ventures is that they do it part-time. It is not the main source of income or that's the norm here. Unless they are widow or breadwinners, the village's target [of quantity] is often not achieved because they stop working when they have enough money, let's say after producing ten corsets. They will resume production when they need the money (Y22).*

The quotes above imply that the Javanese norms regarding Javanese femininity have become a consideration in many aspects of women's ventures. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a coercive force of the patriarchal norms in homogenising women's ventures. By coercive, it is due to there being 'sanction' if Javanese women do not adhere to Javanese femininity or Javanese norms, as discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.1). Therefore, for Javanese female entrepreneurs, the isomorphism due to patriarchal institutional force is unavoidable. They have to shape or adjust their identity to fit social expectations.

This patriarchal coercive isomorphism explains the nature of home-based and informality of women's ventures in Yogyakarta. This finding aligns with previous research that women-owned business is associated with home-based businesses (Loscocco, Smith-Hunter and Smith-Hunter, 2004), and women choose a type of business that supports motherhood (Ekinsmyth, 2014). The

GEM report (GEM, 2022) found that cultural and structural aspects influence female entrepreneurs' skills, career choices, and industry choices. This study complements the GEM report to find that in Javanese patriarchy, cultural and structural aspects influence female entrepreneurs in choosing the venue for their venture.

### **State -coercive Isomorphism**

In addition to the isomorphism force from the Javanese patriarchal norms, it is found that the state contributes to homogenised women-owned ventures. It is done through two mechanisms. Firstly, the government gives incentives or endorsements toward a particular industry, leading female entrepreneurs to venture. Secondly, institutional barriers such as discriminative regulation have led women to avoid that industry and choose other industries with lower barriers.

***Endorsed industry*** – Th state - coercive isomorphism is institutionalised through one of them is, the endorsed industry. Before further elaboration, it is important to note that as discussed in section 5.1.1 (State-sponsored femininity), Indonesia and Yogyakarta regional governments are built upon patriarchal institutions. Hence, state and regional government policies are often built upon patriarchal values likewise the endorsed industry.

Due to a lack of resources and skills, female entrepreneurs rely on government support and programs. However, women's support and programs are usually prioritised to a particular industry that aligns with the government's strategic plan. For example, the government has a policy and regional strategic plan that maps what industry to support (Governor of The Special Region of Yogyakarta, 2019). In addition to the strategic plan, the government has policies and strategies for women's economic empowerment and gender mainstreaming policies. These policies list endorsed industries or businesses that are 'suitable' for women or can be done from home (KemenPPPA, 2012). For example, the traditional food industry (manufacture and retail) is listed because cooking aligns with Javanese femininity (*dapur –women to cook for family*). The government supports women planting and selling vegetables or fruit to fulfil family nutrition needs. Therefore, the participants mentioned that to earn support from government means these female entrepreneurs must run a business in an 'endorsed industry'.

It is mentioned below by the participants:

*The government suggested that we plant dragon fruit. It is said for export. Hence, all female farmers planted dragon fruit because we rely on government programmes. Male farmers can grow anything because they have skills and money and can get bank loans (Y3).*

*The government promotes craft as a prioritised industry. The technical assistance trained us to make handicrafts suitable for local and foreign tourists. We expect the government to help us to market the product so we comply with government arrangements (Y16).*

In addition to the national and regional level policies and programs, the endorsed industry is also institutionalised within state-sponsored organisations, such as PERSIT and Dharma Wanita (see Section 5.1.1). It is expressed below:

*I have to follow the PERSIT rules. I run a business that supplies goods for the organisation (Y8).*

The quotes above show the circumstances in which women engage in a venture endorsed or prioritised by the government or as suggested by state-sponsored organisations for wives of civil servants/ army/ police. It explains why women's ventures are homogeneous because they are concentrated in a particular industry and shaped according to government guidelines to get support. In addition, the endorsed industry, government programs, and/or policies to support female entrepreneurs adhere to patriarchal Javanese norms. Therefore, the homogenisation by the state, in line with patriarchal coercive isomorphism, has also influenced female entrepreneurs to run a venture in an industry or in a business model that is 'suitable for women' in a patriarchal society.

***Institutional barriers-*** Besides the endorsed industry through government policies/ programs, state forces isomorphism is also carried out through the institutional barriers discussed in Section 5.1.3. Participants highlight that discriminative regulations contribute to shaping their venture or keeping them in a particular industry. For example, due to a lack of assets for loan collateral (see Section 5.1.3 institutional barriers), most women apply for a non-collateral loan. Unfortunately, this non-collateral loan only funds low-risk businesses or a proven-to-be-successful industry. It is expressed below:

*Financial institutions have credit score ratings. For a non-collateral loan, they give a loan without collateral to a bankable business or business model with which the bank is already familiar. If an entrepreneur builds a new venture, product, or market that the bank is not familiar with, it's*

*difficult to get a non-collateral loan. That is why most women in this area run businesses that is already exist or similar to each other, because it is easier to get non-collateral funding that way (JGov2).*

This circumstance has forced women to choose or stay in a low-risk industry. This low-risk industry often has high competition because the barrier to entry is low. According to the interview with the government official (JGov2), traditional/heritage food manufacturers, sellers, and general retailers are considered low-risk and bankable industries. Hence, the number of ventures in the food industry and retailers are the largest in Yogyakarta, with most of them owned by women (BPS, 2018, 2020a).

In conclusion, the state and the patriarchal coercive isomorphism reflect the patriarchal institutions. Hence, they homogenise women's ventures in accordance and to fit in with the patriarchal institution. The difference between these two isomorphism forces is that the patriarchal-coercive isomorphism in this study is conceptualised to be derived from unwritten patriarchal beliefs or norms. The state coercive isomorphism is conceptualised to be carried out through formal or written forces. The impact of these forces will be summarised in the venture and entrepreneurs' characteristics.

### **Business cluster mimetic isomorphism**

Following the patriarchal coercive and state-coercive isomorphism, it is found in the dataset that some participants intentionally make their ventures similar to others. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) labelled this mechanism as mimetic isomorphism, a process where an organisation becomes similar in response to uncertainty.

In Javanese society, women's ventures tend to be similar when located near each other or within a business cluster. It is attested in this study during the observations in two Yogyakarta business clusters, Kotagede and Jeron Banteng (see Appendix 5.1.2 for the elaboration of the importance of these two business clusters in Yogyakarta's entrepreneurship landscape), and two traditional markets. The reason for this is due to the nature of informality in Yogyakarta that some entrepreneurs or ventures are not registered, or the venture or entrepreneurs' address in the database is often unreliable (This phenomenon is also witnessed by the researcher, as discussed in

Section 4.4 – Sampling and data collection). Therefore, communicating with the entrepreneurs using letters or visiting them based on the address in the database is deemed ineffective by the government (YGov1). During the interview, the government mentioned that it is easier to get in touch with entrepreneurs if the government visits a business cluster or a region where there are a lot of ventures (YGov1). Therefore, in Yogyakarta, most of the government's support programs or initiatives are usually introduced to entrepreneurs in a business cluster or the local entrepreneur's association.

However, not every venture has the resources or skills to carry out or join the government's program. It can be a case that the entrepreneurs consider the programs or business initiatives risky. For example, a participant mentioned that the government invited handicraft entrepreneurs in the Kotagede business cluster to join an internationalisation program (Y16). More established ventures may join this initiative because it could expand their market. However, taking into account the Javanese patriarchal norms, such as a woman is expected to stay at home, the woman is not the main breadwinner, and a woman's venture is part-time/ not a main family income, participants mention that they hesitate to join this initiative as it will be too risky or take too much time that will not be in line with their role as Javanese women. It is expressed below:

*The government has invited me to join an international expo. It was a good opportunity if I wanted to expand my business overseas. So far, I have buyers from Malaysia, I can have more international buyers if I join government program. But it will take too much of my time. My husband is also growing his business, so we agreed to focus on his business since mine is only a complementary [income] (Y22).*

*Mine is just a small business and a side job. I do not have the time and resources to design a new piece. Hence, I copy it from others (Y13).*

However, participants mention that when there is a role model, or they see other ventures are successful after joining a government program, they will follow the path as it makes the initiative or innovation seen as easier or less risky and will not take too much of their time to learn or practice. It is elaborated below:

*At first, only a few kiosks join the government programme to produce furniture for the European market. After they are proven successful, we can produce the same product or sell it to the same market. It is less risky to see participating businesses succeed (Y11).*

The quotes above imply the circumstances female entrepreneurs face: they do not have enough resources or skill to develop or innovate, or it will take too many resources that will disrupt the nature of the venture as side hustle or part time, and it is against Javanese norms. Hence, female entrepreneurs often rely on copying from other ventures to develop or keep up with the market demand or trend. It can be product, market, business process and soon. With this, the effort or resources allocated to their venture are still considered in-line with the social expectation to construct their business as part-time or complementary family income.

From the isomorphism literature, the circumstance faced by the Javanese female entrepreneurs is in line with Haveman's (1993) assertion that organisations will copy other organisations perceived as successful when entering a new market. This phenomenon is explained by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) as the mimetic isomorphism or homogenisation as the organisation's response to uncertainty. It is also found that mimetic isomorphism in Javanese society is carried out by replacing patriarchal norms and values with technical considerations. By technical consideration, for example, risk management, time to learn new skill, and efficiency. It in line with Haveman's (1993) assertion that organisation undergone mimetic isomorphism by replacing institutional rules with the technical consideration.

*There are dozens of Bakpia kiosks in this neighbourhood [Pathok]. They all look similar because we use numbers as the brand and yellow box. Initially, we copied the most successful brand, hoping customers would buy our product instead of the original one. But now it does not matter; the numbered brand and yellow box have become the identity of Bakpia made in this neighbourhood. There are no more originals and counterfeits. All of us are Bakpia Pathok with different numbered brands (Y2).*

In contrast to patriarchal and state coercive isomorphism, the business cluster mimetic isomorphism implies the agency of female entrepreneurs. They decide to shape the venture to what they see as efficient or technically feasible by copying the leader. However, it must be noted that the institutions highly shape business leaders. It is also worth noting that mimetic isomorphism is



often a take-for-granted process (Haveman, 1993), that the entrepreneurs copy it without much consideration or because there are not many selections to choose (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Therefore, it can be concluded that the isomorphism process of Javanese female entrepreneurs or women-owned ventures results from the interaction between the institutions and the social actors. However, this thesis found that the patriarchal institutions in the macro (nation/ state) and meso (society/ regional level) levels play a more significant role in homogenisation compared to the individual forces. It implies that the patriarchal institution in Javanese is a strong structure that could serve as the iron cage to shape women's entrepreneurship or women-owned ventures.

In summary, female entrepreneurs and or women-owned businesses in Javanese patriarchy were triggered by three factors: patriarchal coercive isomorphism, state coercive isomorphism, and business cluster mimetic isomorphism. These factors are linked and originated from the Javanese patriarchal institutions. As discussed above, one of these factors can trigger isomorphism, but these three factors can also be combined. Next, the impact of isomorphism in homogenising Javanese female entrepreneurs or women-owned ventures will be discussed.

### **7.1.2 Role Schema**

It has been discussed and shown evidence throughout this thesis that the Javanese patriarchal institution plays a significant role in shaping women's entrepreneurship. It motivates but also hinders women's entrepreneurship. It provides a legitimization framework but also boundaries to what is considered legitimate, resulting in exclusion for those who do not comply. Last, the Javanese patriarchy is also found to be a strong force in shaping and homogenising female entrepreneurs and women-owned ventures. This phenomenon is labelled as role schema in this thesis. It is conceptualised after Hughey (2014) as the roles that are 'bounded and intersubjectively shared understandings of race, gender, and class' (p. 273). It is found that the role schema has constructed the female entrepreneurial identity in a patriarchal society. Specifically, this role schema is narrated upon the narrative of business clusters and community entrepreneurs.

### **Business cluster – community entrepreneurs' narrative**

The isomorphism forced by patriarchal norms and the state has shaped Javanese female entrepreneurs and/or women-owned ventures to be clustered in particular industries and share

similar forms/structures, such as informal and part-time ventures in the low-risk industries. Participants also highlighted that homogenisation sets them apart from the ventures owned by men, leading to gender-segregated industries, as elaborated in Section 5.1.3 (institutional barriers).

Due to the coercive isomorphism forces, Javanese women's ventures clustered in low-risk and easy-to-entry industries such as apparel and food. Food and apparel industries are deemed appropriate for women because they reflect women's cultural role in Javanese society (*dapur-sumur-kasur/ to cook, clean, and fulfil husband's sexual needs*), and the production can be done from home. Hence, these industries are endorsed by the government by giving support or training to entrepreneurs in these industries (KemenPPPA, 2012). Yogyakarta's government supports the handicraft sector for the same reason as the food and apparel industry, particularly by developing the business cluster for these industries. The Indonesian statistic bureau reported that in Yogyakarta, there are 48,800 micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) in the food industry, or 43.04% of total MSMEs in Yogyakarta. The handicraft and clothing/ apparel industry accounts for 29,300 MSEMs, or 26.04% of total MSMEs in Yogyakarta (BPS, 2018). Unfortunately, due to the prevalent informality or high percentage of unregistered businesses in Yogyakarta, these data cannot reveal if women or men own MSMEs in these industries. However, the Yogyakarta government (YGov1) claimed that more than 80% of these ventures are run or managed by women as they are reported to be persons in charge (PIC) of the venture in local government database.

The state influences a role schema about the ideal sector for female entrepreneurs. Therefore, the identity or characteristic of female entrepreneurs in the patriarchal society is tied or constructed upon the business cluster entrepreneurs or community entrepreneurs. Female entrepreneurs perceive they are entrepreneurs when they do activities related to the business cluster initiatives or share similar characteristics to members of the business cluster or entrepreneurial community, as discussed in state-coercive isomorphism. First, It could be done by adjusting their individual or venture characteristics to fit the business cluster. For example, illustrated below:

*'I am the entrepreneur, a member of this [business] cluster. Like everybody else, I made clay jars with this [traditional] motive because the government asked us to do this for export.'* (Y16)

In addition to prescribed industry, the state and patriarchal coercive isomorphism have structured women's ventures to fit in with Javanese femininity (see Section 5.1.1 Society-sponsored

femininity and state-sponsored femininity). Hence, women's ventures in Javanese society shared similar characteristics, such as informal, part-time and in a low-risk industry, as the implication of the isomorphism that makes women's ventures and female entrepreneurs fit in with the patriarchal institutions. It is also found that Javanese patriarchy highlights the collectivist value, as discussed in 5.1.2, that one of the enabling environments for female entrepreneurs in patriarchy is the women's circle or the community. Therefore, the entrepreneurial identity is also constructed within the entrepreneurs' community, or females identify themselves as entrepreneurs when they have an entrepreneurial circle, such as illustrated below.

*Business, nowadays, especially when you are a woman, is usually community-based or a small group whose members have similar typical schedules. We have a business meeting after sending our children to school, and we finish before we pick them up from school (Y20)*

This narrative implies that female entrepreneurs in patriarchal society usually conduct their business in an industry generally 'allocated' for them or already have established businesses or role models. Therefore, their entrepreneurial identity is confirmed or legitimated in the same industry or activities as fellow female entrepreneurs. It is in line with Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn (2011) that nascent entrepreneurs construct collective identity to build legitimacy.

In summary, the characteristics of Javanese female entrepreneurs found in this thesis align with the conceptualisation of everyday entrepreneurship introduced by Welter *et al.* (2017). Everyday entrepreneurship, according to Welter and colleagues (2017), is to recognise the entrepreneurs who are not high tech - high growth gazelle or unicorns, are not backed up by venture capital and are not in the spotlight as 'successful entrepreneurs. Javanese female entrepreneurs are these everyday entrepreneurs. They are doing entrepreneurship to fulfil their cultural role/ prescribed femininity and to fit in with the patriarchal institutions. They prefer to follow government initiatives highlighting female entrepreneurs as home-based industries. In addition to that, they seek to mimic successful entrepreneurs so they can use the available collective identity. Hence, these female entrepreneurs do not seek advanced innovation or new industries to fit this identity. Javanese female entrepreneurs might not be seen as 'successful' and heroic. But they need to be recognised as entrepreneurs because they start a venture, no matter how small. They provide daily products such as food, beverages, traditional/heritage outfits and services. The venture has survived for a long time, even though it is not high growth and scale.

## **7.2 Women's entrepreneurship and isomorphism in matriarchy**

Like female entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta, the dataset shows that female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau undergo an isomorphism process at the venture and individual levels. The isomorphism process is found to be related to matriarchal institutions. Interestingly, the prescribed or endorsed industry is not mentioned much in Minangkabau datasets. It aligns with the finding discussed in 5.2.1 that the state does not have a significant role in motivating and enabling women's entrepreneurship in Minangkabau. Following that, isomorphism caused by state forces is absent in the Minangkabau dataset.

In the Minangkabau datasets, homogenisation occurs in several venture aspects such as youth training space, copreneurship, and diaspora network. Homogenisation is also found in the entrepreneurs or individual level in how these female entrepreneurs perceive similar entrepreneurial identities. This phenomenon can be linked to finding cultural cognitive legitimacy, as discussed in subchapter 6.2.1. It will be elaborated further in the next section.

Unlike the Javanese, Minangkabau participants do not highlight the industry to be homogenised. It means there are more industries where women can set up their ventures. The interviews also do not mention working hours, such as part-time and full-time. The venture venues are varied. Most are located at home or near home, similar to Javanese. However, the reason for choosing this venue is different. It will be discussed further in the next subsection.

The Minangkabau dataset shows two isomorphism forces: matriarchal coercive isomorphism and business cluster mimetic isomorphism. The theme state coercive isomorphism is absent in the Minangkabau dataset.

### **7.2.1 Isomorphism forces**

#### **Society -coercive Isomorphism**

Like Javanese female entrepreneurs, Minangkabau female entrepreneurs consider the Minangkabau norms in starting their venture (as discussed in society-sponsored femininity - Section 5.2.1). This isomorphism force is labelled as coercive, in line with DiMaggio and Powell's conceptualisation of coercive isomorphism (1983), that this pressure comes from the society's cultural expectation (society-sponsored femininity).

As discussed in Chapter 5, the motivation to start a venture triggered by femininity differs between Minangkabau and Javanese women. Whilst the female Javanese start a business to abide by the ‘stay at home and to be able tending family’ norms, Minangkabau starts a venture to fulfil their cultural role as *Bundo Kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang*; to bring prosperity to the clan/community and to provide the next generation with a better future (see page 176). As discussed in Section 5.2, the female entrepreneurs’ motivation to start a venture in Minangkabau is linked with the purpose of developing the community. For example, most participants mentioned that they built a venture (instead of working as an employee in a large company or outside the Minangkabau) to provide training and employment for the young person. It is because educating future generations is one of the roles of *Bundo kanduang* (see Section 5.2.1 Society sponsored Femininity and Section 5.2.2 Social and Cultural Capital). It eventually impacts the venture structure. Based on the interview and observations, the women-owned ventures in Minangkabau shared the similarity that these ventures are designed as the apprentice or training space for the young people: young Minangkabau work part-time in *Bundo kanduang*’s venture after school or during the weekend. It is expressed below:

*We must train young people so they have skills and do not focus on gadgets or just idle. It is common, or maybe mandatory, for young people here to help in workshops, rice field or restaurants after school (P8).*

*My grandma and dad wanted to empower and train young people. Once a week, dad and grandma went to the village and taught young people to make handicrafts. Once a month, Dad collected the products and sold them in the city. Dad will give the money to the young people on the next visit to village. I follow their path. Every weekend I brought three sacks of handicraft from the village and sell it in the city. With these arrangements, young people will be kept busy and do not do drugs. When they are older, they have the skills to set up their own business (P9).*

In line with these quotes, the observation during the fieldwork shows that the working hours in women-owned businesses in Minangkabau are divided into Morning and Evening. The workers are adults from 9 am to 1 pm, regardless of gender. The young people will work there from 4 -6 PM after school. This pattern can be found across industries or businesses. For example, manufacturing, tourism (restaurants, hotels, attractions), agriculture, and farms. This arrangement

is prevalent in Minangkabau but absent in Javanese datasets. It implies that training young people is part of daily life practice in Minangkabau and is reflected in the venture structure/ working hours. Unfortunately, the Indonesian Statistics Bureau do not have data on business ownership and gender in Minangkabau. Based on observations and interviews with the tribe leaders and government officials, Minangkabau men do not usually own ventures in West Sumatra. Due to inheritance arrangements and male cultural migration (*merantau*), Minangkabau men build their businesses outside Minangkabau or have copreneurship with spouses for their business inside Minangkabau (as discussed in Section 5.2).

The second aspect that the Minangkabau matriarchal institution homogenises is copreneurship. As mentioned above and discussed in Section 5.2.2, due to *merantau* and inheritance arrangements, Minangkabau men seek livelihood outside Minangkabau. Copreneurship in Minangkabau is where women own a business, and their husbands help or support a business partner or employee. It is a co-preneurship scheme not found in Javanese datasets but is prevalent in the Minangkabau dataset and normal in Minangkabau's daily life. Whilst the Javanese female entrepreneurs struggle to claim their position as a business owner (i.e., register the business using husband's name instead of their name and default occupation as 'housewives' on their National ID card), Minangkabau female entrepreneurs do not face this challenge. The Matriarchal arrangements provide a taken for granted legitimacy for women to be entrepreneurs or business owners (see Section 6.2.1 Cultural Cognitive Legitimacy and Section 5.2.2 Enabling Environment). The matriarchal arrangements also provide an egalitarian framework in that females can stand in an equal position with their husband in running a business or be the leader in their venture, helped by their husbands. The participant's quotes related to copreneurship can be found in Section 5.2.2 (page 184-185).

The diaspora network is the last venture aspect that the Minangkabau matriarchal institution homogenises. It is evident in the literature (Buang, 2014) and the datasets that Minangkabau women are known as entrepreneurs. However, as revealed in the interview, they are known as entrepreneurs in the local market of the West Sumatera province or the Minangkabau region. These women prefer to stay in Minangkabau to tend the ancestral property. The other reason is the legitimacy struggle due to the asymmetry of institutions inside Minangkabau, which rely on matriarchy and outside Minangkabau, which rely on patriarchal arrangement. Therefore, the pattern of women-owned venture in Minangkabau predominantly serves the local market. Due to

the practice of *merantau* or cultural migration, Minangkabau people are spread in every province in Indonesia (BPS, 2015). However, the ancestral land and property tied them to Minangkabau even though they are far away (Pierce Colfer, Gill and Agus, 1988; Nurdin and Rido, 2020). This kinship and cultural ties have shaped the network of Minangkabau women with the Minangkabau diaspora.

Minangkabau women need to expand the market outside. Minangkabau will utilise the Minangkabau diaspora network instead of leaving their village or struggling with legitimacy. This phenomenon is evident in the Minangkabau business cluster outside Minangkabau, which procures its products exclusively from the Minangkabau region or merchants. For example, in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, Pasar Tanah Abang is the largest textile centre in Southeast Asia, attracting almost 100,000 visitors a day. There are 80,000 kiosks in Pasar Tanah Abang, 80% of which are occupied by Minangkabau merchants (BPS, 2020). These Minangkabau merchants are mostly male and doing *merantau*, and they market the products sent from the Minangkabau region. It is expressed below:

*The male who is doing Merantau will help Minangkabau fellow to expand the market outside Minangkabau (PT1)*

*My wife does plan, design and production. To market it outside the Minangkabau,, we can ask relatives who stay outside (PT2).*

*I do the work from here. My sons or brothers will do that to deal with other regions such as Jambi and Bengkulu (P3).*

This network ties between Minangkabau local businesses that women and the Minangkabau diaspora dominantly own has made Minangkabau nationally well-known as ethnic entrepreneurs (Buang, 2014; Hastuti *et al.*, 2015; Armianti, 2018). This phenomenon is not found in Javanese society due to several reason. First the Javanese does not have cultural mandatory migration, hence the Javanese people does not migrate and spread as much as Minangkabau (BPS, 2015), hence less diaspora that can be utilised for the Javanese compared to Minangkabau. The second reason is the kinship relatedness between the Minangkabau people and the diaspora is high due to the matriarchal arrangements such as ancestral land and the concept of *ninik mamak* (see Appendix



5.2 dualism authority) makes diaspora still responsible to their hometown and community and tied them together. This phenomenon confirms the work of Khayesi, George and Antonakis (2014) and Verver and Koning (2018) that the element of kinship featuring relatedness, trust, altruism and reciprocity make people do business with a counterpart that has kinship network and will positively affect the business performance.

### **Business cluster mimetic isomorphism**

Similar to Javanese datasets, mimetic isomorphism is also found in the Minangkabau dataset. A process where an organisation becomes similar as a response of uncertainty (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Mimetic isomorphism in Minangkabau matriarchy is indirectly affected by matriarchal institutions, because the followers mimic other organisations that the matriarchal culture has shaped.

However, unlike the Javanese, the mimetic isomorphism in Minangkabau is not triggered by the government's support or programs. The explanation is that the regulative pillar does not become primacy in shaping Minangkabau entrepreneurship, as discussed in chapter 5.2. Likewise, the regulatory aspect of the Minangkabau government does not contribute significantly to the isomorphism process. Instead, the mimetic isomorphism in Minangkabau links with the Minangkabau social and cultural capital (section 5.2.2). Matrilocal and matrilineal arrangement have allowed Minangkabau women to live and own ancestral houses/ rumah gadang. With that, bundo kanduang or female entrepreneurs, have a venue to train fellow female entrepreneurs to make a product or share business knowledge. It also means helping a family or network member to open a similar business.

The matrilineal arrangement also results in a network amongst bundo kanduang or ancestral houses since they live close to each other or in a cluster of several rumah gadang (section 5.2.2). Therefore, the cluster of several rumah gadang evolved into a business cluster where training, production and sales occur. Within this cluster, it can be found that ventures are structured similarly to each other, produce similar products, and serve similar markets because they are trained together. This similarity is also maintained because by having similar products, these ventures can act as each



other's stock buffers. If a business receives a big order but cannot fulfil it, they can ask the neighbour to produce or fulfil it. It is mentioned below:

*I am not afraid of competition. Allah has arranged after all, sustenance. Suppose I have neighbours who make similar products. I can borrow her product if I have a big order (P8).*

*We are different firms, but we collaborate. We have joint design or joint event. It is okay to be the same (P9).*

This business cluster homogenisation can be attested by looking at the data of MSMEs in West Sumatra, which is clustered in several areas, to follow the rumah gadang cluster and natural resources surrounding those areas (BPS, 2020b). For example, the cassava crisp business cluster in Payakumbuh, cured fish in Ola, souvenirs in Padang, etc.

This matriarchal practice of women learning together in rumah gadang and/or making rumah gadang a community training spot can be linked to the concept of knowledge spillovers. The knowledge spillovers or knowledge sharing amongst individuals has been acknowledged to influence individuals in starting a venture (Cristo-Andrade and Ferreira, 2020), and to trigger mimetic isomorphism (Tang, Fu and Yang, 2019). In this study, Knowledge spillovers are found that sharing knowledge amongst Bundo kanduang or making rumah gadang as a community entrepreneurship training spot has facilitated Minangkabau women to start a venture, as discussed in Section 5.2.2. It was also found that this matriarchal-led practice also shaped the ventures to be similar, as discussed above.

## **7.2.2 Role Schema**

### **Matriarchal – cultural warrior narrative**

Aligning with the finding in legitimacy, the enabling environment, and motivation, it is found that the entrepreneurial identity of female entrepreneurs in matriarchal society is built upon a cultural warrior narrative. Minangkabau women are doing entrepreneurial activities in their cultural role as Bundo Kanduang and limpapeh rumah gadang. Minangkabau women's role as rumah kanduang is to develop the community and train future generations. Therefore, it is normal to find rumah gadang as a venture venue and training spot, and the Minangkabau women-owned venture is also

an entrepreneurial training venue for youth and women. This characteristic is derived from matrilocality and matrilineal inheritance, where women own ancestral houses or rumah gadang. It is illustrated below:

*We must train young people so they have skills and do not focus on gadgets or just idle. It is common, or maybe mandatory, for young people here to help in workshops, rice field or restaurants after school (P8).*

Similarly, they do business to help the community as mentioned below:

*When you run a business, you can do anything. You can give work to people who need it. Your relatives, your friends, neighbours. If I am an employee, how can I give them a job? (P9)*

Second, women-owned businesses in Minangkabau are also built upon a copreneurship structure, where women are leaders or owners.

*She [his wife] decides most of the company strategy – opening new branches, recruiting new employees, new business lines. I am just a supporter here. When she needs to deal with authorities, I will do it. (PT1)*

Unlike the discourse of female subordination in a patriarchal society, the copreneurship structure is shared by Minangkabau venture due to the matriarchal arrangements such as egalitarian value and matrilineal inheritance that cause women to have assets to start a business. Therefore, it also adds layers to their entrepreneurial identity.

Third, the Minangkabau women-owned venture shares similarities to utilising the diaspora network. Thanks to the practice of male cultural migration, Minangkabau spreads around the world and builds a network outside of Minangkabau. It has been discussed in isomorphism forces (Section 7.2.1)

It was found that Minangkabau entrepreneurs, regardless of gender, have shared a cultural identity as ‘Saudagar Minang’ or Minang merchants. It is general knowledge that Minangkabau people are entrepreneurs and even have a cultural identity as entrepreneurs (Nagazumi, 1986; Buang, 2014; Hastuti *et al.*, 2015). It means that a career as an entrepreneur is generally understood and

institutionalised in Minangkabau. The role of schema as a cultural warrior has shaped the entrepreneurial identity in Minangkabau.

### **7.3 Discussion and Conclusion**

This subchapter brings together research findings from matriarchal and patriarchal societies to answer the first research question: What is the influence of patriarchal and matriarchal institutional arrangements on identity construction by women entrepreneurs? How and why does this differ?

The answer to this question is matriarchy and patriarchy impact the type of isomorphism force and role schema that construct that identity. On the other hand, female entrepreneurs exercise their agency by choosing the environment or role schema that fit with their entrepreneurial identity. They can also adjust their role to fit the collective identity or schema.

Institutional isomorphism concerns the structural determinants of the range of choices actors perceive as rational or prudent (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 149). The isomorphism process in this study aligns with previous studies that the norms influence homogenisation or accepted identity that emerged among firms within a geographical area and that norms might be irrelevant to other areas (Beebe *et al.*, 2013; Amdam *et al.*, 2020). It explains the differences in the identity isomorphism process in Minangkabau and Javanese.

From the analysis in Sections 7.1 and 7.2, it can be concluded that the most significant difference between the isomorphism process in Minangkabau and Javanese is that the state or regulatory aspect impacts isomorphism in Javanese, but not in Minangkabau. It aligns with the finding about institutional pillars and legitimacy that regulative pillars do not affect femininity and legitimacy in Minangkabau. The explanation for this is the acceptance of the state as the actor (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and asymmetry institution (Williams and Vorley, 2015). Due to historical animosity, the Minangkabau people are reluctant to accept the central government (Appendix A 5.2.2). The central government's regulations, rules or programs are difficult to institutionalise in Minangkabau, so they fail to shape entrepreneurship in Minangkabau. In addition to that, the Minangkabau matriarchal arrangement is not symmetrical with the Indonesia state's patriarchal

arrangement. Hence, change brought by the state, including isomorphism force, cannot penetrate and change the core aspect of the Minangkabau matriarchy (Stark, 2013).

Women-owned businesses in Javanese undergo coercive isomorphism, state coercive isomorphism, and business cluster mimetic isomorphism. Patriarchal norms have forced Javanese female entrepreneurs to structure their ventures as home-based, part-time, and informal. It is especially found during the start-up phase. Female entrepreneurs shape their venture to fit in with the patriarchal social expectation so that their venture can have at least moral legitimacy conferred by the society or, in this thesis, society propriety-based legitimacy (Section 6.1.1) to ensure the survival of their venture. It confirms the GEM report (GEM, 2022) that the culture highly influences women's ventures.

The state has forced Javanese women's ventures to be clustered in a particular industry through incentives or endorsements packaged in support programs or policies for female entrepreneurs. It is also found that the state reflects the patriarchal institutions to put barriers that could deter female entrepreneurs from entering an industry. It perpetuates the notion that women's ventures are usually in the low-risk and easy-to-enter the industry (Marlow and Patton, 2005).

Last, the Javanese patriarchal institution has put barriers for women to access resources and education/ training (see Section 5.1.3). Lack of knowledge will limit venture innovation capabilities (Kogut and Zander, 1992). In the case of Javanese women lacking knowledge and resources, mimetic mechanisms may save them from a complicated and risky learning process. Therefore, it is found that patriarchy has influenced Javanese female entrepreneurs to mimic successful companies instead of creating something new. This again perpetuates the notion that female entrepreneurs are clustered in a low barrier-to-entry industry (Hamilton, 2013). It extends our knowledge that mimetic isomorphism is not only a response to uncertainty. Mimetic isomorphism could also be a route to survive for a firm lacking knowledge or capabilities, as found in this research. It could also be the case that lack of knowledge or capabilities is linked to uncertainty level, thus triggering mimetic isomorphism. Further research is needed to explore this area.

The links between knowledge and mimetic isomorphism are also found in the Minangkabau dataset. However, in Minangkabau, mimetic isomorphism does not occur because of an individual

or organisation's lack of knowledge. Instead, the mimetic isomorphism in Minangkabau occurs concerning the learning process in Minangkabau society. In Minangkabau, the matrilocality arrangement has formed socialisation and habitual learning, and female entrepreneurs learn and train together in the ancestral house (*rumah gadang*). It results in knowledge spillovers, as these female entrepreneurs have similar knowledge; hence, they structure and run the venture in a similar way to each other, as discussed in 7.2.1.

This study in Minangkabau offers the perspective that mimetic isomorphism is not always about a response to uncertainty. Mimetic isomorphism can also be triggered by cultural practices such as matrilocality. In this study, the differences between mimetic and coercive isomorphism in Minangkabau are conceptualised based on the level of take-for-grantedness (Scott, 2014). In line with the cultural cognitive legitimacy (Section 6.2.1), matriarchal coercive isomorphism is a take-for-granted response to the matriarchal cultural framework. In matriarchal coercive isomorphism, the venture is built upon a notion that ‘culturally the venture has to be like that’. It implies the unconscious element of the actors or taken for granted when the actors structure the venture. Conversely, mimetic isomorphism in Minangkabau involves actor’s thinking and learning process. Even compared to the learning process in Javanese, the learning process in Minangkabau also seems like a take-for-granted or unconscious habit of matrilocality. In Javanese, the learning process is not guaranteed in the cultural framework; hence, the learning process, mimetic isomorphism in Javanese, seems more conscious than Minangkabau. Future research is needed to confirm this assertion.

This study also extends our knowledge that knowledge spillovers do not always take place in a high technology or innovative firm. It may occur in micro and small businesses doing business traditionally, such as found in this study. Mimetic isomorphism is usually conceptualised as a reaction to uncertainty (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Furthermore, knowledge spillovers are usually studied about innovation and or in the context of high-tech firms (Cristo-Andrade and Ferreira, 2020).

There is still much that can be explored in this research area. For example, why is the phenomenon of mimetic isomorphism not linked to knowledge spillovers in Javanese datasets? There are phenomena of copying the successful firm or peers in Javanese datasets. It also mentions the

female circle that provides mentoring in Javanese datasets. However, there is no conversation about the learning process, how they copied other firms, or how the information is exchanged. Was it self-taught, did the government guide it, was it taught by the industry leader? Etc. The female circle in Javanese datasets is highlighted as a venue to build supply chain and partnership instead of a similar venture. Is it because the Javanese do not have cultural practice of matrilocality, so there is no room for knowledge spillovers? Or is it because in Javanese mimetic isomorphism is influenced by the government as (discussed in Section 7.1.1), hence the learning process was through the government, instead of peers? It could be an interesting and needed study for the future.

The matriarchal arrangement shapes and homogenises the structure of Minangkabau women-owned ventures. Section 7.2.1 elaborates that Matriarchy has shaped women's venture into an entrepreneurship training venue for women and young people. It is also found that women's venture in Minangkabau recognise women's visible role in copreneurship, that is uncommon in patriarchal context (Smith, 2014a). Last, Minangkabau women's venture deploys diaspora network to reach market or materials outside Minangkabau. Network has been long acknowledged to contribute in firm's success (Greve and Salaff, 2003; Steel, 2021). However, two latest systematic literature review on women's entrepreneurship (Poggesi, Mari and De Vita, 2016; Moreira *et al.*, 2019) have not mentioned women's network across regional or international border as prevalent theme has been researched. It implies that few studies investigate women's network across borders, even though it is crucial to women's venture success (Bowles, 2013; Steel, 2021).

In conclusion, matriarchy and patriarchy are found to influence isomorphism in respective societies. Borrowing the notion of three institutional pillars from Scott (2014), it is found that the normative pillars highly influence the isomorphism process in Minangkabau and Javanese. Borrowing the 'iron cage' notion from (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), in which organisations become homogeneous to fit or conform. This study borrows the iron cage concept as a metaphor for Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy, which both "cage" their members' behaviour in certain ways. The cages shape their members to reproduce homogeneous characteristics and carry out tribal identities.

It contributes to extending our knowledge in the isomorphism process across different contexts of matriarchy and patriarchy. Some important findings have been highlighted in this section. Furthermore, as discussed throughout this chapter, many areas still need further study.

## Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter aims to integrate and conclude the findings discussed in the previous chapter, highlighting the contributions of the thesis. The implications for the literature and for policy will also be discussed, followed by the limitations of the current investigation and how these could be addressed by future researchers, proposing a bridge for future research.

### 8.1 Addressing the research questions

To begin, it is important to revisit the research questions and consider how the research findings address them. The discussion that follows will then be based on those findings.

*Table 8-1 Summary of research questions and findings*

Research questions	Research findings
<p>Main research question:</p> <p>How do matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements differently shape the experiences of women entrepreneurs? How do women entrepreneurs navigate these arrangements?</p>	<p>Matriarchy and patriarchy act as the omnibus and discrete context (Johns, 2006) of the female entrepreneur's experience.</p> <p>As an omnibus context, matriarchy and patriarchy comprise many features, such as norms, shared values, regulations, etc, as guided by Scott's three pillars of institution (2014).</p> <p>As the discreet context, matriarchy and patriarchy provide the explanatory links between the macro level institution of matriarchy and patriarchy and contextualised enabling environment (chapter 5), barriers (chapter 5), motivation (chapter 5), legitimacy (Chapter 6) and identity (Chapter 7).</p>



<p><u>Sub-research questions</u></p> <p>a. How is women's entrepreneurship differently enabled or hindered by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements? What are the mechanisms through which this occurs?</p>	<p>Matriarchy and patriarchy as the omnibus context shape the enabling environment through the institutional (patriarchal/ matriarchal)-based resources. In addition to that, patriarchy creates an enabling environment through the prevalent informal economy; matriarchy creates an enabling environment through the matriarchal egalitarian norms.</p> <p>Matriarchy and patriarchy as the omnibus context shape different institutional barriers. Female entrepreneurs in a matriarchal society face the barrier of a labour-depleted society. Female entrepreneurs in a patriarchal society face the barrier of gender-segregated industry, patriarchal resource allocation, and discriminative regulations.</p> <p>These contextualised enabling environments and institutional barriers shaped different entrepreneurial motivations for female entrepreneurs under the matriarchy and patriarchy. This recursive relationship is illustrated with path A in Figure 8-1.</p>
<p><u>Sub-research questions</u></p> <p>b. How do female entrepreneurs differently pursue and gain legitimacy under matriarchal and</p>	<p>This relation is illustrated in Path B and D in Figure 8-1, depicting the macro-level and micro-level legitimacy processes.</p>

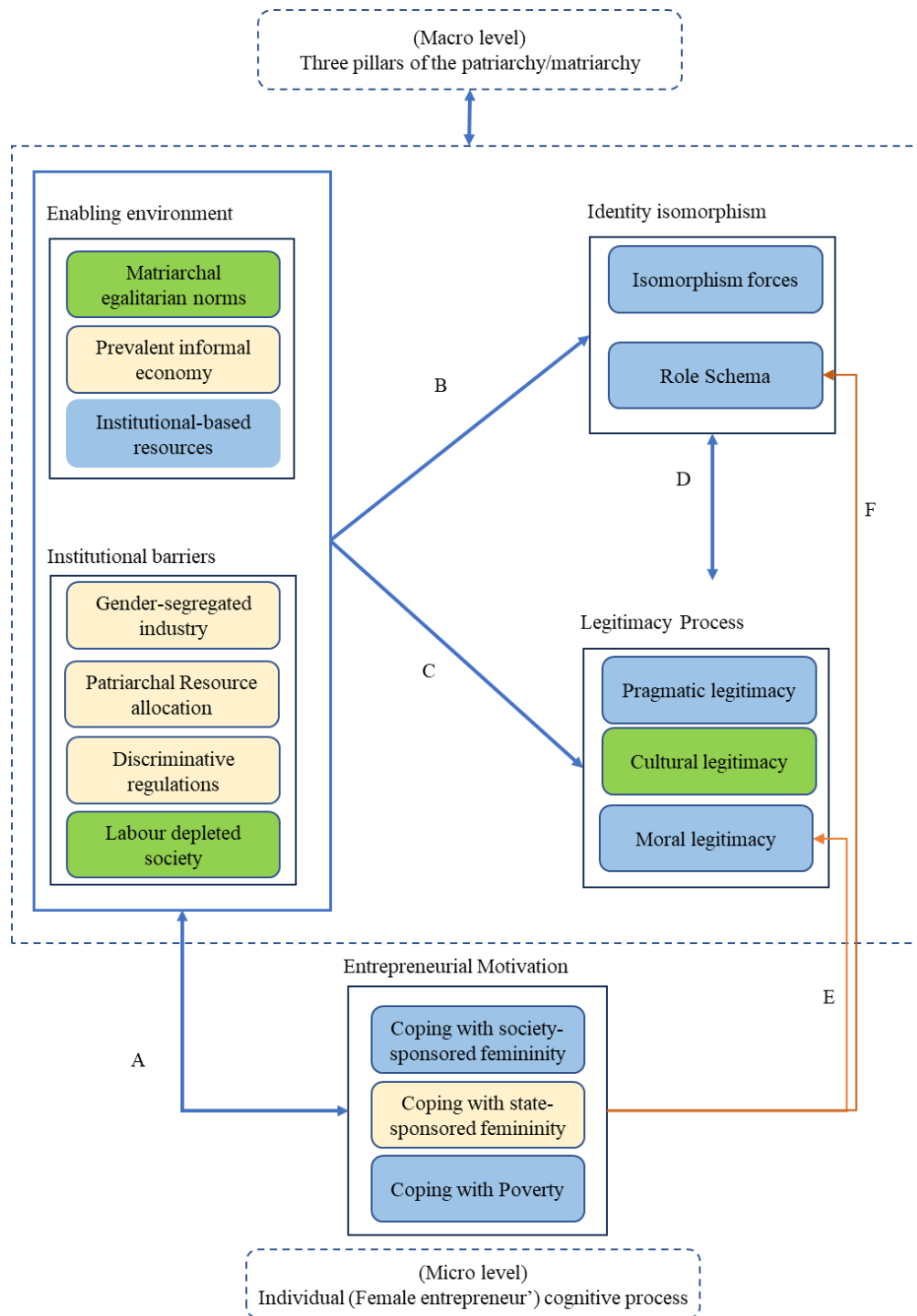
<p>patriarchal institutional arrangements?</p>	<p>At the micro-level process, entrepreneurial motivation shapes female entrepreneurs' sources of legitimacy. Shows various/ different paths of legitimacy that female entrepreneurs could take (Chapter 6).</p> <p>At the macro level process, the legitimacy sources are influenced by the institutional barriers and enabling environment created by the matriarchy/ patriarchy (Chapter 6).</p>
<p><u>Sub-research questions</u></p> <p>c. What is the influence of patriarchal and matriarchal institutional arrangements on identity construction by women entrepreneurs? How and why does this differ?</p>	<p>The entrepreneurial identity is constructed at the macro and micro levels. Illustrated with the path B, D and F (micro-macro level) and C and E (macro level).</p> <p>At the micro level, the identity is shaped by the entrepreneurial motivation that is then mediated by the legitimacy sources.</p> <p>At the macro level, the identity was constructed through the enabling environments and the institutional barriers through the isomorphism forces and role schema laid upon the matriarchal/ patriarchal arrangement (Chapter 7).</p>

As summarised in Table 8-1, this research finds that matriarchy and patriarchy affect women's entrepreneurship in different ways. Drawing upon the findings, this thesis proposes a model explaining how matriarchy and patriarchy contribute to female entrepreneurs' experience (Figure 8-1). It is done by synthesizing the institutional theory by Scott (2014), the micro and macro

legitimacy model (Tost, 2011; Bitektine and Haack, 2015), and isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Hughey, 2014).

*Figure 8-1*

*A model of Matriarchal/ Patriarchal institution and experience of female entrepreneurs*



This thesis identified six relationships between matriarchy and patriarchy (arrows A, B, C, D, E and F) moderated by the omnibus context of matriarchy and patriarchy (dotted boxed). The green boxes show the themes that occurred in the matriarchal society, the yellow boxes show the themes that occurred in the patriarchal society, and the blue boxes show the themes that occurred in both societies.

**Path A** shows that the enabling environment and institutional barriers in the matriarchal and patriarchal society shape entrepreneurial motivation. It aligns with the previous literature on how institutions shape entrepreneurial motivation (García-Cabrera, García-Soto and Durán-Herrera, 2016), specifically that patriarchy influences entrepreneurial motivation (Bui, Kuan and Chu, 2018). This study contributes to this scholarship by adding an insight that unlike in the patriarchal society where female entrepreneurial motivations are shaped by the regulatory, cognitive and normative dimensions (Bui, Kuan and Chu, 2018), this study finds that the regulative pillar proxied by the state-sponsored femininity is absent in the matriarchal society.

Path A also shows a recursive relationship between entrepreneurial motivation with the enabling environment and industrial barriers. Their entrepreneurial activities could shape the institutions, such as changing or maintaining them, as highlighted by (Ritchie, 2016). For example, as discussed in Chapter 5, the gender norms in a patriarchal society have created a prevalent informal economy where female entrepreneurs are excluded or prohibited from formal economic activities. However, female entrepreneurs exercise their agency by operating their businesses in the informal economy, eventually making it the norm and enabling environment. It is in line with Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio (2004), who introduce the notion of ‘doing gender, doing entrepreneurship’ that being invisible or not identified as entrepreneurs due to the gender norm has provided female entrepreneurs in the patriarchal society a justification for ‘not doing what an entrepreneur should do’ (p. 417). For example, patriarchy has given justification for female entrepreneurs not to register their businesses, and it has become a socially shared process that benefits female entrepreneurs.

This mechanism also confirms that norms and value will shape women’s entrepreneurship (Ahlstrom and Bruton, 2002; Engle, Schlaegel and Delanoe, 2011; Ahl and Marlow, 2012). However, it is also found that femininity built differently in different context. The study in Minangkabau and Javanese societies bring the empirical evidence that femininity in these two contexts is constructed differently even though these two tribes are in one national legislation,

Indonesia. Hence the fostering factors of entrepreneurship such as motivation and enabling environment are different, thus eventually shape the entrepreneurship and venture differently (will be discussed further in Legitimacy and Isomorphism). Likewise, it is found that matriarchy and patriarchy set institutional barriers for female entrepreneurs. These barriers are different in Minangkabau and Javanese. For example, the institutional barrier due to depleted labour society in Minangkabau will not be found in Javanese, because no cultural framework mandates Javanese men to perform cultural migration/ merantau, unlike in Minangkabau.

**Path B** illustrates that the enabling environments and institutional barriers shape identity isomorphism through the isomorphism forces and role schema. This path shows the identity isomorphism that takes place at the macro level. Institutional isomorphism concerns the structural determinants of the range of choices actors perceive as rational or prudent (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 149). The isomorphism process in this study aligns with previous studies that the norms influence homogenisation or accepted identity that emerged among firms within a geographical area and that norms might be irrelevant to other areas (Beebe *et al.*, 2013; Amdam *et al.*, 2020). It explains the differences in the identity isomorphism process in Minangkabau and Javanese. The most significant difference between the isomorphism process in Minangkabau and Javanese is that the state or regulatory aspect impacts isomorphism in Javanese but not in Minangkabau. It shows the asymmetry between national-level patriarchal value and regional-level matriarchal value. Borrowing Stark's assertion of matriarchal persistence (Stark, 2013) the value brought by the government, including the entrepreneurial identity (such as business cluster entrepreneurial identity), cannot penetrate and be adopted in Minangkabau. Thus, the Minangkabau construct the entrepreneurial identity based on cultural role schema. It confirms Hughey (2014) that role schema could shape homogenous identity.

**Path C** illustrates that the enabling environments and institutional barriers shape the legitimacy process. This path shows the legitimacy process that takes place at the macro level. Matriarchy and patriarchy provide a framework and exert forces that female entrepreneurs must obey to be deemed legitimate. Cultural-cognitive legitimacy is the most significant difference between the Minangkabau matriarchy and the Javanese patriarchy. It is granted to Minangkabau women but not to Javanese women. Along with the matriarchal arrangement where women have a strategic cultural role and equal position to men, Minangkabau matriarchy provides the cultural framework

to confer a taken-for-granted cultural-cognitive legitimacy. With this, Minangkabau women can be entrepreneurs, and there will be no question about it from society. It confirms with Tost (2011) that legitimacy can be based on a taken-for-granted cultural account. A female entrepreneur is socially accepted in Minangkabau because it aligns with matriarchal values such as women's social and cultural roles.

It was also found that the simplicity of the legitimacy process for female entrepreneurs in Minangkabau could be disrupted when the business expansion is done outside Minangkabau or involves actors from outside Minangkabau. Outside the Minangkabau, the legitimacy could be evaluated using a non-matriarchal framework. It means their privilege of cultural-cognitive legitimacy is not available in a non-matriarchal setting. With that, female entrepreneurs from Minangkabau follow the legitimacy process similar to those from a Javanese society. This phenomenon reveals a spatial element of legitimacy that is underexplored in entrepreneurship studies but has been discussed in regional or urban studies (Vermeulen, Laméris and Minkoff, 2015). It could link with Bitektine and Haack (2015) that when Minangkabau female entrepreneurs go outside the Minangkabau boundaries, the judgment validity institution changes and can no longer provide legitimate judgment outside the boundaries.

**Path D** shows that identity isomorphism has a recursive relationship with legitimacy. It is a macro-level process. A collective identity of entrepreneurs provides legitimacy, and having legitimacy means adjusting identity to fit in. It is also shown in path D that the sources of legitimacy can also be the isomorphism forces. This aligns with previous research that the collective identity could provide legitimacy (Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn, 2011) and that isomorphism is legitimate (Deephouse, 1996).

**Path E** illustrates the micro-level legitimacy process. Specifically, it shows that entrepreneurial motivation will shape a self-conferred moral legitimacy for female entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurial motivation justifies that the entrepreneurial activity is the right thing to do. This study confirms that Bitektine and Haack (2015) assert that the individual or micro-level legitimacy evaluation is not done in a vacuum. Participants evaluate the legitimacy of what they believe/ claim as their value by comparing their motivation shaped by matriarchy and patriarchy. This mechanism to evaluate motivation to gain self-conferred moral legitimacy could benefit female

entrepreneurs, specifically from a patriarchal society that does not have a cultural framework to provide legitimacy and when pragmatic legitimacy is difficult to obtain. It is in line with Marlow and McAdam (2013) that macro legitimacy could trigger the micro-level process. In this study, the absence of a legitimacy framework at the macro level, or collective legitimacy, has made female entrepreneurs exercise their agency to evaluate and legitimise their entrepreneurial journey.

**Path F** illustrates the micro-level legitimacy process. Specifically, it shows how female entrepreneurs exercise their agency to construct their identity under the institutional framework. It was done by matching their entrepreneurial motivations that have been influenced by matriarchy and patriarchy with the role schema or what role society expects from them. Following Suchman (1995) can be done to construct their identity according to role schema or to select an environment that fits their identity, for example, by selecting a relevant business cluster or community that could embrace their characteristics. It is also in line with Cesaroni, Sentuti and Pediconi (2021) that female entrepreneurs could adjust their identity to cope with conflict and eventually gain legitimacy throughout their life stage.

In summary, this thesis found that Minangkabau matriarchy and Javanese patriarchy shape female entrepreneurs' experiences. It occurs in macro and micro levels that matriarchy and patriarchy shape the enabling environment, institutional barriers, motivation, legitimacy process and entrepreneurial identity. In addition, respective institutions shape the entrepreneurial experience differently, as discussed throughout this thesis.

This finding implies that matriarchy is a more favourable institution for female entrepreneurs. In the way matriarchy provides a cultural framework to provide women legitimacy and entrepreneurial collective identity, women's careers as entrepreneurs are generally more understood and acknowledged (even prescribed) in Minangkabau, compared to Javanese patriarchy. However, this arrangement also poses a barrier: Minangkabau women cannot start or grow their businesses due to a lack of labour and difficulty gaining legitimacy outside their matriarchal geographical boundaries.

On the other hand, patriarchal arrangements that is recognised to hinder female entrepreneurs could provide entrepreneurial motivation and resources. It is found that collective entrepreneurial identity in both societies is important. Female entrepreneurs do not have a collective

entrepreneurial identity within their cultural framework. Hence, they follow the role schema of the business cluster or community entrepreneurs.

In summary, context in entrepreneurship study is not only a place where entrepreneurship should be controlled, as in most quantitative studies. Instead, context is part of the entrepreneurship story (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014), and context influences the dynamic mechanism that shapes entrepreneurship (McAdam and Cunningham, 2021), as found in this study. This study confirms Johns's (2006) idea that context could be omnibus or 'space' where entrepreneurship occurs. As also highlighted by Ogutle (2021), an institution is a space where interactions occur. Considering context while studying entrepreneurship will allow us to advance the entrepreneurship theory by contrasting and competing findings from different contexts. At the policy and practice level, understanding context could lead to a more grounded support and policy formulation. For example, by including cultural approaches in policy formulation and programs, to understand what really happens in that area, rather than copy and paste a standardised policy or programs that might be not relevant in another context.

### **8.3 Thesis contributions and implication**

This thesis contributes theoretically and empirically to women's entrepreneurship scholarship, to work adopting contextual and institutional perspectives on entrepreneurship, and studies of entrepreneurship in emerging and developing economies. Four major contributions are identified:

1. This work adds to the growing body of literature examining women's entrepreneurship, and indeed wider entrepreneurship, as a contextual phenomenon. It is now widely recognised that women's entrepreneurship is influenced by environmental/contextual factors, but there remains scope to better understand conceptually and empirically how this occurs in and across different settings, as well as how women entrepreneurs navigate and exercise agency in response to such factors (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014; McAdam and Cunningham, 2021; Elkafrawi, Roos and Refai, 2022). This thesis sheds light on the mechanisms through which matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements in an emerging economy and collective society setting influence women's entrepreneurship, presenting a novel conceptualisation of these mechanisms and of how they may enable or hinder women's entrepreneurial endeavours. Rich insights are presented at the everyday level, showcasing how



institutional arrangements are experienced by women entrepreneurs. This connects with growing calls to embrace everydayness and a ‘real world’ perspective in entrepreneurship research (Welter *et al.*, 2017), to recognise and value all types of venturing, and to move away from a focus on high growth, tech firms, unicorns etc., Certainly, the women entrepreneurs and their ventures studied in this research are quite different to those that are the focus of much traditional entrepreneurship research.

2. As discussed above, this research expands understanding of how women’s entrepreneurial endeavours may be influenced – enabled and inhibited – by matriarchal and patriarchal institutional arrangements. However, it also reveals how women entrepreneurs navigate these different arrangements across various aspects of their venturing. In particular, insights are provided, and theory is extended in relation to how women pursue and gain legitimacy as entrepreneurs pursue various forms of legitimacy and paths. This study, adopts the micro and macro legitimacy process (Tost, 2011; Bitektine and Haack, 2015), adds to understanding of and scholarship on legitimacy seeking by women entrepreneurs, who often face particular challenges in relation to their recognition and acceptance, with these especially acute in emerging economy and collective society settings like Indonesia. Novel conceptual development and insights are further provided in respect of identity construction by women entrepreneurs in matriarchal and patriarchal societies. By adopting the notion of isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) to understand the isomorphism forces and the concept of isomorphism identity (Hughey, 2014), this thesis extends our knowledge of how women are able to develop and secure their entrepreneurship identities, how this identity intersects and is balanced with other identities, roles, and expectations, with reflection also on what challenges women entrepreneurs face and may overcome in developing their entrepreneurial identities.
3. An important novel aspect of this research is its comparative component. Whilst there is now quite a well-developed body of literature considering the influence of contextual factors on women’s entrepreneurship, including how even in more patriarchal institutional settings, women may be able to ‘play’ around at least some factors constraining their venturing (Barragan, Eroglu and Essers, 2018; Tlaiss, 2019), such work has often tended to focus on one country – recognising notable exceptions like Alkhaled and Berglund, (2018). If multiple settings are considered, it is also perhaps more likely that a quantitative methodology will have been adopted, limiting potential for the kind of fine-grained, everyday, experiential

comparative insights provided by this research. The comparative insights and theorising of this thesis, including around the differing barriers and enablers of women's entrepreneurship in matriarchal versus patriarchal institutional settings, of the varied ways women might pursue and gain legitimacy across these settings, how they may differently develop their entrepreneurial identities, thus adds something new to the literature. Especially, as this comparison is set within one national country context - Indonesia – versus comparative work across countries e.g., Alkhaled & Berglund's (2018) comparison of women's empowerment through entrepreneurship in Saudi Arabia and Sweden. This indicates a significant role for subnational, meso and micro level institutional influences on women's entrepreneurship, with this a potential area for further scholarly enquiry. It further raises practical and policy implications, for instance by showing how government efforts to support and enable women's entrepreneurship will be mediated by patriarchal or matriarchal institutional arrangements, and the need to design and implement policy and interventions sensitively and recognising these differences. That this type of comparative within country work was possible in Indonesia, validates its selection as the study site, and highlights the valuable conceptual and theoretical insights that can be gleaned from women's entrepreneurship research in emerging and developing economy settings. This work thus responds to and adds to those calls for more women's entrepreneurship research outside of traditional Global North settings (Poggesi, Mari and De Vita, 2016; Moreira *et al.*, 2019).

4. Finally, from the Umoja in Kenya, the Mosuo in China, the BriBri in Costa Rica, to the Minangkabau in Indonesia, millions of people globally are part of matriarchal societies. Yet as noted by Smith (Campbell, 2002; Smith, 2014a; Hirigoyen and Villeger, 2017) there remains much scope to bring theories of matriarchy into entrepreneurship research, to expand our theorising of relationships between entrepreneurship and matriarchy, and to further study (women's) entrepreneurship in matriarchal contexts like amongst the Minangkabau. This thesis responds to these needs. Combining matriarchy with institutional perspectives, it reveals how matriarchal institutional arrangements may enable but can also create challenges and constraints for women entrepreneurs. This more nuanced insight is a counterpoint to some more one sided, uncritical, and simplistic discourses and interpretations (Goettner-Abendroth, 2018), that position matriarchy as inherently supportive of women, and a potential panacea for women's empowerment and emancipation. A more complicated picture is found in that the

matriarchal arrangement, which provides resources, authority, and power to women, also brings disadvantages. They are such as a labour shortage and that the matriarchal arrangement only applies to a limited extent in the Minangkabau region. This includes when it comes to how women seek and gain legitimacy and construct their entrepreneurial identities in matriarchal societies.

5. Lastly, this research adds to the theoretical depth of the matriarchy concept (and patriarchy concept) by showing the need to consider its interplay and antecedents connected with factors like history (Indonesia's monarchical period, colonial period, post-independence period), politics, religion etc.,

## **8.5 Limitation, reflexivity, and future research**

This study was designed to be rigorous and transparent. However, nonetheless, some limitations remain. First, this research was conducted in Indonesia, the researcher's home country. On the positive side, this made it easier to reach the participants, as the researcher had prior knowledge of the research locations and personal networks to recruit participants. The researcher also spoke a similar language to the participants, reducing the risk of losing meaning in translation. However, possession of prior knowledge can also have a downside, as the researcher may take certain knowledge or insights for granted – assuming it is common knowledge and believing it to be unimportant, when in reality it might be rare and important that could contribute to knowledge development. To avoid this, the researcher continuously discussed the research findings with supervisory teams and presented the paper at conferences to gain feedback from people outside the research team. This minimised the risk of knowledge loss and ensured that insightful findings were preserved.

The fieldwork was conducted around the time of the presidential election in Indonesia. The fieldwork was conducted between December 2018 and March 2019, whilst the presidential election was held in May 2019. At that time, the political temperature in the country was heated and most ministries were getting ready for the election. This limited the opportunities to meet elite participants such as high-ranking officials. The researcher was able to make use of personal networks to arrange some interviews with these figures, but they were unable to allocate much time to the discussions and were very cautious about disclosing government policy in case of wider

repercussions. This was especially true for the high-ranking officials who their positions could easily identify. To gain their trust, the researcher sent them the list of questions before the meetings, which allowed the interviewees to answer the questions in ways that would not harm them. Consequently, although this fieldwork collected sufficiently rich data for analysis, it was impossible to collect entirely candid answers. It is possible that such “candid” answers would not have contributed much more to answering the research questions. However, suppose there were another opportunity for a similar study in the future. In that case, the researcher might consider avoiding periods of political turbulence in the location and choosing a more “relaxed” period to gather more rich data from the elite interviewees.

Third, around the time at which the data were being collected, several natural disasters occurred in Indonesia, as the Pacific Ring of Fire was active. Mount Merapi in Yogyakarta erupted several weeks before the fieldwork began. Therefore, some participants originally on the list could not be interviewed for safety reasons, as their houses and businesses were located near the 3 km safe perimeter. Similar circumstances arose in West Sumatra, with a series of earthquakes followed by a tsunami warning during the fieldwork period. As a result, the fieldwork in West Sumatra was concluded earlier than planned. Although the researcher was able to collect sufficient data to answer the research questions, she would have preferred to stay longer in the research location to gather more observations. Therefore, most of the data from West Sumatra come from the interviews, with limited data from observations.

Fourth, this research does not discuss religion or the influence of Islam on entrepreneurship in the region, despite Indonesia having the largest Muslim population of any country in the world, which 88% of Indonesians registered as Muslim – accounting for 13% of all Muslims in the world. This exclusion is justified because the reading and fieldwork revealed that Indonesia is a secular country. Islamic identity in Indonesia varies according to local interpretations, and the religion is intertwined with Buddhism, Hinduism, and Animism, as predecessor religions, alongside the local culture and effects of colonisation. Therefore, Indonesia is home to many Islamic branches, such as *santri*, *abangan*, *kejawen*, *priyayi*, communism, puritanism, conservatism, and more (Geertz, 1960). Before one could claim that Islam influences entrepreneurship in Indonesia, it would be necessary to explain which form of Islam, when this happens, where it occurs, and so on. Furthermore, Islamic law is considered foreign in Indonesia’s legal system because the country

adopted the system of the Dutch (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann, 2012b). Therefore, Islam does not influence any formal pillars in Indonesia, with the exception of Aceh, which applies shari'ah. Finally, Islamic identity is considered secondary and repressed by the new order Indonesian government in daily life, as it is perceived as a militant movement. After new order fall down in 1998, Indonesian women can wear hijab. An Islamic political party was established in Indonesia in 1998. Indonesians must identify their religion on their national ID card, choosing from five official religions. The easiest option is to choose Islam to follow one's parents and the Muslim president. Hence, most Indonesians are considered nominal Muslims, who do not actually practise Islamic teaching.<sup>67</sup> The researcher assert that Islam could shed light on the current Indonesian civilisation (since the fall of the new order regime), but the history of Islam in Indonesia is not long enough to have influenced the social structure, which was constructed long before Islam came to Indonesia. In summary, clarifying Islam's impact on entrepreneurship in Indonesia would require a separate study, and this would be another interesting future research avenue for consideration.

Five, this research was carried out before pandemic, or before some new norms exists (e.g., normalisation of work from home). Therefore, when space segregation is mentioned and analysed in this thesis, it is with the conventional view before pandemic that there is designated working space as conceptualised by Walby (1990). Future research is suggested to see if some new norms could drastically change some matriarchal or patriarchal arrangements. By borrowing Stark (2013), our preposition is that institutions are not easy to change. Pandemic could change the peripheral aspect of the patriarchy and matriarchy, i.e., the practice of space segregation becomes not rigid anymore due to work from home. However, this thesis argues that the core aspect of matriarchy and patriarchy, such as ideology of egalitarian in matriarchy and women's subordination in patriarchy, are not changed much due to pandemic.

Six, in terms of the generalisability of this research. This thesis adopts a constructionism: "philosophy, social reality, identities and knowledge are culturally, socially, historically and linguistically influenced" (Cunliffe, 2008, p. 125). Therefore, the generalizability of this research findings is not an expected attribute. However, this thesis pursues naturalistic generalizability

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<sup>67</sup> This was revealed in a discussion with an Islamic scholar.

(Stake, 2013), which refers to the ‘transfer of findings situated in one study context to others of similar contexts’ (p. 179). It is pursued by providing a thick description of the findings and context so that other readers can consider whether these findings apply to other contexts they want to study. This thesis also pursues analytical generalisability. It refers to ‘translating findings to an established concept or theory, even when contexts or populations differ.’ (Stake, 2013, p. 179). It is done by situating these research findings to the established concept. For example, this thesis’ finding is situated in the established institutional theory of Scott (2014), the legitimacy process (Suchman, 1995; Bitektine and Haack, 2015), and identity isomorphism (Hughey, 2014).

Seven, the portability of the research. It refers to this research to carry or to be able to pick up and take to another physical place (Davidson, Thompson and Harris, 2017, p. 780). This thesis provides a detailed description of the methodology (Chapter 4). Therefore, other researchers following the methodology outlined in this thesis could carry out similar research in other places.

Future research can be designed to compare the experience of male and female entrepreneurs in Javanese and Minangkabau to follow up on the current result that males and females have different roles in their society. It is also found that legitimacy and identity are contextually bound. Further research could investigate the legitimacy and identity construction of matriarchal female entrepreneurs operating in a patriarchal society.

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# Appendix 1 - Interview protocol

## Interview protocol – Women entrepreneurs

### 1. Background questions:

*Name*

*Education*

*Village*

*Marital status*

*No. Children*

### 2. Questions about the household situation

#### a. Family setting Can you tell me about your family?

(whether you live with your nuclear family/ extended family, how many adults live in the household and their occupation, who usually make the key decision?)

### 3. Questions about society/ neighborhood/ community in general

#### a. Can you tell me about women 's everyday activities in your neighbourhood?

(Do a paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?\_

#### b. Can you tell me about men's everyday activities in your neighbourhood?

(Do paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?)

### 4. Questions about the business

#### a. Can you tell me about your business?

- *Services/products your business provides?*
- *When did you start your business, or for how long have you been running your business?*
- *Why did you choose this business? (idea generation, ensure profitability)*
- *Where is a place of the business? [home, Internet-based, market/ public space/ dedicated space]*
- *Full time or part-time? For example, do you do it every day? Is there any working hours? Is it the whole year?*
- *Who is your role model in doing business?*

#### b. Build the business from scratch, or inherit from parent/ ancestor?

#### c. Do family members help run the business? (Spouse, parents, children?)

#### d. Who is the customer? (retail/ industry)

#### e. Where get the raw material?

#### f. How do you manage money from your business?

(For example, do you have a separate account for business and household? Use application? A record at book? Who keeps the money?)

#### g. Do you need to register your business? Or pay tax? (why/ why not)

- h. In your opinion, at what stage is your business? *[show the picture]*
- i. What resources did you need to start the business?  
(For example place, money, people/ employee?)  
*Follow up: How did you access these resources? Was it helped by the family –  
Providing or giving access to the resources?*

5. Question about Matriarchy/ Patriarchy

- a. Are you familiar with matriarchy/ patriarchy?
- b. Is it practising in your society/ family?
- c. As a woman, are you/ your daily life affected by matriarchy/ patriarchy?
- d. What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affects your life as a woman?

6. Questions about Matriarchy/ Patriarchy and Business

- a. As a woman who runs a business, does matriarchy/ patriarchy affect your business?  
(How and in what stage)
- b. Is it applied to men too?

Alternative for questions number 6:

- a. When you start a business, is there any support (from anyone/ anywhere)?
- b. When you start a business, is there any restriction/opposition (from anyone/ anywhere?)
- c. Is it applied to men too?

Alternative: How do you think matriarchy/ patriarchy affect your business?

Follow up: What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affect you to open a business or in the start-up phase?

- 6. What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affects you to grow your business or in the growth- phase?

## Interview protocol – Government officials

### 1. Background questions:

*Name*

*Education*

*Village*

*Marital status*

*No. Children*

### 2. Questions about a government official

j. What is your task/ duty?

k. Is there any task/ duty related for women/ women entrepreneurs?

### 3. Questions about society/ neighborhood/ community in general

c. Can you tell me about women 's everyday activities in Javanese society?

(A paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?)

d. Can you tell me about men's everyday activities in your Javanese society?

(A paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?)

e. Can you tell me about women 's everyday activities in Minangkabau society?

(A paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?)

f. Can you tell me about men's everyday activities in your Minangkabau society?

(A paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?)

### 4. Question about Matriarchy/ Patriarchy

e. Are you familiar with matriarchy/ patriarchy?

f. Is it practising in your Javanese/ Minangkabau?

g. From a government perspective, do you think government policy/ legislation in Indonesia/ [Yogyakarta/ West Sumatera] are affected by patriarchy/ matriarchy? – Example?

h. From a government perspective, do you think men/women daily life affected by matriarchy/ patriarchy? Different or similar on both gender?

i. What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affects a woman's life?

### 6. Questions about Matriarchy/ Patriarchy and Business

b. From a government perspective, does matriarchy/ patriarchy affect women in starting/ running a business?

(How and in what stage)

c. Is it applied to men too?

### Alternative for questions number 6:

d. When women start a business, is there any support (from anyone/ anywhere)?

- e. When women start a business, is there any restriction/opposition (from anyone/ anywhere?)
- f. Is it applied to men too?

Alternative: How do you think matriarchy/ patriarchy affect women's venture?

Follow up: What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affect women to open a business or in the start-up phase?

- 5. What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affects women to grow a business or in the growth- phase?

Alternative: Particular matriarchal/ patriarchal arrangements that affect women in starting/growing their venture?

## Interview protocol – Tribe leaders

### 1. Background questions:

*Name*

*Education*

*Village*

*Marital status*

*No. Children*

### 2. Questions about tribe leaders?

- l. Do you have any duty and privilege as a tribe leaders
- m. How were you selected? (Registered/ Paid by at government/ not)
- n. How long have you been a tribe leader
- o. Who is your successor?
- p. Where do you live?  
(whether a tribe leader lives with your nuclear family/ extended family, how many adults live in the household and their occupation)

### 3. Questions about society/ neighborhood/ community in general

- g. Can you tell me about women 's everyday activities in your neighbourhood?  
(Do a paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?\_
- h. Can you tell me about men's everyday activities in your neighbourhood?  
(Do a paid work, household work, charity, run a business etc.?)

### 4. Question about Matriarchy/ Patriarchy

- j. Are you familiar with matriarchy/ patriarchy?
- k. Is it practising in your society/ family?
- l. As a tribe leader, do you think men/women daily life affected by matriarchy/ patriarchy?  
Different or similar on both gender?
- m. What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affects a woman's life?

### 6. Questions about Matriarchy/ Patriarchy and Business

- c. As a tribe leader, does matriarchy/ patriarchy affect women in starting/ running a business?  
(How and in what stage)
- d. Is it applied to men too?

### Alternative for questions number 6:

- g. When women start a business, is there any support (from anyone/ anywhere)?
- h. When women start a business, is there any restriction/opposition (from anyone/ anywhere?)
- i. Is it applied to men too?

Alternative: How do you think matriarchy/ patriarchy affect women's venture?

Follow up: What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affect women to open a business or in the start-up phase?

5. What is the most significant part/practice of Patriarchy/ matriarchy that affects women to grow a business or in the growth- phase?

Alternative: Particular matriarchal/ patriarchal arrangements that affect women in starting/growing their venture?



## Appendix 2 - Ethics approval



Downloaded: 27/09/2018  
Approved: 26/09/2018

Dian Mayasari  
Registration number: 160262735  
Management School  
Programme: Standard PhD, Full-time

Dear Dian

**PROJECT TITLE:** Matriarchy, Patriarchy and Indonesian Womens Entrepreneurship: An Institutional Perspective  
**APPLICATION:** Reference Number 020169

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 26/09/2018 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 020169 (dated 09/07/2018).
- Participant information sheet 1047762 version 2 (09/07/2018).
- Participant consent form 1047763 version 2 (09/07/2018).

The following optional amendments were suggested:

*Please see comments above and the one below: the rationale for the research needs a bit more work please follow suggestions above*

If during the course of the project you need to [deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation](#) please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

Email Mgt Research Ethics  
Ethics Administrator  
Management School

## Appendix 3 – Information sheet

### **Matriarchy, Patriarchy and Indonesian Women's Entrepreneurship: An Institutional Perspective**

#### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Researchers from the University of Sheffield are conducting a research project titled:

#### **Matriarchy, Patriarchy and Indonesian Women's Entrepreneurship: An Institutional Perspective**

We would like to invite you to take part in our study. This document provides information about the research, why the research is being undertaken and what it would involve for you to participate. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Please feel free to ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this information sheet (June, 01, 2018).

#### **1. What is the project's purpose?**

The research project is focus on women's entrepreneurship. We are interested in understanding how the matriarchy and patriarchy impact women to participate in entrepreneurial activity, such as how they start the venture, access to resource, grow and register their business. The project will run for 18 months starting in April 2018.

#### **2. Why have I been chosen to take part?**

This project involves undertaking a number interviews with tribe leader, policy makers, women entrepreneurs. You have been selected to take part in the research because of your role within the women's entrepreneurship, and we are interested in your knowledge, insights and

experiences about the women's entrepreneurship and/or your experiences as an entrepreneur/SME owner manager.

### **3. Do I have to take part?**

No, participating in this research is entirely voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not you wish to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form). You can still withdraw from participating any time. You do not have to give a reason.

### **4. What will happen to me if I take part?**

Participation will involve an informal interview/discussion with Dian Eka Mayasari, and it will last for up to one hour. The interview will take place at a time and place convenient for you. Everything you say during the interview will be entirely confidential and it will not be attributable to you. The interview will involve you being asked a series of open questions. The questions will cover your views and experiences of the women entrepreneurs.

### **5. Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?**

With your permission, we would like to record the interview by taking hand-written notes and by taking an audio recording. This will allow the conversation to be listened to again if needed. We will ask your permission and inform you when we have begun recording. We also would like to take photo of you when you conduct your business or daily activity. We will take such photo angle so that your face will not be identifiable, unless otherwise agreed. The audio recordings made may contribute to teaching and research outputs, but no other use will be made of them without your written permission. No one outside the project team will be allowed access to the original recordings - if you do not wish to be recorded/photo, we will respect your wishes and proceed without recording/photo.

### **6. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**

Yes, all the information collected during the course of the research will be strictly confidential and anonymised. You will not be named in any report or information that comes out of the interview. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications.

**7. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

We do not anticipate that there are any disadvantages or risks that may occur as a result of you participating in this research.

**8. What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

Whilst there are no immediate benefits to participants, it is hoped that the findings will inform policy and practise relating to developing the women's entrepreneurship in Indonesia and enhance the business environment for women entrepreneurs.

**9. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**

All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and will only be accessible to members of the research team. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications unless you have given your explicit consent for this. If you agree to us sharing the information you provide with other researchers (e.g. by making it available in a data archive) then your personal details will not be included unless you explicitly request this'.

**10. What is the legal basis for processing my personal data?**

According to data protection legislation, we are required to inform you that the legal basis we are applying in order to process your personal data is that 'processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest' (Article 6(1)(e)). Further information can be found in the University's Privacy Notice <https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/govern/data-protection/privacy/general>.

**11. What will happen to the data collected, and the results of the research project?**

The identifiable data will be stored for 2 years until the PhD completion to make sure it will not affect the research purpose. The identifiable data will not be used for additional or subsequent research. Due to the nature of this research it is very likely that other researchers may find the data collected to be useful in answering future research questions. Therefore, pseudonymised and anonymised data will be stored for 5 years until the PhD completion for the use of additional or subsequent research. We will ask for your explicit consent for your data to be shared in this way.

The results of this project will be presented at academic conferences and will be published in research journals and doctoral thesis. If you wish to be given a copy of any reports resulting from the research, please ask us to put you on our circulation list.

#### **12. Who is organising and funding the research?**

This research is funded by Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan (Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education).

#### **13. Who is the Data Controller?**

The Data Controller is the 'organisation which determines the purposes and means of processing personal data. The University of Sheffield is the data controller for this research project. This means that The University of Sheffield is responsible for looking after your information and using it properly

#### **14. Who has ethically reviewed the project?**

This project has been ethically approved via Sheffield University Management School ethics review procedure. The University's Research Ethics Committee monitors the application and delivery of the University's Ethics Review Procedure across the University.

#### **15. What if something goes wrong and I wish to complain about the research?**

If you feel that you have a concern or complaint in the first instance you should inform Dian Eka Mayasari ([demayasari1@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:demayasari1@sheffield.ac.uk)) as the researcher. If you feel your complaint has not been adequately addressed at this stage you should contact the research supervisor to take your complaint further (see below). Should you feel your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction (e.g. by the Principal Investigator or Supervisor) that you can contact the Programme Director for Postgraduate Research, who will then escalate the complaint through the appropriate channels (see below). If the complaint relates to how the participants' personal data has been handled, information about how to raise a complaint can be found in the University's Privacy Notice: <https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/govern/data-protection/privacy/general>.

#### **16. Contact for further information**

*If you require further information about this research, please contact:*

Dian Eka Mayasari, Management School Doctoral Centre, 31 Claremont Crescent, University of Sheffield, UK. Tel: +44 (0) 7474196006, email: [demayasari1@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:demayasari1@sheffield.ac.uk)

Dr David Littlewood, Management School, University of Sheffield, UK. email: [David.Littlewood@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:David.Littlewood@sheffield.ac.uk)

Dr AbbiKedir, Management School, University of Sheffield, UK. email: [a.m.kedir@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:a.m.kedir@sheffield.ac.uk)

The Sheffield Management School Programme Director for Postgraduate Research is Dr Caroline Oath. Sheffield University Management School. Conduit Road, Sheffield S10 1 FL.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. This information sheet is for you to keep.

## Appendix 4 – Consent form

### Matriarchy, Patriarchy and Indonesian Women's Entrepreneurship: An Institutional Perspective

#### Consent Form

<i>Please tick the appropriate boxes</i>	Yes	No
<b>Taking Part in the Project</b>		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 01/06/2018 or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you will answer No to this question please do not proceed with this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.)		
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.		
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include being interviewed, and being recorded (audio and / or photo).		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw.		
<b>How my information will be used during and after the project</b>		
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.		
I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this.		
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I give permission for the interview data that I provide to be deposited in LPDP and The university of Sheffield Repository so it can be used for future research and learning		
<b>So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers</b>		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.		

Name of participant [printed]

Signature

Date

Name of Researcher [printed]

Signature

Date

#### Project contact details for further information:

Dian Eka Mayasari, Management School Doctoral Centre, 31 Claremont Crescent, University of Sheffield, UK. Tel: +44 (0) 7474196006, email: demayasari1@sheffield.ac.uk

Dr David Littlewood, Management School, University of Sheffield, UK. email: David.Littlewood@sheffield.ac.uk

Dr AbbiKedir, Management School, University of Sheffield, UK. email: [a.m.kedir@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:a.m.kedir@sheffield.ac.uk)

The Sheffield Management School Programme Director for Postgraduate Research is Dr Caroline Oath. Sheffield University Management School. Conduit Road, Sheffield S10 1 FL.



## Appendix 5 – Empirical Setting

### Appendix 5.1 Contextual setting: Yogyakarta, home to the Javanese classical civilisation

This section introduces Yogyakarta as research setting and elaborates on how Yogyakarta represents Javanese patriarchal society. As mentioned in the methodology chapters, Javanese tribe is a patriarchal society. It is shown on practice evidence from several levels of Javanese society: ideology, culture, state, and household (Berman, 1998; Handayani and Novianto, 2004; Tickamyer and Kusujarti, 2012). The Javanese – known as *Java (Jawa)* – are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia, with a population of 95 million people, or 40.06% of all Indonesian citizens living in Indonesia (BPS, 2011). Most Javanese (68.06% or 64.55 million) live in their home provinces, covering three neighbouring provinces of Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java (BPS, 2011). These provinces are located on Java Island.

Of the three provinces, Yogyakarta was chosen as the research setting for several reasons. First, it is homogeneously Javanese. The Javanese comprise 96.53% of the population (3.3 million people; BPS, 2011). Second, historical evidence from stone inscriptions<sup>68</sup> and ancient manuscripts<sup>69</sup> indicates that Yogyakarta was the centre of Javanese classical civilisation. Finally, patriarchal practices and structure can be traced to Yogyakarta – for example, in the sultanate’s tradition of passing down the throne from father to son.

Before colonisation, Indonesia consisted of several kingdoms. The largest and most significant on Javanese island was Majapahit (1293–1527). This was actually the largest kingdom in Indonesian

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<sup>68</sup>. The history of Javanese civilization can be found in the inscriptions on ancient stones, such as the Canggal inscription, from the year 732, and the Kalasan inscription, from the year 778. The inscriptions on the stones are usually written in ancient script, such as Sanskrit and Pallava. They can be found in many temples and other places on Java Island, most located in Yogyakarta and in the Central Java provinces. To see these inscriptions, I primarily visited the Borobudur and Prambanan temples in Yogyakarta.

<sup>69</sup> The history of Javanese can also be found in ancient manuscripts, such as *Babad Tanah Jawi* (“A History of the Land of Java”) from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *Carita Parahyangan* (16<sup>th</sup> century), and several manuscripts titled *Serat* and *Suluk* (18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century). These manuscripts were usually written by the king (or palace members) to provide guidance on the norms and way of life and to summarise important knowledge for the citizens. Some are written in Sanskrit, others are in Arabic or Javanese. Most of the original manuscripts are preserved in the Indonesia National Library. Today, the digital and printed translated versions (Indonesian and Javanese languages) can be accessed at the library and are sold in bookstores. To trace the patriarchal practices and entrepreneurship before colonisation, I read *Negarakeratagama*, *Pararaton*, and *Babad Tanah Jawi*, as suggested by the participants (tribal leaders and government officials). They considered these to be the most important manuscripts in their portrayals of Yogyakarta and Java during the period of the kingdoms.

history and set the precedent for Indonesia's modern boundaries. Majapahit was the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Indonesia (Geertz, 1956; Ricklefs, 2001). Another important kingdom in Java is Mataram. There were two key periods in the history of the Mataram kingdom. The first is known as the old Mataram kingdom; this was Hindu Buddhist and existed *circa* the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The second is the Mataram sultanate, an Islamic kingdom founded in 1582, the last empire in Java before Dutch colonisation (Hariwijaya, 2007). In this research, "Mataram" refers to the Mataram sultanate, the origin of Yogyakarta. The history of Majapahit and Mataram can be found in ancient manuscripts, such as *Babad Tanah Jawi*<sup>70</sup> and *Negarakertagama*.<sup>71</sup> These two manuscripts were essential reading for this research, detailing the context of Javanese society and of Yogyakarta. This reading was suggested by participants who were Yogyakarta tribal leaders and government officials.

Indonesia has been colonised by several countries. The longest colonial project was by the Dutch, who arrived in the Indonesia archipelago *circa* 1500 (Ricklefs, 2001). The Dutch military action and colonial civil administration intensified during the 1900s (Locher-Scholten, 2000). Due to its prolonged length, Dutch colonisation had a greater impact on the social structure in Indonesia than that of any other country (Geertz, 1975). Therefore, this research focuses on the Dutch colonisation period *circa* 1700–1945, despite several other countries having occupied Indonesia prior to this.

The colonisation era in this thesis is marked by the fall of Mataram *circa* 1700. Yogyakarta was a region of the Mataram sultanate. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mataram gradually lost its authority and power to the Dutch. Under the Giyanti treaty of 1755, Mataram was divided into Yogyakarta and Pakualaman kingdoms, marking the end of the Mataram kingdom. The treaty was signed by the Dutch, Pangeran ("Prince") Mangkubumi, and Pangeran Pakualam. The treaty is often seen as part of the Dutch *divide et impera* ("divide and rule") strategy, intended to retain their power in Mataram (Carey, 1986; Ricklefs, 2007). The rise and fall of Mataram can be traced in the ancient Javanese manuscript, *Babad Tanah Jawi*.

With the Indonesian revolution of 1945, Yogyakarta revolted against the colonial rulers. As a token of appreciation for Yogyakarta's important role in fighting Dutch colonialism, the newly formed

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<sup>70</sup> The original version of *Babad Tanah Jawi* is in Sanskrit/Kawi script. I read the Indonesian translation by Olthof and Sumarsono (2017) and the Javanese translation by Kertapradja (2014).

<sup>71</sup> *Negarakertagama* (a story of the country's development), written in Sanskrit/Kawi script in 1365. I read the Indonesian translation by Piliang (2017).

Indonesian government allowed the royal family to remain in power. Yogyakarta was granted status as a special province<sup>72</sup> and given the autonomy to manage its own region. Today, Yogyakarta is the only province in Indonesia officially recognised as a monarchy, ruled by a sultanate.<sup>73</sup> The sultan in Yogyakarta is also a governor, the head of the Yogyakarta province. Pakualaman, who obeyed colonial rule, was absorbed into the Central Java province. This “kingly” political system is important for the construction of Javanese patriarchy, as will be elaborated in the following section, which discusses the patriarchal structure of Yogyakarta.

#### **A 5.1.1 Yogyakarta patriarchy: Monarchy, colonisation and state**

Patriarchy is a spectrum, and its reach and practice can vary at different times and spaces (Hartmann, 1979; Walby, 1989). With that in mind, this chapter considers three time frames in its study of Yogyakarta patriarchal society: before colonisation, which is usually regarded as classical Javanese society (Ricklefs, 2007); during colonisation; and the period during the fieldwork, specifically between December 2018 and March 2019. Again, this choice was based on previous literature highlighting Indonesia’s history before and during colonisation and since its declaration of independence (Ricklefs, 2007; Frankema and Buelens, 2013)

To understand patriarchal practice in Yogyakarta, this study identifies six levels or dimensions of patriarchy, as suggested by Walby (1989). These are paid work, housework, sexuality, culture, violence, and the state. This study also seeks to identify patriarchal practice in terms of subordination, exploitation, and segregation (Walby, 1989). Guided by the thematic analyses (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013), this study finds that Javanese patriarchy has different levels and involves a variety of practices over time, there is nonetheless a shared meaning of patriarchy in Javanese society. According to the dataset, Javanese patriarchy is understood as a social structure that prioritises or favours males in most aspects of life.

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<sup>72</sup> Two provinces in Indonesia have been granted special region status by the government: Aceh and Yogyakarta. Aceh is the only province to officially practise shariah (Islamic law), and Yogyakarta is the only province recognised as a monarchy.

<sup>73</sup> Yogyakarta is an Islamic monarchy. In this research, “sultan” and “king” are used interchangeably to describe the head of Yogyakarta sultanate.

## **Before colonisation**

There are no official records on how and when Yogyakarta – or the Javanese generally – began practising patriarchal arrangements. Ancient inscriptions and manuscripts depict the participation of Javanese women in many areas of life. For example, the *Karmawibhangga* inscription from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, located in the Borobudur temple, comprises 160 panels that show women engaging in various activities and attending social gatherings. Panels 54 and 59 are exhibited below in Figure Appendix 5-1. Panel 54 depicts charitable activity, with poor people asking a priest (left) and rich women (right) for alms (Santiko and Nugrahani, 2012). Panel 59 shows people giving bananas to others (right) and portrays a noble family, with their female servants (right; Santiko and Nugrahani, 2012).

*Figure Appendix 5-1 Panel 54 (left) and Panel 59 (right) – Karmawibhangga inscriptions*



(Author; photographed at the Borobudur Temple, 2019)

It is also recorded that there were female leaders in the Javanese kingdoms. For example, Queen Tunggadewi<sup>74</sup> reigned over the Majapahit kingdom<sup>75</sup> circa 1328–1350. It is well-documented in *Negarakertagama* that she expanded the Majapahit kingdom and led the army in rebellion. Queen Suhita, the sixth monarch of Majapahit, reigned between 1429 and 1447.<sup>76</sup> Queen Shimo reigned over Kalingga kingdom circa 734<sup>77</sup> and other inscriptions depict women's rule in some smaller kingdoms in the Javanese regions. *Negarakertagama* and *Babad Tanah Jawi* both mention that the throne in the Javanese kingdom was inherited by the most capable heir, without prescribing a

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<sup>74</sup> Her reign is documented in the ancient manuscript *Negarakertagama* (a story of the country's development) and in the *Singosari* inscription. Both are written in the Sanskrit/Kawi script. Tunggadewi's statues are found in several places on Java Island, such as the Rimbi and Borobudur temples. *Negarakertagama* was originally written in Sanskrit/Kawi. I read the Indonesian translation by Piliang (2017).

<sup>75</sup> Majapahit was a Kingdom located in Central Java, setting the precedent for Indonesia's modern boundaries.

<sup>76</sup> Her reign is recorded in the manuscript *Negarakertagama*, and there are inscriptions on her statue in the Borobudur and Rimbi temples.

<sup>77</sup> Her reign is recorded in the manuscript *Carita Parahyangan*, originally written in Sanskrit/Kawi. I read the Indonesian translation by Atja and Danasasmita (1981).

gender. Men and women made equal contributions to household income, and they went worked together on the farms and in the rice fields (Geertz, 1975; Stoler, 1977; Carey, 1986), with women enjoying equal opportunities to do paid work.

Table Appendix 5-1 below presents excerpts from the seventh, eighth, and ninth stanzas of *Negarakertagama*, depicting Queen Tunggadewi as a good ruler, concerned with improving her people's welfare and prosperity.

*Table Appendix 5-1 Tungga Dewi on Negarakertagama*

Indonesian translation <sup>78</sup>	English translation <sup>79</sup>
Tri Buwana Wijaya Tungga Dewi mengemban takhta bagai rani di Jiwana [...] Beliau bersembah bakti kepada ibunda Sri Padukapatni. Setia mengikuti ajaran Buda, menyekar yang telah mangkat. [...] Bagai Ratnasambawa menambah kesejahteraan bersama. Teguh tawakal memajukan kemakmuran rakyat dan negara. Mahir mengemudikan perdata bijak dalam segala kerja.	Tri Buwana Wijaya Tungga Dewi assumed the throne, as was embedded in her soul [...] She respected her parents. Faithful to Buddha's teachings, she visited [made a pilgrimage] to honour her ancestors who has died. [...] Like Ratnasambawa [one of Buddha's deities], she works for public welfare. She fought steadfastly to advance the prosperity of the people and of the country. Proficient in driving civil law, wise in all work.

(Author, 2020)

However, patriarchal practice prior to colonisation can be traced to 1956, when Panembahan Senopati established the Mataram sultanate. One of the cultural conceptions strongly related to the patriarchal practice of the Mataram sultanate establishment is the story of Nyi Roro Kidul. This story facilitated the social construction of the claim that the king of Mataram (then Yogyakarta) must be a man. Nyi Roro Kidul is believed to be the spiritual wife of the Panembahan Senopati and the next Mataram and Yogyakarta kings. She is mentioned frequently in ancient scripts such as *Babad Tanah Jawi*, usually described as a goddess, a mermaid with superpowers, the queen of

<sup>78</sup> Piliang, 2017.

<sup>79</sup> Author, 2019.

the southern sea, or the caretaker of Java Island (Kertapradja, 2014). The palace holds an annual ceremony, called “Labuhan”, at the Parangkusumo beach to show respect for Nyi Roro Kidul. It is a ritual offering, intended to maintain a sacred relationship between her and the kings. The ceremony symbolises and legitimates the importance of Nyi Roro Kidul to the palace. Labuhan is still performed today, usually attended by the Yogyakarta royal family, palace workers, locals, and tourists.

Most participants believe that Nyi Roro Kidul exists and is not simply a myth created by the ruler to build power and legitimacy. Some of the participants in the study described the belief in Nyi Roro Kidul’s existence as a religion. Another participant pointed to unfortunate events in the region as evidence for her existence:

*Nyi Roro Kidul is not a myth. We have to admit some things cannot be seen but exist among us. (Y6)*

*If we refer to the Quran<sup>80</sup>, we know that jinn are living side-by-side with humans. Of course, this question of the Queen of the Southern Sea, we certainly cannot rush to say that she is a myth. (TL2)*

*We had a tsunami [in the southern sea along Java Island] in 1994. And we know that no strategic development project along the southern sea has ever succeeded. Maybe they [the project owners, the government, the king] have not communicated with Nyi Roro Kidul properly. (Ygov1)*

The other participants neither denied her existence nor claimed to believe in it. They acknowledged Nyi Roro Kidul but did not worship her or pay homage.

It is useful to consider the contribution of Nyi Roro Kidul to the construction of the patriarchal system found today in Yogyakarta. Moertono (1968) wrote that the Javanese king’s legitimization emerged through succession, usurpation, and the cult of glory. The same is true for Mataram and Yogyakarta. Nyi Roro Kidul was considered by Moertono (1968) to be a tool for glorifying the king, giving the king access to her magical and spiritual powers. The more glorious the king, the greater his prestige and authority. No one, including other rulers, may challenge the king. According to Moertono (1986), Nyi Roro Kidul legitimates the king. De jure, Nyi Roro Kidul is perceived as the powerful matriarch of Yogyakarta, holding the highest power in Mataram, being

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<sup>80</sup> “Quran” or Al-Quran literally means “the recitation”. Al-Quran is the central religious text of Islam that Muslims believe to be a revelation from God (Allah) to the Prophet Muhammad during his life in Mecca and Medina.

the region's caretaker, and saving it from calamity. Unfortunately, de facto, this positioning prohibits a woman from ruling Mataram or Yogyakarta. One of the implications of Nyi Roro Kidul as the king's spiritual wife is the shared belief in Javanese society that the king must be a man, hence patriarchy.

One interviewee elaborated on the relationship between the king and Nyi Roro Kidul and its consequence for the modern Yogyakarta political system:

*We are protected by Kanjeng Ratu Kidul.<sup>81</sup> The sultan<sup>82</sup> must marry Ratu Kidul to protect Yogyakarta. It has been like this for a long time. If the sultan does not marry Nyi Roro Kidul, Yogya<sup>83</sup> will face calamity. That is why the sultan must be a man. If the sultan were a woman, how could there be two [female] leaders? Kanjeng would be angry. (TL2)*

The story of the Nyi Roro Kidul phenomenon confirms the conclusions of Walby (1989), who suggests that the patriarchal structure was built on the basis of various myths, images, and stories. In the context of Yogyakarta, it legitimates the palace and the king, also the patriarchal structure. From the institutional perspective, it is clear that the normative pillar has an important role in supporting Javanese patriarchy.

Another patriarchal practice can be traced to the palace's layout, with its spatial segregation of males and females (Aryanti, 2017). Yogyakarta palace, usually called "Keraton", has a quarter for women (married and unmarried), called "Keputren", and unmarried men's quarter called "Kasatriyan". Kasatriyan is open to more people and is perceived as part of the "sultan's complex" (the main residence, the sultan's office, mosque, etc.). In contrast, Keputren is a restricted area for protection and safety, the sultan being the only male permitted to enter. This practice of sex segregation in the palace and homes can also be found in other Javanese kingdoms, such as Surakarta and Cirebon Sultanate, making it a common practice amongst traditional Javanese households (Santoso, 2000). According to Aryanti (2017), sex-segregated spaces lead to

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<sup>81</sup> "Kanjeng Ratu Kidul" is another name for Nyi Roro Kidul. She is also known as "Nyai Roro Kidul", "Nyai Lara Kidul", "Nyi Blorong", and "Kanjeng Gusti Laut Kidul". "Nyai", "Nyi", "Kanjeng", and "Gusti" are honorifics for a woman.

<sup>82</sup> A sultan is the leader of a sultanate. In the context of Yogyakarta, the word "raja" (king) is used interchangeably with "sultan".

<sup>83</sup> Yogyakarta – also known as "Yogya", "Jogjakarta", "Jogja", "Ngayogyakarta", and "ꦗꦺꦴꦏꦿꦏꦂꦠꦤ꧀" (Javanese script).

differential access to knowledge, leadership, and political positions, with women in *Keputren* inevitably disadvantaged. As a result, women are excluded from public life in the palace and become invisible. In this way, a hierarchical structure is constructed, with women are granted a lower status than men; hence, patriarchy emerges.

It would be useful to know whether religion also contributes to the construction of Javanese patriarchy. Unfortunately, there is little documentation on women and Islam in Yogyakarta. It is important to note that although Islam in Yogyakarta or the Mataram sultanate is derived from the Arabic form, it comes to Yogyakarta through artistic and cultural channels. To ensure Islam was peacefully accepted in Indonesia, the Wali Songo (nine guardians, shari'ah and tasawuf experts, who spread peaceful and cultural Islam) delivered Islam in a form that borrows from local customs. This makes the Islam in Java slightly different to that usually found in the rest of Indonesia or in the Middle Eastern countries. Islam in Java is called “Abangan” and “Kejawen”, combining Islam Javanese culture with influences from Hinduism and Buddhism. As a result, Javanese society worships Nyi Roro Kidul, as well as worshipping God, which is not found in the Islamic teaching in the Arabic countries.

A comprehensive document on the practice of Islam in Java can be found in the Geertz (Geertz, 1960) text, *The Religion of Java*. Interestingly, there is no word for “wome(a)n”, “female”, or “daughter” in his book. There is only the word “mother” used to discuss the origin of the founder of Raden Patah (a Javanese king). The absence of descriptions of women in Geertz work could possibly be interpreted in two ways. First, he may have found that Islamic teaching in Java does not provide a code of conduct for women. The second possibility is that Javanese women do not participate in the Islam spread in Java. In response to the latter, one would need to ask why this was. The code of conduct and roles imposed on the women in this study – especially during the period prior to colonisation – are rooted in Javanese culture. The findings of the study do not suggest that the construction of women’s social position in Java is dictated by Islamic teaching. Granted that the variety of Islam in Indonesia, it will be discussed in Chapter 8 as the limitation of this study.

In summary, it is suggested that patriarchy in Javanese society can be traced to a period before colonisation. Social hierarchy in Javanese is constructed through the story of a superpower female or a female god, which is taken to imply that the king must be a man. Javanese patriarchy is also



created through spatial segregation between men and women in the palace and in the traditional Javanese household, where male space is more accessible, visible, and easily accessed. With the female space being more secluded and invisible, this makes it difficult for women to access resources, leaving them with a lower social status than that of the men.

In Javanese history, before and after Mataram, the majority of the Javanese kingdom's leaders were male. It is also notable that the inscriptions and texts considered in this study were written by male rulers and authors. No manuscripts by female rulers or authors could be found. This could be due to the restrictions and limitations in the social structure, leaving women's representation in the historical records lacking. Owing to the scope of the current study – and the timeframe and other resources available – it was not possible to examine all possible texts and inscriptions, thus this chapter cannot represent the whole story of classical Javanese society. However, it does summarise that which is depicted in the essential manuscripts recommended by the tribal leaders and government officials. Further study is needed to clarify the practice of patriarchy and gender inequality in this time and place. For another perspective on the construction of patriarchy in Yogyakarta, it is useful to consider these practices alongside Dutch colonisation, as is done in the following section.

### **During colonisation**

Carey and Houben (2016) suggest that Dutch colonisation contributed to the construction of Indonesia's patriarchy, especially during Daendels' reign as governor of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) between 1808 and 1811. Daendels was amazed when he visited Yogyakarta and saw women riding horses and fighting (Carey, 2007). In response, he banned women from participating in political negotiation and diplomacy. He also prohibited his subordinates from giving women honours or respect in public affairs, as cited by Carey (2007), who provides the following quotation: "women have no place in the drinking of toasts – theirs is entirely a private affair!" This prohibition can be seen as a means of separating private and public affairs, with the male perceived as naturally affiliated with public affairs and the female with the private.

Locher-Scholten (2000), in line with Carey and Houben (2016), views Indonesia's patriarchy as having been imported during colonisation. Locher-Scholten does not explicitly refer to the concept of patriarchy in her work, but Scholten mentions that gender construction in Javanese society

reflects a “gender colonisation project”, requiring elite Indonesian women or high-born women (*priyayi*) to follow the Western pattern of the modern woman as a wife and a mother. *Priyayi* women were introduced to a “housewifisation” model, with women obligated to stay at home for the well-being of her family (Locher-Scholten, 2000). The orientalist perspective also affected women’s position in society, with the Dutch seeing indigenous elite or high-born women as an “exotic thing to preserve” (Gouda, 1995). Hence, elite Javanese women were positioned as required to stay at home and be “displayed” in public only when needed. Jones (2010) labels this positioning and portrayal as the “stigmatisation of native femininity”. Later, it contributed to the construction of the Indonesian national moral code and state-sponsored femininity (discussed further in the findings section).

The Javanese woman’s identity was also constructed by the treatment of class workers and peasants during Dutch colonialism. History records that women from this class were positioned as subordinate by the Dutch, taking them as servants or concubines (Stoler, 1977; Gouda, 1995). Peasant women were denied their voice and left unable to defend themselves; unable to understand Dutch and prevented from speaking up, they were hidden inside the household and denied the rights afforded to Dutch women (Toer, 1980; Handayani and Novianto, 2004). These circumstances constructed a colonial mentality in these women, who self-delineated their positions as subordinate and invisible (Locher-Scholten, 2000).

Patriarchy can also be traced to the structure of paid work during colonisation. Javanese women’s roles were affected by the Dutch policy of *cultuurstelsel*.<sup>84</sup> During colonisation, land was seized from indigenous people and *cultuurstelsel* was enacted. This made Java a Dutch plantation, with the industry only employing men (Ricklefs, 2007). This preference was because men are physically stronger than women and would not undergo pregnancy and the associated absenteeism (Locher-Scholten, 2000). This industrialisation practice forced women out of paid work in agriculture and industry and introduced the segregation of the working and domestic worlds (Meerkerk, 2017).

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<sup>84</sup> *Cultuurstelsel* (or “culture system”), known as *tanam paksa* or “enforced planting”. This was a Dutch policy of forcing a portion of native agricultural production to be devoted to export crops. This was done as Holland was near bankruptcy, due to the Belgian revolution and the fighting of several wars in Java and Sumatera Island. There are no official data on the impact of this policy. However, for lower-level Javanese society, *cultuurstelsel* resulted in thousands of deaths due to exhaustion and hunger (Ricklefs, 2001).

However, this circumstance eventually triggered the rise of female entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta, which will be discussed in section 5.1.2 on Yogyakarta entrepreneurship.

In summary, in addition to having a basis in values derived from Javanese culture, Yogyakarta patriarchy was also affected by colonisation. The patriarchal practice historically practised within Javanese kingdoms and households grew out into wider society during colonisation. Before colonisation, the shared meaning of patriarchy was that of a social structure that prioritised males over females. During colonisation, the themes of patriarchy highlighted women's subordination. The patriarchal values were imposed through normative elements in Javanese kingdoms, whilst under colonisation, patriarchy was constructed by normative and regulative pillars. This shows that the Javanese patriarchy evolved in several dimensions over time.

Based on the elaboration above, Table Appendix 5-2 summarises the patriarchal practices observed during colonisation.

*Table Appendix 5-2 Patriarchal practice during colonisation*

Institutional pillars	Practice/policy	Patriarchy features	Patriarchy level
Regulative	<i>Cultuurstelsel</i> , prioritised men, forced men to work	Segregation	Work paid
	Banned women from political life and diplomacy	Segregation	State
	Government officials not allowed to show respect or honour for women in public life	Subordination	State
	Formal education system prioritised male schooling	Segregation, subordination	State
Normative	Positioned women in the private sphere	Segregation	Culture
	Orientalism	Segregation	Culture
	Maids, concubines, contractual wives	Exploitation, Subordination	Household, culture
Cultural cognitive	Colonial mentality	Subordination, segregation	State, culture
	"Housewifisation"	Subordination, Segregation	Household, culture, state

(Author, 2020)

## **Modern day**

Against a historical and cultural background of patriarchy, the current government of Yogyakarta seeks to promote gender equality through specific regulations. Some examples are presented in Table Appendix 5-3.

*Table Appendix 5-3 Example of Yogyakarta's gender equality-related regulations*

Regulations	Text related to gender equality
Regulation set by the governor of Yogyakarta special region (No 116/2014) on gender-responsive planning and budgeting guidelines	Article 1 paragraph (4):  Gender-responsive planning and budgeting is an instrument or a series of approaches for integrating gender perspectives into regional development planning and budgeting processes to address differences or gaps in access and opportunities, participation and roles, control and authority, and development for women and men, ensuring a just budget.
Yogyakarta special regional regulations (No 7/2018) on the development of family resilience	Article 21:  Local governments educate families in gender equality in the management of households.

(Author, 2020)

Regulation 116/2014 implies that the government promotes gender equality during budget-planning, whilst regulation 7/2018 means that, in Yogyakarta, gender equality is taught in schools.

The most notable effort by the Yogyakarta government to build gender equality is reflected in a revision of Yogyakarta provincial law 13/2012 concerning the privileges of Yogyakarta – specifically, the conditions for nominating the governor and deputy governor of the special region of Yogyakarta, as stated in Article 18 (1) (m). According to the unrevised version, the nomination of the governor and deputy governor must do as follows:

*submit a curriculum vitae containing, among others, a history of education, employment, siblings, wife and children.* (Yogyakarta provincial law 13/2012 on Privileges of Yogyakarta – before revision)

The use of the word “wife” in that regulation was considered discriminatory because it seemed to imply that the king and governor of Yogyakarta must be a man. In 2017, the constitutional court granted the lawsuit and the word “wife” was officially removed from the regulation. Therefore, in the future, the king of Yogyakarta can legally be a woman, although not all royal family members support this.<sup>85</sup>

The participants in this study noted that the government’s efforts had resulted in growing awareness of gender equality. More women are now involved in decision-making processes in organisations. However, the patriarchal institutions still can be found in wider society. This is reflected in several normative and regulative areas, such as Javanese norms, the national moral code, and national and regional legislation.

### ***Javanese philosophy***

One interviewee suggested that Jogjakarta’s patriarchy can be traced to Javanese norms and values related to women, such as the term *konco wingking* to describe women’s position in the household:

*Especially in Java, a wife is positioned as konco wingking. Konco is “friend”, wingking is “behind”. To be a good wife, you have to be behind your husband. Not side-by-side, a wife is at the back. (Y6)*

This norm portrays women as having an unequal position in relation to their husbands. In addition, several participants cited other elements of Javanese philosophy on women’s roles. “*Sumur, kasur, dapur*” is one example. *Sumur* is a well, representing “water” and implying that it is the woman’s role to clean the house. *Kasur* is a bed, suggesting that it is a woman’s responsibility to fulfil her husband’s sexual needs. *Dapur* is a kitchen, indicating that it is a woman’s role to cook for her family. This philosophy suggests that a woman’s role is centred in domestic affairs.

The guidelines for women’s role and position in Javanese society can also be traced to ancient Javanese literature (*serat*). These ancient literary works and teachings are still used today as social guidelines for social ethics. A total of 39 pieces of ancient Javanese literature can be inventoried and saved in several museums in Indonesia (Poerbatjaraka and Hadidjaja, 1952). For example, the

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<sup>85</sup> There is a conflict currently ongoing in the Yogyakarta royal family as to whether next successor will be the current sultan’s daughter.

following is a snippet of a *pupuh* (a traditional song or poem) in *serat panitisastra*, portraying women as lacking skill, strength, and wisdom, compared to their male counterparts (Table 5-4).

*Table Appendix 5-4 Women's position in Javanese literature (serat panitisastra)*

Javanese language	English translation
Wuwusekang wus ing ngelmi kaprawolu wanudyo lan priyo Ing kabisan myang kuwate tuwin wiwekanipun (Pupuh dhandanggula II, Stanza 13)	According to people who have finished studying, women are only one-eighth of men in terms of intelligence and strength and wisdom

(Author, 2019)

In daily life, patriarchal practice is seen in the sexual harassment deeply embedded in the social structures, as expressed by one participant:

*In my industry [dance/art performance], there are efforts to pursue gender equality. They [project leaders, the government, NGOs] try to involve women in every occasion or meeting. They ask our opinions. But once the formal meeting is over, they do not hesitate to make dirty jokes or condescending comments to women. [...] It is rooted in our society. Javanese are used to patriarchy. (Y 19)*

In addition, the current norm in which the (male) king is perceived as the source of all power and obeyed without question is seen by one participant as a manifestation of patriarchy, as expressed below:

*It is definitely patriarchy – “sendika dhawuh<sup>86</sup> Devaraja”.<sup>87</sup> (TL3)*

<sup>86</sup> *Sendhika dhawuh* is a Javanese expression used to show respect, obedience, and submission to older or otherwise respected people. *Sendhika dhawuh* is part of *krama ingil*, the polite form of the Javanese language, usually used when speaking to the elders. A person's level of politeness is judged by how well they use *krama ingil* with speaking to their elders.

<sup>87</sup> *Sendhika dhawuh Devaraja*. The general meaning of this is, “Yes, King”. The literal meaning of “*Devaraja*” is “god-king” and it indicates that the king is a living god. “*Devaraja*” indicates that the monarch has transcendental abilities. Contextually, *sendhika dhawuh Devaraja* expresses a submission and obedience to the king that is taken-for-granted – the people do as the king wishes, without question. It also expresses that a Yogyakarta king is perceived as the source of all power. The king titles himself as *Ngarsa Dalem Sampeyan Dalem Senopati ing Ngalogo Abdurrahman Sayyidin Panotogomo Khalifatullah* (Javanese language), the translation of which is, “the highest leader for social and political affairs, the commander of the people in war, and the patron of religious and cultural affairs”.

The expression above reflects how patriarchy is accepted and taken-for-granted in Javanese society. This is similar to patriarchal practices in other parts of the world (i.e., Mesopotamian and Hebrew cultures), where the god-king is depicted as having absolute power and obeyed without question, thus creating a patriarchal system (Lerner, 1986b).

### ***National and regional legislation and policy***

The patriarchal arrangement in Yogyakarta can also be linked to policy and regulation at the national and regional levels. In general, Indonesia acknowledges the male as the head of the family, as stated in the Indonesian law on marriage:

*The husband is the head of the family, and the wife is a housewife.*

(Indonesia Law No. 1/1974 on marriage, Article 31[3]).

This states that, in general, the husband is the decision-maker in the household because he is the head of the family. (This has posed a challenge for female entrepreneurs, as will be discussed in the following section.)

In addition, the dataset revealed that some women find their role is constructed by the government in relation to their husband's occupation, as formalised by legislation and other rules. This is defined by Jones (2010) as "state-sponsored femininity": a state arrangement to construct a public value of femininity. In Indonesia, if a woman is married to a civil servant, she must join "Dharma Wanita", an organisation for the wives of civil servants. Similarly, the wives of policemen are obligated to join "Wanita Bhayangkari" and women married to soldiers must join "PERSIT". Once the women have joined these "state-sponsored organisations", a particular role and conduct are attached to them and formalised in written rules. They are also expected to introduce government programmes to their families, neighbourhoods, and the wider community. For example, the role of soldier's wife is explained in the introduction to the PERSIT "*Memorandum of Association/Articles of Association*":

*The wife of an army soldier is absolutely inseparable from the army, both in carrying out organisational tasks and in personal life. Therefore, the wife of an army soldier must assist the army in the success of its duties, both as a defence and security force and as a component of nation-building to achieve the ideals of the Indonesian nation.*

The members of the state-sponsored organisation are expected to behave according to the Indonesian government's moral code for women, called "*Kodrat Wanita*". The moral code states that women must be gracious, submissive, and politically (Wieringa, 2003; Gonsoulin, 2005). The women's moral code and femininity values are institutionalised within these organisations by a guiding philosophy that mandates caring for others and training in housewifery, cooking, home décor, beauty, and so on (Blackburn, 2004; Jones, 2010). If a wife does not conduct herself as prescribed or she fails to attend training, this could jeopardise the husband's professional advancement (Jones, 2010).<sup>88</sup>

The women's moral code is a national-level code derived from Javanese *priyayi* (noble) values, tied to the pre-colonial legacy (Wieringa, 2003) and the Yogyakarta palace (Jones, 2010). The influence of Javanese values on national-level legislation and policy is due to the fact that Soekarno, one of the founding fathers of Indonesia and its first president, was Javanese. He drew on Indonesian history and Javanese values to formulate an ideology of the Indonesian nation (Mulder, 1996). Following the reign of Soeharto, the second president – who was also Javanese – ruled for 31 years (1967–1998), and the *priyayi* Javanese values were institutionalised as national etiquette (Jones, 2010). *Kodrat wanita*, a form of state-sponsored femininity, is one element of Soeharto's legacy. Since the arrival of national independence, all Indonesian presidents have been Javanese, which explains the Javanisation of Indonesian national legislation (Thornton, 1972; Mulder, 1996). "Javanisation" refers to the process of domination of the Indonesia polity by ethnic Javanese and their variety of political culture (Thornton, 1972). State-sponsored femininity is not new. It is a patriarchal practice found in other Asian countries, such as Japan (Sechiyama, 2013). The dataset in this study revealed that Javanese woman's experiences of state-sponsored femininity affect their entrepreneurial journeys. This elaborated on further in Finding section.

According to the elaboration above, the modern-day Yogyakarta, whilst a patriarchal society, has become increasingly aware of gender equality and made improvements on this basis. However, Yogyakarta is considered by the participants in this study to be a patriarchal institution. Whilst before and during colonisation, patriarchal values were linked largely to local practices, the

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<sup>88</sup> Also mentioned by participants during the interviews.



modern Javanese patriarchy is linked more closely to the efforts of the national government to institutionalise patriarchal values. Since the national value is highly based on Javanese value, the national value is more accepted in Javanese. It implies symmetry institutions between national and sub-national level. It will be elaborated further in Chapter 7. This was found to be different in Minangkabau, where local values and national values are less synchronised. This will be discussed further in the Chapter 6.

## **Conclusion**

Figure Appendix 5-2 summarises the construction of Javanese patriarchy. Based on the findings elaborated in this chapter, this study concludes that Yogyakarta patriarchy is more layered and nuanced than Locher-Scholten (2000) and Carey and Houben (2016) suggest. They argue that Yogyakarta patriarchy was introduced by colonialism. This study, however, finds that colonialism is not the only factor underpinning the Javanese patriarchy. Rather, it is intertwined with pre-Islamic beliefs and the worship of a male god or male god-king.

As illustrated in Figure Appendix 5-2, four entities contribute to the construction of the Javanese patriarchy. These are monarchy, colonialism, state, and society or the individual. Yogyakarta patriarchy is rooted in the predecessor kingdoms. It was found within indigenous monarchical institutions, nurtured through cultural conceptions that established the king's power and prioritised males over females. The evidence presented in this study suggests that the story of Nyi Roro Kidul has an essential role in Yogyakarta society, laying the foundation for Javanese patriarchy. The Javanese patriarchy was built on the narrative of divine femininity:<sup>89</sup> a female god or superwoman. The story of Nyi Roro Kidul explains what is culturally and spiritually perceived as power in Yogyakarta. This cultural conception then is completed by norms and philosophy, which tell Yogyakartaans how to behave in the presence of that power. The normative arrangement of norms, values, and philosophy also dictate what women and men should and should not do.

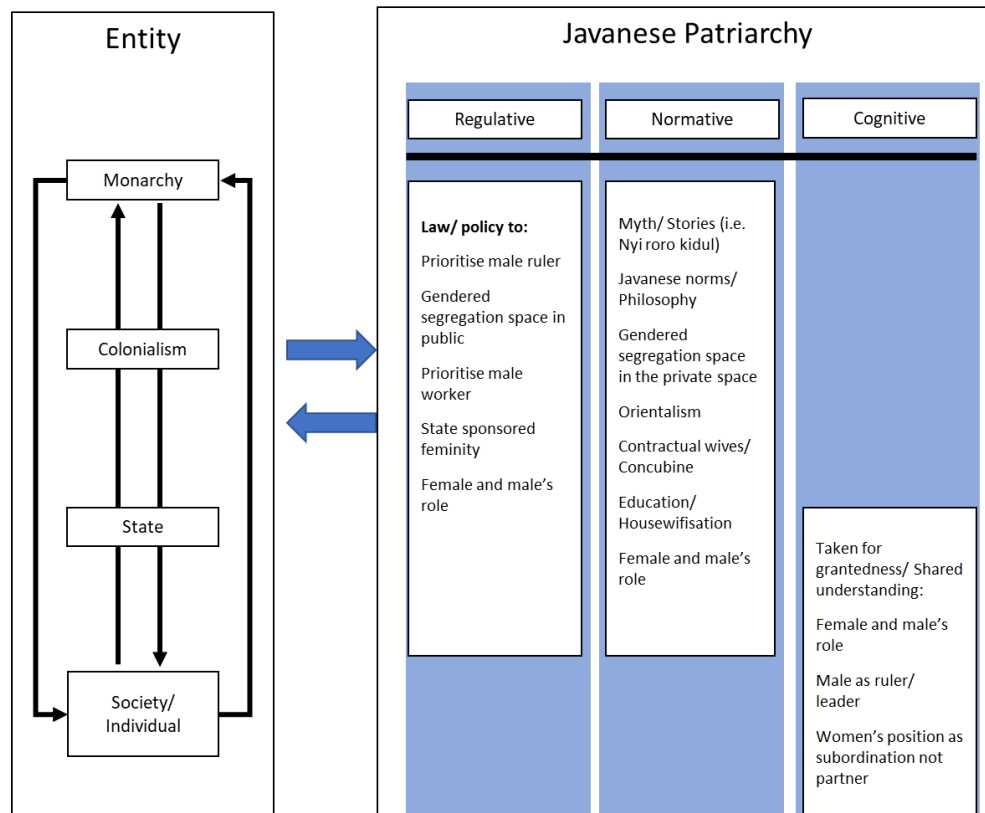
It is also evident that the practice of gender-segregating space in the Javanese palace and household hinders women's access to resources and information, leaving them with less power. This study

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<sup>89</sup> The feminine form of spirituality (see Ruether, 2005; Tobler, 2001; Jordaan, 1997).

finds gender-segregated space to evolve as a gendered-segregation industry. This will be discussed in Finding section about women’s entrepreneurship at growth phase.

*Figure Appendix 5-2 Construction of Yogyakarta patriarchy*



(Author, 2020)

Colonialism introduced more nuance to Javanese patriarchy. Whilst monarchy enforced patriarchy through the normative and cultural cognitive elements, colonialism institutionalised patriarchal practice through regulative aspects – such as legislation and policy governing education and paid work. The modern-day government also has the means to construct patriarchy. Although gender equality is promoted in the regional and national legislation, a model of femininity is institutionalised through state-sponsored women’s organisations. This dictates what makes a woman “a woman” in the eyes of the state, constructing a collective image of “woman” within that organisation.

From the institutional perspective, it is evident that Javanese patriarchy was constructed on the normative and regulative pillars and then cognitively accepted or taken-for-granted by the Javanese. The participants in this study believed – or had been taught – that the woman’s role or position is as prescribed in Javanese philosophy, norms, and regulation, and they accepted this.

Finally, individuals and society actively maintain Javanese patriarchy through the existing rules and resources. This alignment between the cognitive, regulative, and normative pillars of the institutions perpetuates Javanese patriarchy to this today.

### **A 5.1.2 Yogyakarta entrepreneurship**

#### **Entrepreneurship before colonisation**

Direct documentary evidence of entrepreneurship in Java – or Yogyakarta in particular – before colonialism is lacking, due to the lack of written documents from this period. Therefore, scholars have identified Javanese entrepreneurship and economic activity during this period through the chronicles written by Chinese and Gujarati merchants. According to Geertz (1956, 1975), these chronicles mention merchants from China, Gujarat, and Vietnam coming to the Indonesian coast for trade with kingdoms such as Mataram, Majapahit, and Samudera Pasai. In addition, Java’s entrepreneurial activity can be traced through the ancient inscriptions and manuscripts. For instance, the Canggal inscription mentions Mataram residents’ skills and economic activities. *Babad Tanah Jawi* inscriptions mention people in Java selling local products to international merchants (Chinese, Khmer, and Arab; Table Appendix 5-5).

Kotagede, a region in Yogyakarta, provides more evidence of Yogyakarta’s entrepreneurship before colonisation. Kotagede, the former capital city of Mataram, has been famous as a silver craft cluster since the Mataram kingdom, growing as a business cluster due to its position and infrastructure (Kroef and Justus, 1956; Ricklefs, 2007). Although Kotagede ceased to be the capital city during colonisation, it continued to enjoy the privilege of not paying tax,<sup>90</sup> as it was considered

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<sup>90</sup> According to the tax-free regulation, the land of the royal family and their relatives is not subject to tax (plantation tax, land tax, etc.). See Ricklefs (2001) for further explanation of the tax system during colonisation.

part of the palace or the prince's land. This circumstance contributed to Kotagede remaining a craft and trade cluster further down the line.

*Table Appendix 5-5 Babad Tanah Jawi: texts depicting entrepreneurship*

Javanese text <sup>91</sup>	Translation <sup>92</sup>
Enggoné dedagangan lelawanan karo wong Cina; barang dedagangané kayata: emas, salaka, gading lan liya liyané. (p. 5)	Places to sell products to Chinese merchants. The products are gold, silver, tusk, and much more.
Karajan Jawa mau sugih emas lan bumbu crakèn. Wong Arab iya akèh kang lelawanan dedagangan. (p. 6)	Javanese kingdoms are rich in gold and spices, so a lot of Arabians become trading partners.

(Author, 2019)

### **Entrepreneurship during colonisation**

During Dutch colonisation, the Indonesian economy was suppressed to the extent that indigenous people could only produce goods for self-consumption (Geertz, 1956). Java Island was the most colonised of the islands, with 80% of Europeans in Indonesia living in Java. Java was also the most industrialised area (Locher-Scholten, 2000), with the Javanese people thus being the most affected by the Dutch's industrialisation in Indonesia (Locher-Scholten and Niehof, 1992; Ricklefs, 2001). The industrialised system during colonialism restricted indigenous entrepreneurship. Only people who leased land from the European entrepreneurs or who were authorised by the Dutch could benefit from industrialisation (Kroef and Justus, 1954; Margana, 2003; Basundoro and Putra, 2019). In this way, industrialisation became part of the Dutch racial classification system, which placed indigenous people at the bottom.

*Circa* the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Yogyakarta recorded a rise in indigenous entrepreneurial activity amongst female entrepreneurs (Meerkerk, 2017; Basundoro and Putra, 2019). This was the result of the Javanese nobles' efforts to overcome the restrictions on industrialisation. The increasing

<sup>91</sup> Javanese translation by Kertapradja (2014).

<sup>92</sup> Author.

population had increased local demand for food and clothing, and so on. The indigenous entrepreneurs, who were primarily Javanese nobles, sought to fulfil the local needs with their produce. They developed ventures and networks, without using the Dutch industrialisation scheme. This largely comprised home-based industry, as they had no access to land on which to build plantations, factories, and workshops (Shiraishi, 1990; Meerkerk, 2017).

One of the native businesses initiated by the Javanese noble was *batik*.<sup>93</sup> The working space was usually in the household, in *keraton* (the palace), called “Jeron Benteng”.<sup>94</sup> Under the land regulations, Jeron Benteng was a space in which the Dutch could not intrude or collect tax (Ricklefs, 2001; Claver, 2014). This privilege gave Jeron Benteng a foundation on which to sustain and nurture entrepreneurial activity. Kotagede also enjoyed a similar privilege, freed from land tax because it was part of the royal family’s land, as a former capital city. Therefore, businesses developed more easily in Kotagede and Jeron Benteng than it did elsewhere, where others were struggling to pay tax. Kotagede and Jeron Benteng today remain two renowned business clusters in Yogyakarta.

The rise of entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta was also related to the “gender colonisation project”. This project positioned elite women to stay at home and be trained to be good wives and mothers. At that time, the ability to do *batik* and craftwork were considered fundamental to the elite women’s education. As product demand increased due to the increasing population, more labour was needed (Ricklefs, 2007). The elite women taught these skills to the wives of palace workers and troops. More women in Jeron Benteng were involved in making and selling *batik* and pottery (Meerkerk, 2017), and these skills later contributed to the blooming of the home industries in Jeron Benteng.

In addition to the gender colonisation project and Dutch industrialisation, other colonial policies also drove the rise of entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta. In that period, the Dutch forced peasant men to perform *culturstelseel* and *heerendiensten*<sup>95</sup> (Hall, 1981; Frankema and Buelens, 2013). Men

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<sup>93</sup> *Batik* is a verb (“to batik”) and also a noun (a *batik*), and it refers to the arts and crafts of decorating cloth using wax and dye.

<sup>94</sup> The literal meaning of *Jeron Benteng* (Javanese) is “inside the fortress”. *Jeron Benteng* refers to the neighborhoods surrounding the palace, the home to the royal family and their relatives, noble people, government officials, troops, and palace workers. See Arvisista and Dwisusanto (2020) for further reading on *Jeron Benteng*.

<sup>95</sup> *Heerendiensten* (or “forced labour”) was a Dutch strategy for mobilising indigenous people to build civilian and military infrastructure, including roads and trains, to facilitate the work of the colonial government. There are no

were sent to work in Dutch plantations inside and outside Java Island, work for which they were poorly paid (Ricklefs, 2001). As a result, the men could not contribute to their households. At the same time, the skills in producing *batik* were spreading outside the cluster of Jeron Benteng and Kotagede (Meerkerk, 2017). As a result, more women were producing *batik* and handicrafts. During that challenging time, women's production of high-quality textiles and crafts ensured their family's welfare, and the textiles and crafts industry in Yogyakarta was eventually regarded as an female-led operation (Shiraishi, 1990). This entrepreneurial activity challenged the Dutch industrialisation system by fulfilling the local needs with local and household products, reducing the demand for imported products from Europe or produced by the Dutch factories (Meerkerk, 2017).

*Figure Appendix 5-3 Batik artist and workshop in Jeron Benteng*



(Author; photograph taken during fieldwork, 2019)

### **Recent times**

Today, entrepreneurship remains essential in Yogyakarta. There are 238,619 medium, small, and micro enterprises (MSMEs) in Yogyakarta (Bappenas, 2018), employing around 6.41% of the population. The true number could be larger, as most small and micro businesses in Indonesia are not registered (Babbitt, Brown, and Mazaheri, 2015; Rothenberg *et al.*, 2016). MSMEs contribute 79.64% of the total GDP in Yogyakarta (Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, 2018). Men own

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official data on the impact of this policy. However, for lower-level Javanese society, *heerendiensten* resulted thousands of deaths due to abuse, hunger, and exhaustion (Ricklefs, 2001).

52.27% of the total small and micro enterprises in Yogyakarta, with the remaining 47.73% owned by women (BPS, 2018), indicating only a small gap in business ownership.

Although it has not specifically addressed the importance of entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta, the local government acknowledges that small businesses are vital for Yogyakarta, as highlighted in regional law (3/2018) in the special regional development plan for 2017–2022 on small businesses and cooperatives:

*Cooperatives and SMEs are expected to be the main economic drivers in Yogyakarta region, considering the majority of the economy in Yogyakarta region is dominated by the cooperative and SME sectors.* (Yogyakarta regional law 3/2018, appendices, p. II-137)

At the national level, there are 18 ministries and organisations related to entrepreneurship and SMEs.<sup>96</sup> Entrepreneurship and SMEs are also regulated by ministries at the regional level. For example, there is regional law 9/2017 on empowerment and protection of creative industries, cooperatives, and small businesses, as well as 11/2018 concerning regional entrepreneurship. In these two regulations, Yogyakarta government conveys its support for entrepreneurship – for example, as elaborated in Article 8 of 9/2017:

*The Regional Government implements the Empowerment of Creative Industries, Cooperatives, and Small Businesses in the form of:*

- a. technical guidance, mentoring, and human resource development;*
- b. facilitation of access to funding and capital assistance;*
- c. facilitate the availability of raw materials and supporting materials;*
- d. facilitation of business facilities and infrastructure;*
- e. facilitation of new businesses and have prospects for development;*
- f. marketing facilitation; and/or*
- g. facilitation of information technology.*

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<sup>96</sup> Anonymous interview with an official from the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs.

(Yogyakarta regional law [9/2017], Article 8)

“Entrepreneurship” and “small business” are formally defined in the regional laws, as summarised in Table Appendix 5-6.

*Table Appendix 5-6 Regional laws related to entrepreneurship and small business*

Regulations	Definitions
Yogyakarta regional law (11/2018) on regional entrepreneurship	“Entrepreneurship” is the spirit, attitude, behaviour, and ability of Indonesian citizens to handle businesses and/or activities that lead to seeking, creating, and implementing new technology and products by increasing efficiency to provide better services and/or gain greater benefits (Article 1[1]).
	“Entrepreneurs” are Indonesian citizens who have the ability to creatively recognise and manage themselves as well as various opportunities and resources to create added value for themselves in a sustainable manner (Article 1[2]).
Yogyakarta regional law (9/2017) on empowerment and the protection of creative industries, cooperatives, and small businesses	A “small business” is a productive economic business that stands alone, managed by an individual or a business entity that is not a subsidiary or branch of a company that is owned, controlled, or is a part – either directly or indirectly – of a medium or large business, which meets the small business criteria as referred to in the law.

(Author, 2020)

This shows that the government provides formal support in various ways for entrepreneurs and small businesses.

The national and regional governments are aware that a lack of gender equality hampers women’s economic productivity and can lead to the feminisation of poverty (the Indonesian Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, *Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dan Perlindungan Anak* [KemenPPPA], 2012, 2017). Therefore, in addition to the general regulation on SMEs and entrepreneurship mentioned above, the government has issued regulations, policies, and programmes intended to empower women through economic activities. The essential policies,



regulations, and programmes related to women’s economic empowerment are listed in Table Appendix 5-7. These programmes are usually coordinated by the “PKK” (*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, “Empowerment of Family Welfare”), a state-sponsored women’s organisation that will be discussed in the Finding section (on the theme of the enabling environment).

*Table Appendix 5-7 Laws related to women’s economic empowerment*

No	Laws, policies, and programmes	Description
1	Yogyakarta Governor Regulation No. 73/2015	Regional regulation on the duties and functions of women’s and community empowerment agencies in Yogyakarta.
2	Indonesian Ministry Regulation No. 2/2016	National regulation on the general guidelines for the development of home industries to improve family welfare by empowering women.
3	<i>Peningkatan produktivitas Ekonomi Perempuan</i> (PPEP; “Increasing Women’s Economic Productivity”)	PPEP is a national-level policy led by the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA). This policy aims to synchronise the government’s economic empowerment programmes from across 18 ministries and government agencies. It seeks to build an entrepreneurial ecosystem for women – primarily at the village level – in partnership with the regional government.

(Author, 2020)

Based on the elaboration above, it is summarised that Yogyakarta’s cultural and historical background has shaped its entrepreneurial landscape and activity. The impact is resonant to this day, with entrepreneurship remaining an important part of Yogyakarta society. Yogyakarta provides an example of how small and micro home industries, combined with local wisdom and government incentives such as tax exemption, can create a trickle-down effect, spreading the entrepreneurial activities to a wider area. In this context, resources previously owned only by elite women can be taught, shared with the wider neighbourhood – including the lower classes in the

social structure – ultimately stimulating economic growth. This created more entrepreneurs in the area, leading to the development of a business cluster. Strong and competitive local industries have emerged, providing alternatives to imported products and contributing to the well-being of local families.

The findings elaborated above also show that entrepreneurship is part of the anti-colonialism movement in Yogyakarta. Women's participation in this movement led to the construction of "female industry". From the gender perspective, whilst "female industry" can be a positive thing, it can also be a seed of segregation, as will be elaborated in the following section.

## Appendix 5.2 Contextual setting: West Sumatra, home to the Minangkabau

Minangkabau, also known as Minang, is a tribe in Indonesia renowned for its matriarchal arrangements (Sanday, 2003). In the 2010 Indonesia population census, 6,462,713 (2.73%) Indonesians self-identified as Minangkabau (BPS, 2011). A majority of Minangkabau people (65.29%) live in West Sumatra, the home province of the tribe (BPS, 2011), with 77% of West Sumatra's population being Minangkabau.

West Sumatra covers an area of 42,012.89 km<sup>2</sup> and is located on Sumatra island. Historically, the area of the Minangkabau region stretches beyond the West Sumatra boundaries. If the Minangkabau region is traced through the Pagaruyung kingdom,<sup>97</sup> it covers North Sumatra province, Jambi province, Bengkulu province, as well as Negeri Sembilan – a state in Malaysia (Suleiman, 1977). For this research, the focus is on the Minangkabau region within its modern boundaries – that is, the West Sumatra province. This investigation focuses on Minangkabau entrepreneurs who reside in West Sumatra. “Minangkabau” here refers to either the people or the place. The term “Minangkabau” is often used interchangeably with “West Sumatra” to define the home of the Minangkabau people, and this is done in this study.

The history of the Minangkabau can be traced through the ancient inscriptions and manuscripts called *tambo*<sup>98</sup> (ancient manuscripts) and *kaba* (folklore).<sup>99</sup> Compared to the Javanese, Minangkabau lean more on speech and oral traditions – than writing – to communicate and preserve information (Yona, 2012; Eliza, Hariani and Pratama, 2018). Therefore, Kaba is more prevalent than Tambo in Minangkabau. There are few written documents, such as inscriptions and *tambo*, conserved by Minangkabau. During the fieldwork, the participants recited *kaba* and poems

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<sup>97</sup> Pagaruyuang, the kingdom of Minangkabau.

<sup>98</sup> *Tambo*: ancient manuscripts that contain history about the Minangkabau establishment and *adat* (way of life in Minangkabau/traditional custom). Most are written in the Arabic-Malay alphabet, and a few are in the Latin alphabet. *Tambo* is usually owned and written by *penghulu/dato* (tribal leaders), and it is treated like a bible (respected, considered sacred), to be inherited by the clan's successor. It is a restricted manuscript and can only be accessed and read by certain people who have gone through traditional ceremonies. Today, it is translated into the Latin alphabet and Indonesian language and can be accessed by everyone. Some manuscripts are preserved by clans and held at museums in Indonesia, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

<sup>99</sup> *Kaba* is Minangkabau folklore about the way of life for the Minangkabau, presenting the social and personal outcome of either neglecting or obeying the ethical and the norms embedded in the *adat*. It is usually narrated by a storyteller.

to relay ancient stories about the Minangkabau way of life, rather than introducing manuscripts to read. However, some written documents were accessed at museums and private collections.

Compared to that of the Javanese, conversation in Minangkabau is straightforward and honest about intentions and opinions. However, it is smoothed with poetic, metaphorical sentences that sound rhythmic because of the lyrical prose and sound equation patterns. This oral or speech tradition contributes to preserving Minangkabau as a consensus society, an element of the matriarchal structure elaborated on later. Speech tradition also contributes to building entrepreneurial skills, as will be explained further later.

Scholars have divided Minangkabau historical development into three major stages: before colonisation, during colonisation, and independence or the post-colonial period (Kahn, 1976; Stark, 2013). Historical development has affected the social structure in West Sumatra, although it retains some of its matriarchal aspects (Kahn, 1980). This will be elaborated further in the section on political elements. The following section discusses the Minangkabau matriarchy, followed by a discussion on Minangkabau entrepreneurship.

#### **A 5.2.1 Minangkabau matriarchy: The egalitarian social structure**

Matriarchy, known as *matriarkat* in Minangkabau, has its origins in the word *matriarchaat*, which was introduced by the Dutch during their colonisation of Indonesia. There is no official record of how and why Minangkabau began to adopt matriarchal arrangements. However, *tambo* of the Pagaruyuang kingdom records that matriarchy has been practised in the region since Adityawarman's reign between 1347 and 1375 (Dirajo, 2009)

This section investigates the construction and practice of the Minangkabau matriarchy. It uses the framework of Goettner-Abendroth (2017) to portray the cultural, economic, social, and political elements. It also introduces an additional element to that framework, called *merantau*.

### **The cultural aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: The feminine divine**

The first matriarchal element to be discussed is cultural. Goettner-Abendroth (2017) asserts that the feminine divine<sup>100</sup> or feminine form of spirituality is a cultural element of matriarchy. It is thought that matriarchal societies worship female goddesses or perceive women as possessing supernatural abilities. In Minangkabau matriarchy, the feminine divine has a different manifestation. Minangkabau women are not portrayed as the Wonder Woman of the amazonian matriarchal society in DC comics or as having supernatural abilities, and Minangkabau society does not worship goddesses as depicted in Greek mythology (Pembroke, 1967; Rountree, 1999). Minangkabau matriarchy is linked to the Minangkabau's animism belief (before Islam entered Minangkabau) that emphasises mother nature and mother as the world's origin (Fischer, 1964; Sanday, 2003). Therefore in Minangkabau, women's power or feminine divine is linked to "ordinary women" and their maternal role, not spiritual or supernatural ability.

Regarding animism beliefs, the feminine divine in Minangkabau concerns women's importance in observing nature and teaching knowledge about nature to future generations. It is reflected in the Minangkabau philosophy of *alam takambang jadi guru* ("growth in nature is our teacher"). This philosophy states that Minangkabau people are expected to learn from nature. Women are thus important as a *madrasah pertama* (first school) for children, enabling future generations to learn and grow. Therefore, women should be respected and protected for the benefit of future generations.

The preservation of women's respected position can be traced to the synchronisation of the factions of *adat* (custom) and *padri* (religion). Islam came to Minangkabau in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries through the Muslim merchants from the Aceh sultanate. In addition, some Minangkabau scholars who returned from pilgrimage to Mecca introduced Islam to the wider population of Minangkabau. This triggered friction with *adat* (customary law), and the Islamic faction arose. The *adat* faction worried about losing power to the *padri* faction. This led to the Padri War in 1821. As the *adat* faction, the Minangkabau nobility wanted to preserve their position by fighting the Paguruyang sultanate ruled by a *padri* or Islamist purist. The Minangkabau nobility asked for help from the Dutch to fight the *padri*. However, by 1830, the *adat* faction realised the brutality and corruption

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<sup>100</sup> The femininity divine (or divine feminine) is the feminine form of spirituality (see work of Ruether, 2005; Tobler, 2001; Jordaan, 1997).

of the Dutch and joined the *adat* faction to fight against them (Dobbin, 1977; von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann, 2012). That marked the end of the Padri War and the beginning of Dutch colonisation in Minangkabau in 1937.

Following the Padri War, the religious (*padri*) and custom (*adat*) leaders reconciled and promulgated a new ideology of *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah*: “customary laws are based on religious laws; religious laws are based on the Holy Book (Al-Quran)”. This was the result of an effort by Minangkabau religious and customary leaders to synchronise the customs with Islamic teaching. One of the values preserved by both *adat* and religion is the respect for women and mothers. This was expressed by the participant below:

*Some traditional values defy Islamic teaching. For example, worshipping trees or stones, our predecessors eliminated it. But some adat [customs] are preserved – for example, respect for the mother. In Islam, our Prophet taught us to respect your mother, your mother, your mother, and then your father. It is [Islam] aligned with matriarkat (PT1).*

The quote above implies that, although there was a clash between the traditional and *padri* (Islamic) leaders, the current Minangkabau position on Islamic teaching is aligned with matriarchal values, especially respect for the mother. Therefore, matriarchal values persist alongside Islamic values.

Minangkabau women have two cultural roles that incorporate the feminine divine and a significant social position. These are *bundo kanduang* and *limpapeh rumah gadang*, elaborated on below.

### ***Bundo kanduang***

The Minangkabau woman is addressed as *bundo kanduang*. The literal meaning of this is “the maternal/womb mother”. It is a respectful way of addressing women, especially those who have married or who have a child. *Bundo kanduang* also refers to an elite woman, a leader, or the eldest woman in the family or clan, regardless of her marital status. For example, this might be a sister or aunt. During the pre-colonial period, the concept of *bundo kanduang* could be found in several *tambo* conveyed through cultural mediums such as *kaba* (folklore), storytelling, folksong, and poetry. For example, *bundo kanduang* is mentioned in the *kaba* about Queen Cindomata, the female ruler of the Pagaruyung kingdom:

*Once upon a time, in the Pagaruyung kingdom within Minangkabau nature, there was a queen whose title was bundo kanduang ... She was independent, equal in fame to the kings of Rum and China and the sea king*

(Kaba Cindomata, fieldwork interview, 2019).

The story continues, depicting *bundo kanduang* as a queen who teaches her son to be a wise ruler. This folklore describes the sovereignty possessed by *bundo kanduang* as comparable to that of other famous rulers and details her role in teaching the next generation. Women in this folklore have various roles, being influential leaders, mothers, and teachers. This implies that, aside from the maternal role, Minangkabau women are also granted prestigious positions due to their abilities.

However, it was not possible to trace female rulers other than Queen Cindomata, due to a lack of written evidence, such as ancient manuscripts and inscriptions. However, the folklore above suggests that matriarchal values were practised before the colonisation period, allowing women to be rulers, inherit assets and lineage, and protect the land.

Today, the construction of *bundo kanduang* is formalised in West Sumatra provincial law, highlighting the role of women in sustaining *adat* (custom), as outlined below:

*Bundo kanduang is a female/female leader in Minangkabau who portrays the figure of a wise woman who makes the Minangkabau tradition sustainable from time to time*

(West Sumatra provincial Law No. 7/2018, Article 1).

This law aligns with the Kaba Cindomata<sup>101</sup> story in portraying Minangkabau women as having an important role, especially their responsibility for sustaining the Minangkabau traditions and passing them down to the younger generations. The formalisation of *bundo kanduang* in the regional legislation has two implications. First, the position of women as important figures is acknowledged in both normative and regulative realms, acknowledged by the state as not only a cultural symbol or myth. Second, the law on *bundo kanduang* can be seen as the state intervening in the construction of femininity. The latter will be elaborated on further in the following section on political elements of Minangkabau matriarchy.

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<sup>101</sup> “Kaba Cindomata” is the story of Queen Cindomata. It is believed that the words *bundo kanduang* to describe Minangkabau women were first introduced in this story (Sanday, 2003).

### *Limpapeh rumah gadang*

Minangkabau women are socially constructed as *limpapeh rumah gadang*<sup>102</sup> (a central pillar of the *rumah gadang*, or “ancestral house”). This is a metaphor for *bundo kanduang*. In this conception, women have a significant role as the foundation of the *rumah gadang*, which is passed down through women. Up to three or four generations live together in *rumah gadang*. *Rumah gadang* is also central to matrilocal practice (discussed further in the section on the social elements of matriarchy). *Limpapeh rumah gadang* was originally the name of the Minangkabau traditional clothing. It symbolises women’s role as the central pillar (*limpapeh*) of *rumah gadang*. Figure 6-1 (left) shows the statue of a woman wearing a headpiece that resembles the roof of *rumah gadang* (right).

The symbolisation of women as pillars of *rumah gadang* is explained below:

*The outfit Putri [Princess] Junjuang wears in this statue. The headpiece represents rumah gadang’s roof, as women support the rumah gadang. When women mismanage the house, the roof will collapse, the whole family will collapse. (R16)*

Women’s agency and decisions regarding their household are important and can affect the lineage. *Limpapeh rumah gadang* also describes women’s significant role in economic life (discussed in the section on economic elements of matriarchy). As a *bundo kanduang* metaphor, *limpapeh rumah gadang* concerns the authority held by women in various areas of life (economic, political, and social). In the next section, the social aspects of Minangkabau matriarchy will be discussed.

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<sup>102</sup> *Rumah gadang*: the literal meaning is “big house”, referring to the traditional house of the Minangkabau people, usually a part of community or clan’s ancestral property. The architecture and function reflect the cultural values of Minangkabau. They are owned by women, passed down from mother to daughter, and up to three or four generations live there together.



*Figure Appendix 6-1 Minangkabau woman in traditional dress (left) and rumah gadang (right)*



(Taken during fieldwork, 2019)

**The social aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: Matrilineal kinship, dualism authority, and matrilocality**

Kinship and authority are as important social aspects of Minangkabau matriarchy. This is discussed in the following sections.

***Matrilineal kinship and matrilocality***

Minangkabau children are named after their mother, attributed to the female line, and belong to the maternal clan. This arrangement is matrilineal (Goettner-Abendroth, 2017), and matrilineal kinship is extended to include matrifocal or uxorilocal residential arrangements (Kato, 1978). “Matrifocal” or “uxorilocal” refer to a situation in which the husband lives in the wife’s ancestral home (*rumah gadang*). The husband is considered a “guest” in the *rumah gadang*. As a part of the matrilocal arrangement, the Minangkabau man who has reached puberty but not yet married, lives in a communal space called *surau*. Married males also sometimes temporarily live in *surau*, where they bond with the clan’s male members.

*Surau* is from the Arabic for a small masjid or mosque, a place of worship for Muslims. In other places in Indonesia, *surau* is used only for worship activities; but in Minangkabau, it is used for both worship and as a male communal space in which to live. In the afternoons or evenings after school, the young male and female members study Islam, farming, and martial arts in the *surau*.

The male members then sleep in the *surau* whilst the female and married males return to *rumah gadang*.

### ***Dualism authority***

Minangkabau matriarchy involves the practice of dualist authority. This means shared authority in the household and broader society between *bundo kanduang* and *mamak* (a maternal uncle). In the Minangkabau household, male authority is held by *mamak*, not the father or husband. The *mamak* is also responsible for his lineage. A father does not have authority in his nuclear family, but he has authority in his sister's household. A man's heir is his sister's children, not his own.

To understand the notion of authority amongst the Minangkabau requires an understanding of the different levels of the matrilineal group. Table Appendix 6-1 and Figure Appendix 6-2 illustrate the different levels and units of the Minangkabau matrilineal grouping, presenting them in ascending order. The smallest unit in the matrilineal group is the *paruik* ("household"). The *paruik* is a group of individuals living in an ancestral house (*rumah gadang*). *Bundo kanduang* holds authority in the *paruik*. *Jurai* is a corporation of several *paruik*. The *suku* ("clan") is a combination of several *jurai*. The *mamak* (maternal uncle) has authority within the *jurai* and *suku*. The largest matrilineal unit in Minangkabau matriarchy is the *nagari*, which is a combination of several *suku*. *Nagari* also refers to a territorial boundary around the land and property owned by the *nagari*. In addition, a *nagari* leader, or *penghulu*, has political and regulative power, as will be further discussed in the political section.

Figure Appendix 5-2 Minangkabau matrilineal levels and groups

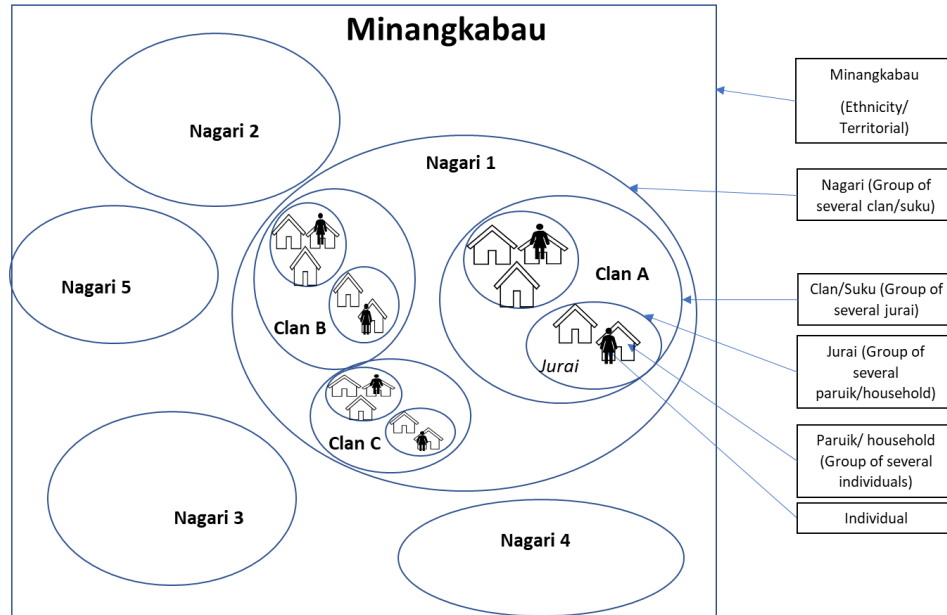


Table Appendix 5-1 Minangkabau matrilineal levels and groups

Unit/level	Definition	Authority
Individual	-	
Descent group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Paruik</i> (Household/minor lineage)</li> <li>• <i>Jurai</i> (matrilineage/several households)</li> <li>• <i>Suku</i> (clan/corporation of jurai)</li> </ul>	A group of related people living in one ancestral house ( <i>rumah gadang</i> )	<i>Bundo kanduang</i>
	A group of related <i>rumah gadang</i>	<i>Mamak</i>
	A group of related lineage who share a common ancestress	<i>Mamak</i>
Local group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nagari (village)</li> <li>• Several Nagari</li> </ul>	A genealogical and territorial bond based on an autonomous government and regulated by applicable <i>adat</i> (customary law)	<i>Mamak</i> (usually called Penghulu)

As shown in Table 6-1 *bundo kanduang* have authority within the *paruik*, whilst *mamak* has authority in a broader lineage – such as *jurai*, *suku*, and *nagari*. Minangkabau women are leaders

and have power in family or clan, but *mamak* has the authority in most higher matrilineage groups. There are two reasons for this.

First, *mamak* and *bundo kanduang* have authority on different levels and spaces. In the structure described in Table 6-1, *bundo kanduang* has authority within a *rumah gadang* or *paruik* (single household), the female space. In contrast, *mamak* has authority in *surau*, a male communal space. Patriarchal societies are familiar with the concept of segregated spheres. This sees the private sphere linked to the space for family, personal leisure, and enhancement (Walby, 1990; Norton, 2011). Both *surau* and *rumah gadang* are private spheres in a patriarchal society (Lerner, 1986). However, in Minangkabau, the segregation between the private and public spheres, as in patriarchy, does not exist. *Rumah gadang* and *surau* are public spaces in which paid work is done and consensus is made, but they are also a private sphere for family, leisure, and so on. In addition, a clan usually consists of several *rumah gadang* that are “connected by *bundo kanduang*”. This means a combination of *bundo kanduang* have the authority in many spaces (houses) throughout the clan territory. There are usually only one or two *surau* in a clan territory, which means that male power is centralised in a small space. Therefore, even though *de jure bundo kanduang* has authority in a single household – and *mamak* has authority in wider society – *de facto* is *mamak* and *bundo kanduang* have authority in public spaces and in wider society. This is what comprises the dualist authority in Minangkabau. This dualism is exercised in private spaces and in relation to domestic and familial issues and in broader aspects of Minangkabau life. This will be discussed further in relation to the political elements of matriarchy.

Second, whilst responsibility is shared between *mamak* and *bundo kanduang*, as shown in Table Appendix 6-1, the reality is that *mamak* are not involved in lineage issues on a daily basis. A Minangkabau man must balance his role as *mamak* and husband. A *mamak* in daily life resides in his wife’s house, works on his wife’s land, teaches at the *surau* in the evening, or has undergone *merantau* (cultural migration, to be discussed later). Therefore, *mamak* occasionally – rather than daily – visits the ancestral houses of his sisters or female cousins to check on his lineage and discuss clan issues with *bundo kanduang*. The impact of this is that *mamak* are theoretically responsible for the clan and lineage, but in practice, a combination of *bundo kanduang* from several ancestral houses or *rumah gadang* have authority within the clan. This means that women in Minangkabau share power over the clan with *mamak*, amounting to dualist authority.

This leadership dualism contributes to the continuity of the Minangkabau egalitarian structure (Kato, 1978; Stark, 2013). This fits the definition of matriarchy proposed by Goettner-Abendroth (2017) – namely, that a matriarchal society is one that promotes gender equality. This idea of the maternal uncle having authority over the household is less familiar in modern and Western settings, where the nuclear family often consists of husband, wife, and children. In such settings, the husband is frequently the head of the family, and the maternal uncle never has this role. This unique authority dualism creates balance and an egalitarian household social structure.

### **The economic aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: Inheritance system and gift economy**

A matrilineal inheritance system and gift economy are two aspects of matriarchal economy (Goettner-Abendroth, 2017) found in Minangkabau. These are elaborated on in the following sections.

#### ***Matrilineal inheritance system***

As mentioned in the section on social aspects of matriarchy, Minangkabau women are respected and protected for the benefit of future generations. This value is reflected in inheritance arrangements, where ancestral property is passed down to women to ensure that women have sufficient resources to grow and educate the future generations. Ancestral property is passed down through the maternal line, from mother to daughter. This element of Minangkabau matriarchy distinguishes it from a patriarchal system, in which family resources – including inheritance – are primarily reserved for men in the family (Walby, 1990). This ownership of resources gives power to the Minangkabau women.

Ancestral property includes ancestral houses (*rumah gadang*), buildings, and various types of land – such as paddy fields, orchards, fish ponds, and so on. The property rights of ancestral assets can differ depending on the matrilineal levels to which the asset belongs (Table Appendix 6-2).

Table Appendix 6-2 Types of property and property rights

Unit /level	Property rights	Type of ancestral property
Individual	<i>Hak milik</i> (individual/private property rights)	<i>Harta pencaharian</i> (self-earned assets), <i>harta pusaka rendah</i> (low-ancestral property). Can be sold/pawned.
Descent group	<i>Hak kaum</i> (communal property rights)	<i>Harta pusaka tinggi</i> (high-ancestral property). Cannot be sold/pawned.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Paruik</i> (household)</li> <li>• <i>Jurai</i> (matrilineage, several households)</li> <li>• <i>Suku</i> (clan, corporation of <i>jurai</i>)</li> </ul>	<i>Hak suku</i> (clan's rights)	
Local group	<i>Hak ulayat</i> (community property rights)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Nagari</i> (village)</li> <li>• Several <i>nagari</i></li> </ul>		

(Summarised from the interviews and reading)

Table Appendix 6-2 shows that there are two types of ancestral property in Minangkabau: low-ancestral property and high-ancestral property. Low-ancestral property is a self-earned asset. It is usually passed down from parents to children, and it can be sold. Low-ancestral property can be passed down via religious or Islamic inheritance law (in which males and females inherit assets) or purely via the Minangkabau inheritance system (only females inherit assets). Some participants said that they choose to abide by the Minangkabau inheritance system, whilst others opt for the Islamic inheritance system. Those who observe the Islamic inheritance system argued that inheritance is passed down to sons to protect granddaughters. A household with no daughters usually uses the Islamic inheritance system so that assets can be passed down from son to granddaughter. Most male and female participants shared no objections to matrilineal inheritance, as daughters needed to be protected more than sons and the son will be *merantau* and able to earn money themselves.

In contrast, high-ancestral property is passed down to daughters, from one generation to the next, sometimes from an unknown ancestor. In normal circumstances, the high-ancestral property cannot be sold. However, there are four circumstances in which it can be sold (with permission from *mamak* and *bundo kanduang*): for repairing *rumah gadang*, the marriage of a niece, a funeral,

and the election of the new *penghulu* (village or *nagari* leader). Other than these four circumstances, high-ancestral property cannot be sold and to do so is considered shameful to the clan.

Low-ancestral assets usually become high-ancestral assets after three generations, as explained by one participant:

*After three generations, at least, the low-ancestral property can become high-ancestral property. The next generation builds their assets or leaves Minangkabau and leaves their parents' assets to be managed by other relatives or communities. (PT1)*

According to the above, low-ancestral property can become high-ancestral property; and with that, the communal or clan property can become more extensive over time. Ancestral properties bond the Minangkabau people, ensuring that matriarchal practice has lasted over centuries (Kato, 1978; Dirajo, 2009). In addition, this is another reason why Minangkabau women are respected, as they oversee the ancestral assets that bond people together.

### ***Gift economy***

Women's role as the pillar of the *rumah gadang* (*limpapeh rumah gadang*), discussed in the previous section, is also connected with their role as curators of food technology and central to the community's food resilience. Women manage the harvest and the income resulting from the ancestral property, ensuring it is distributed equally to all matrilineage members, as described by participant below:

*We have rankiang under the house [rumah gadang]. It must be full all the time. All crops from ancestral paddy fields are stored in rankiang. It is for daily needs, village festivities, or distributed to families or village residents during the dry season. (P7)*

This quote explains that the Minangkabau economic system balances the economy through sharing, giving, and equal distribution to clan or village members. Minangkabau society, especially *bundo kanduang*, manages the ancestral assets to ensure its members have sufficient food. A picture of *rankiang* (ancestral storage) is shown in Figure Appendix 6-3. *Rankiang* can be built under the house. A larger *rangkiang* is usually built in the courtyard, separate from the house, and filled during harvest.

*Figure Appendix 6-3 A large rankiang in the courtyard to store harvest from the ancestral paddy field*



It is also the norm in Minangkabau to help households hold events, such as wedding ceremonies. Women will bring crops and livestock – such as rice, coconut, chicken, and duck – and help cook food to be consumed at the events. This is described by Goettner-Abendroth (2017) as a “gift economy”, and he suggests it is a prominent element in the matriarchal culture. The current research found that this gift economy also contributes to the building of a female network that enables entrepreneurship (see later discussions).

### **The political aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy: Musyawarah mufakat<sup>103</sup>**

Before colonisation, during colonisation, and after its declaration of independence, Minangkabau underwent several changes to its political system. These changes have contributed to shaping women’s role and position within society, especially in the political realm. This section will be longer than others, summarising the intertwined political, cultural, and historical elements that comprise Minangkabau today.

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<sup>103</sup> *Mufakat* (or *muyawarah mufakat*) is an Indonesian native or customary decision-making system for reaching a consensus.



### *Before colonisation*

“Before colonisation” describes the period before 1821, when the West Sumatra province was a kingdom and Dutch authority in Minangkabau was minimal. This period is divided into two periods: first, *circa* the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when Adityawarman ruled villages in the Pagaruyung highlands (Suleiman, 1977; Kulke, 2009). The reign of Adityawarman is recorded in ancient inscriptions, such as the *Bukit Gombak*. It is also mentioned in the annals of the Ming dynasty, China (Kulke, 2009). According to the annals, inscriptions, and *tambo*, Adityawarman founded the Pagaruyung kingdom and ruled between 1347 and 1375. The word “Minangkabau” is derived from *manangkabau*, which means “the winning buffalo”.<sup>104</sup> The word *manangkabau* evolved into “Minangkabau” to describe the people residing in the Pagaruyung highlands.<sup>105</sup>

The second pre-colonisation period occurred *circa* the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Pagaruyungan became an Islamic kingdom or Pagaruyuang sultanate. There is no official record of how and when the Hindu and Buddhist Pagaruyuang kingdom became a sultanate. Previous literature suggests that the Islamisation of Pagaruyung resulted from gold and pepper trading between Pagaruyuang and the Aceh sultanate on the west coast of Sumatra (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969; Sanday, 2003; Stark, 2013). As a result, Islam entered Minangkabau through trading activities. Islam remains prevalent in Minangkabau today. In 2019, 98.02% of West Sumatra’s residents self-identified as Muslim (BPS, 2020c). Islamic teaching and Minangkabau custom were brought into alignment by an Islamic leader and *adat* (custom) leader in 1930, enshrined in the philosophy “*adat basandi syara’, syara’ basandi kitabullah*”. This means “customary laws are based on religious laws; religious laws are based on the Al-Quran”.<sup>106</sup> As mentioned previously, this philosophy contributes to the continuation of the Minangkabau matriarchy.

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<sup>104</sup> “Manangkabau” is a prominent folklore about the origin of the name “Minangkabau”. *Manang* = win, *kabau* = buffalo. According to this story, the Majapahit kingdom (the biggest on Java Island – see Chapter 4) sent troops to invade Pagaruyung. To avoid war, Adityawarman proposed a buffalo fight as a substitute. The Majapahit troops prepared a large and violent buffalo, while the Pagaruyuang kingdom prepared a hungry calf. The large buffalo lost because the baby calf thought the big buffalo was his mother. The large buffalo’s stomach was pierced by calf’s antlers when he ran toward the big buffalo looking for milk.

<sup>105</sup> This story was told by the tribal leader during the interview. It can also be accessed from the West Sumatra government website: <https://sumbarprov.go.id/home/news/9280-asal-usul-Sumatra-barat-sejarah-minang-kabau>.

<sup>106</sup> “Al-Quran” literally means “the recitation”. Al-Quran is the central religious text of Islam that Muslims believe to be a revelation from God (Allah) to the Prophet Muhammad during his life in Mecca and Medina.

Before colonisation, the Minangkabau people lived in *nagari*,<sup>107</sup> a genealogical and territorial bond based on an autonomous government, regulated by applicable customary law. Before the colonisation period, *nagari* was regarded as a mini-state, resulting in the Minangkabau (Pagaruyuang kingdom) – especially in the rural areas – never having a centralised government power under the king (Hidayat, Febriyanto and Nadzir, 2017).

Whilst the household or clan has a dualist authority, comprising *bundo kanduang* and *mamak*, the authority within *nagari* relies on four elements. The first three elements are *tungku tigo sajarangan*, defining three interconnected leadership elements: custom, religion, and knowledge. *Tungku tigo sajarangan* consists of *penghulu/ninik mamak* (customary leaders), *alim ulama* (religious leaders), and *cerdik pandai* (scholars). The fourth element in the Minangkabau leadership system is *bundo kanduang*. This corporation of four authorities is known as *urang empat jinih* (Amaliatulwalidain, 2015). These four elements pose a vital role in deciding for the clan or *nagari*. The meeting usually takes place in *rumah gadang* or *balai*.<sup>108</sup>

Decision-making in Minangkabau is based on consensus. *Bundo kanduang*, as the source of reference in custom, has veto and veto rights if she thinks a decision does not abide by customs (Amaliatulwalidain, 2015). The concepts of *nagari*, *tungku tigo sajarangan*, and *bundo kanduang* contribute to constructing the decentralised and egalitarian Minangkabau social structure, with *musyawarah mufakat* as a daily practice in decision-making. This contrasts with Javanese kingdoms and the post-colonial Indonesian government, which are more centralised, hierarchical, and authoritarian (Geertz, 1956).

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<sup>107</sup> “*Nagari*” is the highest level of matrilineage, or the largest matrilineage group, and consists of several clans (see Table 6-1).

<sup>108</sup> “*Balai*” is a hall, a communal space in Minangkabau in which to hold a clan (*nagari*) meeting attended by many people. Smaller meetings are usually held in *surau* or *rumah gadang*. In the morning, the *balai*’s courtyard is usually used as a *pasar tumpah* (temporary market).

### *Colonisation period*

The timeframe of “during colonisation” refers to the period of 1821–1945. This period was marked by the Masang Treaty of the Padri War, which gave the Dutch stronger influence in West Sumatra (Stark, 2013). During this period, the Dutch sought to divide and weaken *nagari* and its leadership system by creating a competing system of “district leadership”. The district consists of several *nagari*, led by a leader agreed and appointed by the Dutch government. The Dutch no longer acknowledged *nagari* as a territorial boundary (Safwan *et al.*, 1987). Previously, each *nagari*’s leader (*penghulu*) decided by a consensus with the other *penghulu*. Each *penghulu* has a similar level of authority when making decisions for their clan or *nagari*. In the district leadership system, the Dutch only acknowledged one *penghulu* as a district leader. This forced the *penghulu* into competition and created friction, as the delegates’ positions were no longer equal (Nurdin and Rido, 2020). This made it easier for the Dutch to take power in Indonesia (*divide et impera*). In addition, the appointment of the Dutch-appointed district leader meant that decisions were made to benefit the Dutch, rather than the clan or *nagari* (Kato, 1978).

Due to the district arrangement, *penghulu*, *alim ulama*, *cerdik pandai*, and *bundo kanduang* all gradually lost their authority to the Dutch. However, despite this loss of political power, *bundo kanduang*, *mamak*, religious leaders, and scholars continued to improve the social aspects of Minangkabau life. For example, they built private schools for students excluded from Dutch-funded institutions.

During colonisation, the Dutch enforced patriarchal values. For example, they prohibited Minangkabau women from attending public schools. *Circa* 1909, many women’s organisations were founded in Padang (now the capital city of West Sumatra). One agenda was to encourage women to pursue modern education<sup>109</sup> (Zed, 2009). These organisations published newsletters and magazines, broadcast radio, and held conferences to communicate their message. Men supported this movement by (physically) building private schools for women and sending their daughters and nieces to them. Women’s organisations raised money to fund these schools. The first mixed modern private school was built in 1916 in Padang. After this, more schools were built. By 1933, there were 600 private schools in West Sumatra, contributing to the progression of political

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<sup>109</sup> “Modern education” refers to schools, rather than home education or *surau*.

movement in Minangkabau to overthrow Dutch colonisation (Abdullah, 1986). This movement successfully maintained matriarchal values, putting women in positions equal to those of men, in contrast with the Dutch patriarchal values that banned women from formal education and leadership.

### ***Post-colonisation period***

The post-colonial period refers to the timeframe from 1945 onwards, after the Indonesian declaration of independence. It includes the period during which the fieldwork for this research was conducted, between December 2019 and March 2020. After the independence proclamation in 1945, the Indonesian government changed the name of *nagari* to *desa*<sup>110</sup> (village), through the enactment of Law No. 5 in 1979. It merged *bundo kanduang*, *penghulu*, *cerdik pandai*, and *alim ulama* into a government-sponsored agency called *Lembaga Kerapatan Adat* (LKA), which shifted the local authority to the centralised Indonesian government. This policy further deteriorated customary leaders' power (Isra, 2014). Women were unrepresented in the LKA (Irawati, 2010). During colonisation, the concept of *bundo kanduang* was not acknowledged by the Dutch; and in the post-colonial period, the concept was repressed by the LKA. This partially damaged the Minangkabau social structure, especially the philosophy of *bundo kanduang* (maternal mother), eliminating a tradition in which *bundo kanduang* discuss their clan with *tungku tigo sajarangan* – three nagari leaders (Irawati, 2010).

During the Indonesian reformation era, after 1998, the concept of *nagari* was re-established to support the policy of decentralisation. The West Sumatra government issued government regulation 9/2000 on *nagari* governance, replacing *desa* with the word *nagari*. As of June 2021, there are 803 *nagari* in West Sumatra (BPS, 2021). This legislation also returned authority to *tungku tigo sajarangan*: *penghulu/ninik mamak* (customary leaders), *alim ulama* (religious leaders), and *cerdik pandai* (scholars), as well as *bundo kanduang*. However, they are appointed by the government and not by consensus of the clan or *nagari* members. Scholars agree that *nagari* reenactment cannot undo the damage to the Minangkabau social structure (Hadler, 2008; Irawati, 2010; Hidayat, Febriyanto and Nadzir, 2017). The self-governing communities were lost and

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<sup>110</sup> *Nagari* (the customary government system) disappeared *de jure* with the enactment of Law No. 5 in 1979, regarding the form of small government (the village). This policy split the *nagari* into villages, which was a structural and legal change, despite the law ostensibly being intended to maintain local values.

replaced by a bureaucratic government structure. Several participants made this point. See, for examples, the quotations below:

*With the new order,<sup>111</sup> mamak or penghulu became only cultural symbols, with no power to decide for clan and region. The [central] government's people were sent here to decide on our people. (PT2)*

*In the reformation era,<sup>112</sup> they [central government] tried to revitalise the adat, but it was too late. We had already become a transactional and bureaucratic community. (PT3)*

These quotes reflect the Minangkabau disapproval of central government policy, which they consider to be destroying the Minangkabau social structure. However, one participant suggested that *musyawarah mufakat* was still practised today:

*Mamak are still gathering in surau and making mufakat.<sup>113</sup> Bundo kanduang still rules the house. Minangkabau values are strong. (PT1)*

The role of *bundo kanduang* in the modern day, as described in the previous section, is formalised by provincial law 7/2018 on *nagari*. The central government also created a women's organisation called "Bundo Kanduang" to accommodate and give a platform to women for their activities. However, the participants see the formalisation and creation of the *bundo kanduang* organisation as a government strategy for controlling the Minangkabau women's movement, especially its political aspects. This view is expressed below:

*I think they [the government] are trying to extend Javanisation to Minang. They want to make bundo kanduang similar to the PKK of the Javanese, a government's beauty doll<sup>114</sup>. (P1)*

*The real bundo kanduang is a policymaker, a source of wisdom – not a policy target. Government now treats women as policy target rather than policy maker. (P10)*

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<sup>111</sup> The "new order" refers to Soeharto's reign as president between 1966 and 1998.

<sup>112</sup> The reformation era, also known as the post-Soeharto era, was marked by the fall (resignation) of Soeharto in May 1998, after a massive riot broke out in Indonesia and Soeharto was asked to step down from the presidency.

<sup>113</sup> *Mufakat* (or known as *muyawarah mufakat*) is an Indonesian native or customary decision-making system for reaching a consensus.

<sup>114</sup> Decoration

The quote above suggests that Minangkabau people disapprove of the government's version of *bundo kanduang*, which they consider to be an attempt at Javanisation.<sup>115</sup> The quote from P1 above also implies that the government's version of *bundo kanduang*, as described in the legislation, is a practice of state-sponsored femininity. Therefore, the participants expressed their resistance to joining *bundo kandung* organisations set-up by the central government.

Despite the above, the respondents said that Minangkabau maintains its matriarchal structure, resisting the political changes and upholding Minangkabau disapproval of government policy. They reported that as long as the *adat* (customary laws) were still practised – including traditional *musyawarah mufakat* (consensus-building), respect of the *bundo kanduang*, and ancestral property law – matriarchy would be preserved. This is expressed below:

*Minangkabau is matriarkat. Some customs might change, but the philosophy is still here. "Adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah" [customary laws are based on religious laws; religious laws are based on the Holy Book (Al-Quran)]. We are safe. (PT2)*

Minangkabau's traditional leadership and the elements of its political system changed throughout the periods of pre-colonisation, colonisation, and post-colonisation. Under Dutch colonisation, female leadership was prevented when the indigenous leadership system was suppressed. However, during this period, the men and women of Minangkabau worked together to maintain matriarchal values and the gender equality and egalitarian structure of Minangkabau. The previous discussion revealed the importance of Minangkabau women in the political realm during colonisation, especially for preserving matriarchal values and ensuring the education of Minangkabau's future generations. Today, a new leadership system has been implemented by the central government, and the core political elements of matriarchy continue to exist. For example, a consensus society with the voice of *bundo kanduang* is still expected in clan meetings. During the fieldwork, the animosity of the Minangkabau toward the central government was captured, and this animosity was found to shape the Minangkabau entrepreneurial environment. This will be discussed further in later sections.

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<sup>115</sup> "Javanisation" is the process of gradual domination of the Indonesian polity by ethnic Javanese and their variety of political culture. It involves the adoption of Javanese values into national legislation (see page 87).

## Merantau<sup>116</sup>

The last element of Minangkabau matriarchy is *merantau*, or temporary migration. *Merantau* is a native element of Minangkabau matriarchy that does not seem to fit within the Goettner-Abendroth (2017) framework. Almost all men in Minangkabau perform *merantau* when they reach adulthood. School-age boys also undergo *merantau*. When boys reach school-age, they leave their mother's house to live in the *surau*<sup>117</sup> with other male clan members. In the modern setting or urban part of Minangkabau, school-age boys are usually sent to boarding school as an alternative to living in the *surau*.

*Merantau* is ostensibly a choice, but it is culturally expected and almost mandatory. A man's prestige increases when he returns from *merantau*, either having acquired new knowledge, financial success, or both. Some men undertake *merantau* before getting married, others do so afterwards. The scope of *merantau* also varies, and it might entail time in neighbouring villages, outside the island, or even in foreign countries.

It is unclear when the tradition of *merantau* began or why it is culturally expected. The participants elaborated on several reasons why it was such an important tradition in Minangkabau. First, they noted the individual financial and non-financial motives underpinning the practice. Some men perform *merantau* to seek wisdom. Others, because they do not have land in the village and thus go away from the village to seek wealth.

Second, *merantau* relates to men's role in the religious and political life of the Minangkabau. In the political sphere, Minangkabau men are positioned as clan representatives to the outside world. The wisdom, knowledge, networks, resources, and so on, acquired during *merantau* are thought to provide men with the cross-cultural skills necessary to deal with the outside world. This is expressed in Minangkabau philosophy as an explanation for *merantau*: *Karatau madang di hulu, berbuah berbunga belum. Merantau bujang dahulu, di kampung berguna belum* (Penghulu, 1984). The meaning of this philosophy is that young people are mandated to do *merantau* because, without it, they will not have the value (knowledge, wealth, etc.) needed to help the village.

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<sup>116</sup> Discussions in this section draw upon a chapter from the book by the PhD candidate – Mayasari, Littlewood, and Kadir (2021).

<sup>117</sup> The "*surau*" is a small masjid or communal place.

Third, the participants suggested that *merantau* is expected to prevent competition between male and female siblings. Since females are physically perceived as weak, they need protection to nurture the next generation. One of the ways this is done is by sending males outside the village to gain wisdom and wealth elsewhere, thus avoiding competition with their female siblings, who stay home to tend and utilise the ancestral property for the sake of their lineage.

Kato (1978) argues that *merantau* contributes to matrilineal practice in Minangkabau:

“It is sufficient to point out that *merantau* and the persistence of matriliney are integral parts of the historical process in Minangkabau society. Matrilineal adat remains strong and survives, albeit with accommodations, because of *merantau*. It is as if by dispersing populations in different fashions, *merantau* at each historical stage provided the means for successfully maintaining Minangkabau matriliney” (Kato, 1978, p. 16).

According to the above, the practice of *merantau* has enabled the Minangkabau diasporas to maintain matriarchal practice when outside and after they return. *Merantau* is also linked to Minangkabau economic activities. Minangkabau people are documented to have left for trading in neighbouring countries or kingdoms, including Malacca, Singapore, and the Aceh sultanate. This economic activity will be discussed further in the following section on Minangkabau entrepreneurship.

There are several impacts of *merantau* on the Minangkabau women’s role. First, one of the reasons that women inherit economic property is to protect them when men are undertaking *merantau*. The properties are expected to provide welfare for women and families left in the village whilst the men are temporarily away. Therefore, women’s role and privilege in inheritance is a consequence of the *merantau* tradition.

Second, women are expected to make decisions about the lineage due to the absence of the men. As discussed in the previous section on the social aspects of matriarchy, *bundo kanduang* shares leadership with *mamak* in a dualist manner, deciding together on the clan’s domestic issues. Likewise, *bundo kanduang* shares leadership in wider society with *tungku tigo sajarangan* (customary leaders, religious leaders, and scholars). However, *mamak* and the position of *tungku tigo sajarangan* are often unfilled, when men are performing *merantau*. In these circumstances, *bundo kanduang* make decisions for the lineage. This strengthens the female position in



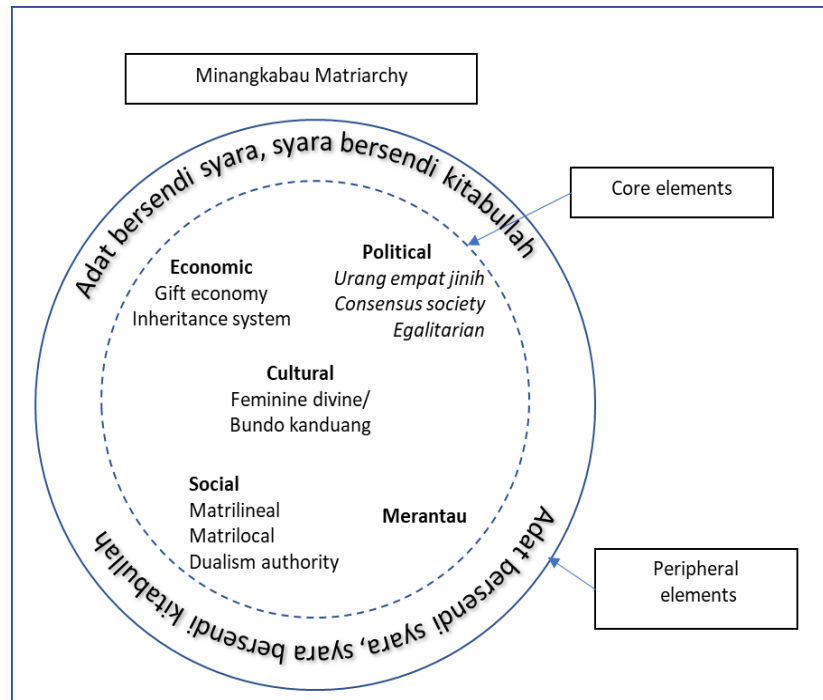
Minangkabau society, which is beneficial when these women decide to become entrepreneurs. To run a business involves continual decision-making, and Minangkabau women have been trained to make decisions as part of their cultural role. The link between *merantau* and entrepreneurship will be explored further later in this chapter.

## **Conclusion**

This section sought to understand the construction and form of Minangkabau matriarchy. Using the Goettner-Abendroth (2017) framework, this study found that Minangkabau matriarchy is manifest in four elements: social, political, economic, and cultural. In addition to these four areas, the practice of *merantau* contributes to the continuity of Minangkabau matriarchy. *Merantau* can be considered a social aspect of Minangkabau matriarchy, but it is discussed separately in this thesis to highlight this as a distinguished-new addition to the element of matriarchy that is never discussed before in the previous literature of matriarchy. To frame it as separate element rather than put it under the social element, will puts *merantau* in proper spotlight of this thesis, as it has only rarely been discussed in previous studies of matriarchy

Although Minangkabau has undergone several periods of change in its historical and political aspects, the core elements elaborated in this section are preserved and practised today. The conceptual model of Minangkabau matriarchy, based on the conclusions of this discussion, is illustrated in Figure Appendix 6-4

Figure Appendix 6-4 Minangkabau matriarchy



(Author, 2021)

Figure Appendix 6-4 shows that the Minangkabau matriarchy consists of core and peripheral elements. Some peripheral elements have been changed (Stark, 2013) to reflect changes in society. However, the core political, cultural, social, and economic elements – and *merantau* – are preserved and practised today, bonded together by the core philosophy of *Adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* [“customary laws are based on religious laws; religious laws are based on the Holy Book” (Al-Quran)]. For example, the Minangkabau people still engage in the gift economy, distributing the results from their ancestral properties. However, what is distributed as a gift and how the ancestral property generates income can be changed. It explains the sustainability of the Minangkabau matriarchy in the modern era. In the following section, Minangkabau entrepreneurship will be discussed.

### **A 5.2.2 Minangkabau: The ethnic entrepreneurs**

Economic activity in Minangkabau has changed in response to challenges in each historical period. This section seeks to understand the construction of Minangkabau entrepreneurship through an examination of entrepreneurial activity in the pre-colonial, colonised, and post-colonial periods.

#### **Minangkabau entrepreneurship before colonisation**

“Before colonisation” is defined, in this study, as the period before 1821. This period began when Minangkabau was the Pagaruyung kingdom, established *circa* 1347. Unlike Javanese economic activity – which can be traced through indigenous ancient inscriptions and manuscripts – economic development in Minangkabau and Sumatra Island has rarely been documented in writing. It is recorded, however, in the Minangkabau oral tradition, as mentioned previously. Documentation on Minangkabau economic activity is usually written by foreigners on behalf of their own export interests (mostly gold), with only limited consideration of other commodities (MIKSIC, 1985).

The history of entrepreneurship amongst the Minangkabau is closely related to the abundant source of gold in the area. Aceh, Portuguese, Gujarati, and Dutch merchants came to Minangkabau to buy gold (Dobbin, 1977; Drakard, 2008). Gold as a trade commodity is also discussed in some inscriptions about Adityawarman, the founder of the Pagaruyung kingdom. In an inscription in the Jago temple, Adityawarman calls himself, “sovereign of the gold-bearing ground”, which implies that he acquired the gold during his reign *circa* 1347–1375 and established his sovereignty on this basis (Dobbin, 1977). However, there is little information about how the gold was mined and in what area. Previous literature notes the challenging route to enter Minangkabau, noting that the international merchants from the east coast usually met Minangkabau traders at the four estuaries in the frontier area (Dobbin, 1977; Safwan *et al.*, 1987).

In 1785–1792, the gold supply and gold trade decreased in Minangkabau (Penghulu, 1984; Dobbin, 2016). This changed the way that the Minangkabau traded. As the gold was exhausted, Minangkabau entered the international trade in commodities such as pepper, acacia, and coffee. Previously, international merchants had come to Minangkabau’s estuaries to buy gold. When the gold trade era finished, Minangkabau people went outside to trade. Merchants travelled through one of the four rivers in Minangkabau, passing the Malacca Strait to enter cities such as Singapore,

Johor, and Penang (Rasyid, 2010) to trade with the Chinese, Gujarati, European, and Arabic merchants (Dobbin, 1977). A return trip usually required a month (Rasyid, 2010). In addition to the trade in agricultural and forestry products, local industries such as cotton weaving, garments, and salt were blooming in Minangkabau. Local produce were available at lower prices than the imports of European merchants, which meant they were preferred both locally and internationally (Dobbin, 1977). This contributed to the prosperity of Minangkabau merchants (Nurdin and Rido, 2020). There is no documentation indicating whether either gender was particularly involved in trading and manufacturing during this era. The history of Minangkabau merchants going outside their region to trade internationally is linked with the cultural practice of *merantau*. However, it is unclear whether overseas trading was triggered by the *merantau* tradition, or vice versa (Naim, 1973).

### **Minangkabau entrepreneurship during colonisation**

This section concerns the period *circa* 1821-1945 when the Dutch colonisation of Minangkabau intensified. As the gold supply decreased (Dobbin, 2016), so did Adityawarman's descendants' sovereignty (Nurdin and Rido, 2020). War broke out between the *padri* and *adat* in several parts of Pagaruyuang. In 1821, without consent from the royal family, the *adat* faction signed the Masang Treaty with the Dutch, asking for help to fight the *padri* faction (Hidayat, Febriyanto and Nadzir, 2017). The Masang Treaty placed Pagaruyuang under Dutch authority and marked the fall of the Pagaruyuang kingdom and the beginning of Dutch colonisation of the Minangkabau (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969; Ricklefs, 2007). Historians consider the Pagaruyuang kingdom to have ended in 1825, when Sultan Muningsyah, the last sultan of Pagaruyuang, passed away (Suleiman, 1977; Kulke, 2009). After that point, the head of Pagaruyuang was no longer of royal descent, but rather a person appointed by the Dutch.

A significant clause in the Masang Treaty is that Minangkabau merchants could only trade with the Dutch. The Masang Treaty, together with land usurpation and the Dutch policies of *heerendiensten*<sup>118</sup> and *culturstelseel*,<sup>119</sup> destroyed indigenous trade and industries (MIKSIC, 1985;

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<sup>118</sup> *Heerendiensten* (forced labour) was Dutch strategy for mobilising indigenous people to build civilian and military infrastructure, such as roads or train tracks, with the goal of perpetuating the colonial government.

<sup>119</sup> *Culturstelseel* (culture system) known as *tanam paksa* or "enforced planting". It was a Dutch policy that forced a portion of native agricultural production to be devoted to export crops.

Nagazumi, 1986). In early 1900, several “craft schools” opened (Zed, 2009). As discussed in the previous section on political elements of matriarchy, these schools provided education to the girls or young women excluded from modern education (Dutch schools). The local schools taught various modules, including reading, writing, crafting, weaving, mathematics, and so on. However, it is unclear whether craft schools played an important role in developing the local craft and weaving industry, contributing to the Minangkabau economy, or whether they were only for educational purposes.

There is little record of native Minangkabau economic activity in the era of colonisation. This may be because of the economic suppression that occurred under colonisation, as well as the absence of a writing tradition amongst the Minangkabau. During the fieldwork for this study, it was challenging to trace the history of Minangkabau entrepreneurship during colonisation.

### **Minangkabau entrepreneurship post-colonisation**

Indonesia proclaimed independence in 1945, marking the end of Dutch colonisation. Many Dutch firms and mines in Indonesia were then nationalised. For example, in 1958, NV Padang Portland Cement Maatschapp and Ombilin Coal Mining were handed over to the West Sumatra regional government (Dick et al., 2002; Wasino, 2015). However, most companies lost their economic value on handover (Wasino, 2015). There are insufficient data to determine how much the nationalisation of these firms contributed to Minangkabau economic development, but some of the firms remain in operation today.

Due to the emergence of several separatist movements in West Sumatra during the post-colonisation era, the Indonesian government – including the new order Indonesian government (1960–1998) – sought to suppress the separatist movement (Hadler, 2002). For example, the government restricted loans and business permits for Minangkabau entrepreneurs to prevent funding of separatist organisations (May, 2010). The Minangkabau utilised networks to overcome these restrictions and create their own funding body (Nurdin and Rido, 2020). In 1992, several Minangkabau entrepreneurs established a joint venture called the “Nagari Development Corporation” (NDC) to help fellow entrepreneurs fund their overseas trading.

The new order government fell in 1998, and restrictions on Minangkabau were lifted in 2000 through the decentralisation policy. However, animosity towards the central government remains in daily life in Minangkabau and was expressed by participants during the fieldwork for this study. Previous research has identified that Javanisation and the military operations to suppress separatist movements hurt the Minangkabau people (Asnan, 2006; May, 2010). Animosity towards the government remains, with particular hostility to the current ruling party that ordered the military operations in West Sumatra (Thornton, 1972; May, 2010). As a result, many central government programmes and policies cannot be easily implemented in West Sumatra, including policies related to entrepreneurship and small business.<sup>120</sup> Many of the participants perceived central government policy as unfit for Minangkabau culture. From a different perspective, this study found that Minangkabau's animosity towards central government contributes to the preservation of matriarchy: Javanese values align with patriarchy, which the central government adopted, and thus have difficulty penetrating and being assimilated into the Minangkabau matriarchy.

In 2021, there are 108,588 micro and small enterprises in West Sumatra and 182 medium and large firms (BPS, 2021). These numbers provide a proxy of entrepreneurs in West Sumatra. As in other provinces of Indonesia, this number could be larger, as many micro, small, and medium enterprises are not registered (Babbitt, Brown and Mazaheri, 2015). The three top industries in West Sumatra are food (45,263), clothing and apparel (17,700), and textiles (15,403; BPS, 2021). There are no data on how much the different types of enterprise contribute to GDP.

Entrepreneurship is not explicitly addressed in West Sumatra regional regulations, but it is mentioned in the West Sumatra regional regulation 12/2017 about young people. In this regulation, the government commits to supporting and developing young people's entrepreneurship. The researcher found no legislation or programmes intended for female entrepreneurs. This gap was confirmed in the interview with the government official, who revealed that the West Sumatra government currently has no particular programmes or regulations focused on female entrepreneurs, as quoted below:

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<sup>120</sup> Interview with the government official from Indonesia Ministry of cooperative and SMEs

*Anyone can be an entrepreneur, male or female. Gender does not matter as long as you are professional. That is why we do not have a different programmes for different genders. If we made one, it could be discrimination against the other gender who was omitted. (PgovI)*

The statement above reveals that the Minangkabau government believes anyone can be an entrepreneur, regardless of gender; therefore, no gender-based programme or regulation is needed. The point that a gender-specific entrepreneurship programme could be discriminatory is interesting and rarely discussed in previous literature. This point should be considered in light of Minangkabau as an egalitarian society.

Following the changes in the historical and political realms and their impact on Minangkabau's economic activity, the Minangkabau are now known as ethnic entrepreneurs in Indonesia (Buang, 2014; Damsar and Indrayani, 2016), including Minangkabau women entrepreneurs (Hastuti et al., 2015). The Minangkabau diasporas are also well known as entrepreneurs, or “*saudagar minang*” (*minang* merchants). For example, in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, Pasar Tanah Abang is the largest textile centre in Southeast Asia, attracting almost 100,000 visitors a day. There are 80,000 kiosks in Pasar Tanah Abang, 80% of which are occupied by Minangkabau merchants (BPS, 2020). In addition, Minangkabau entrepreneurs dominate most business clusters in Indonesia.<sup>121</sup> Minangkabau and Padang<sup>122</sup> restaurants can easily be found in Indonesia and overseas, and the *rendang*<sup>123</sup> menu is famous. These are amongst the positive impacts on entrepreneurship of *merantau* and the networks formed by the Minangkabau diaspora.

## **Conclusion**

This section has elaborated on the construction of Minangkabau entrepreneurship, which is related to the area's longstanding trading activities. These trading traditions, combined with the *merantau* tradition and strong networks amongst Minangkabau, have allowed the Minangkabau to spread worldwide and become renowned ethnic entrepreneurs in Indonesia. For the reasons explained above, normative aspects seem more critical in constructing Minangkabau entrepreneurship than regulative aspects.

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<sup>121</sup> Interview with a government official from the West Sumatra office of the Ministry of Cooperative and SMEs.

<sup>122</sup> Padang is the capital city of West Sumatra. People from outside Minangkabau use “Padang” and “Minangkabau” interchangeably to refer to people or regions of West Sumatra.

<sup>123</sup> “Rendang” is Minangkabau beef curry, braised in a coconut milk and seasoned with a herb and spice mixture.

Regulative aspects – such as government policy and regulation – do not dominate the Minangkabau dataset, and the local government produces few programmes and policies concerning entrepreneurship. In addition, central government policies to support entrepreneurship are not appreciated by the Minangkabau, due to their historical animosity towards the central government. Therefore, Minangkabau entrepreneurship is built largely upon local wisdom and normative institutions. Matriarchal structure is found in this research to facilitate women's entrepreneurship, and this is discussed in the finding section.

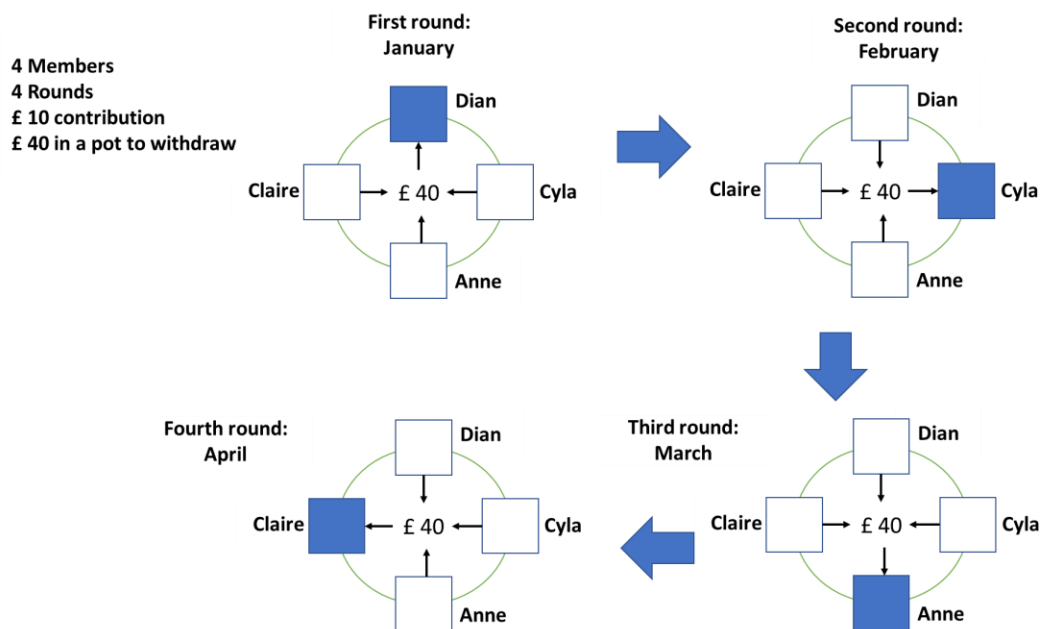




## Appendix 6 – How Arisan Functions

Figure 5-2 illustrates how *arisan* functions. Women held regular meetings, usually once a month and typically after payment or harvest day, to ensure that all members had money in hand. One or more people will draw the money in every meeting, depending on how many members are there and the expected duration of one *arisan* cycle (the longest duration is usually a year). The other members will pay the money. The order of money distribution and withdrawal, the amount to be paid every meeting, and the withdrawal frequency are all agreed upon before the money accumulation (*arisan*) period. Sometimes, a member can swap her withdrawal schedule with another through mutual agreement.

Figure Appendix 6 - Scheme of arisan



(Author, 2021)

## Fieldwork photos

### Minangkabau



With Ibu Siti Nurbaya – Siti Nurbaya Food



Huller machine



Fieldwork, literally :) - Drying grain



Traditional market





Rumah gadang and restaurant



Pagaruyuang palace



Weave



Roof of Rumah Gadang



## Yogyakarta



Interviewing and enjoying jamu (Javanese herbal drink) at traditional market



Yogyakarta handicraft



Coworking space for start-up provided by Yogyakarta government



Coworking space for start-up provided by Yogyakarta government (I love the quote)





Membatik



Yogya traditional food