“ADUH, BIYUNG!” (“OUCH MOTHER!”): THE IMPACTS OF GENDER ROLES ON MOTIVATIONS AND MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES OF JAMU ENTREPRENEURS IN YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Gender entrepreneurship research rarely focuses on women entrepreneurs of traditional medicine. This thesis analyzes how traditional gender roles influence the motivations and management strategies of jamu entrepreneurs (mostly women) in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Jamu is Javanese traditional medicine, made with local plant ingredients to treat a variety of diseases and to enhance overall wellbeing. Feminist perspectives of entrepreneurship and institutional theory guide this research in understanding the embedded experiences of jamu sellers within larger social structures. Using snowball and convenience sampling methods, thirty semi-structured interviews were conducted in Javanese and translated into English. Transcripts were analyzed with NVivo software. Findings show that motivations, to start and run jamu businesses, and management strategies are influenced by existing gender roles; jamu sellers seek to access and manage resources (social, human, and financial capital) while fulfilling their roles as mothers, spouses, and caretakers. Institutional gender inequality limits opportunities to operate and expand businesses successfully.

DEDICATION

For my mother, who challenged me to become my own person, and to firmly take hold of the reigns to my own making. For my father, who taught me that anything can be accomplished with hard work and perseverance. And for my life-partner and best friend, Mike, who taught me to dream big.

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List of Symbols, Nomenclature or Abbreviations

EI = entrepreneurial intention

ESE = entrepreneurial self-efficacy

GEL = gender entrepreneurship literature

RA = research assistant

TEK = traditional ecological knowledge

Chapter 1: Introduction

Within the last few decades, the role of women in the entrepreneurship arena has gained widespread attention, especially in developing countries, where many women are pushed into informal micro-entrepreneurship in order to help provide for their families (Allen, Elam, Langowitz, & Dean, 2007). Cornwall (2007) points out that development and economic scholarship has focused on the economic benefits of this trend; describing entrepreneurship as an empowerment mechanism which can enable women to lift themselves and their families out of poverty. Halkias and Thurman (2012) argue for ‘sustainable’ and ‘inclusive’ entrepreneurship policies and business practices which are thought to be needed for entrepreneurship to work as a poverty alleviation strategy for the poor. Such research is criticized for failing to acknowledge that women are often embedded in systems of inequality which create constraints towards empowerment and success (Ardrey, Pecotich, & Shultz, 2006; Kabeer, 1998); systemic inequality is not easily curable through new business policies. Women’s business behavior and outcomes are measured against male dominated norms of economic rationality (Patterson, Mavin, & Turner, 2012), creating an illusion that women are less capable than men of building thriving businesses (Marlow & McAdam, 2013). The existing literature shows that women (in Indonesia and elsewhere) lack equal access to resources including start-up capital, education, and networks (Minniti, Arenius, & Langowitz, 2005; Tambunan, 2009). Women who work outside of the home are often still responsible for domestic chores and taking care of their families, meaning they often have an excessive burden of work if compared to men (Drew & Humbert, 2012; Kuada, 2009; Marlow & McAdam, 2013; Moore & Buttner, 1997).

Women in Indonesia tend to start informal micro-enterprises because these activities are characterized by low entry barriers such as low start-up capital, little skills, and a simple technology (Tambunan, 2009); in other words, it is an accessible way to earn money and it has become a popular strategy to sustain household income. There are a number of women in Indonesia, especially in Java, who are active in the small-scale production and sale of jamu, a traditional medicine which is widespread in Southeast Asia (mainly in Indonesia, as well as Malaysia, and Singapore) (Sinaga, 2012). In Indonesia, jamu is tightly connected to female identity as women are traditionally responsible for making jamu to care for themselves and other family members (Handayani, Suparto, & Suprapto, 2001; Ong & Peletz, 1995). This traditional medicine, produced with local plants and roots, is used to maintain health (especially women's reproductive health) and beauty (Beers, 2001).

Understanding the importance of gender roles (defined as a set of social and behavioral norms that, within a specific culture, are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex), in shaping gender entrepreneurship activities, is crucial. Existing gender roles, in a given society, are important for understanding the motivations and construction of entrepreneurial identity, different approaches to entrepreneurship, and adopted management strategies in relation to available business resources (Ahl, 2006; Blake & Hanson, 2009; Kantor, 2002). Considering the paucity of studies (conducted in Indonesia and in general), gender role and its importance in relation to motivations and management behavior needs more exploration in research about women entrepreneurs.

1.1 Research questions explored in the thesis:

This thesis seeks to answer the following research question:

What motivates jamu entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta to run their own business and what are their management strategies?

This question implies two sub-questions:

- How do the existing social and behaviour norms (considered to be culturally appropriate for women) in Java, especially with regard to existing gender roles and relations, influence entrepreneurs' motivation to operate a jamu business and their management strategies?
- How do Javanese gender roles and relations, in Yogyakarta, impact the social construction of jamu selling, and therefore the motivations and management strategies of jamu entrepreneurs in regards to their businesses?

Entrepreneurial motivations are underexplored in gender entrepreneurship literature. Push and pull theories usually describe entrepreneurship as a mechanism of need for marginalized groups; poor women in developing countries are often pushed to start small businesses because they have no other way to make income (Minniti et al., 2005). However, the experiences of women and people living in poverty (even within one region) are heterogeneous, and not all marginalized people enter into entrepreneurship for only income; there are other significant factors which motivate entrepreneurship (Eijdenberg & Masurel, 2013).

Common themes in studies about motivations for engaging in entrepreneurship include a need for achievement (D. C. McClelland, 1961) or desire for challenge (Fenwick, 2002a), risk aversion (Loscocco & Bird, 2012), autonomy or having control over one's own career (Aidis, Welter, Smallbone, & Isakova, 2007), the need for flexible employment in order to take care of family responsibilities such as caring for children (Bennett & Dann, 2000; Drew & Humbert, 2012), and the importance of identity construction and moralizing ones position as an entrepreneur (Aidis et al., 2007; Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004b; Fenwick, 2002a; Lewis, 2013; Snyder, 2004). These motivational factors (and others) are important to explore in order to better understand the positions and experiences of entrepreneurs. In my research, I will be exploring both the economic as well as non-economic motivations of jamu sellers, and how these motivations are inter-connected.

This research also aims to shed light on how female jamu entrepreneurs manage dual roles at home and at work. Other important factors to be explored in terms of management strategies include perceived risks of engaging in jamu entrepreneurship, challenges faced on daily basis by jamu entrepreneurs, and long term challenges and the possible strategies to overcome them.

1.2 Significance of this Research:

There is much opportunity to expand upon current application of theories on female and gender entrepreneurship (Parker, 2010). Those who are called

‘entrepreneurs’ are described as bold risk-takers with a thirst for profit and women are often portrayed as lacking in this image and in need of training (Ahl & Marlow, 2012). There is a need for greater understanding of this phenomenon, specifically in the traditional medicine sector, a growing industry within Indonesia. Little research has been conducted with jamu entrepreneurs, a group that is mostly female and uses traditional knowledge to produce medicinal treatments. There needs to be more exploration of how gender and entrepreneurship is constructed within the cultural and social settings specific to certain locations and industries (such as the jamu industry in central Java, which is dominated by women operating small informal enterprises) in order to avoid any possible generalization of the concept of entrepreneurship, and gain a better understanding of the diversity of experiences of entrepreneurs, and more specifically, jamu sellers. Jamu entrepreneurs may have unique motivations and management strategies
because their work may be wrapped up in traditional feminine identity, healthcare work, and they are selling a cultural product.

1.3 Theoretical and methodological framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis research utilizes both feminist theory and institutional theory to explore motivations and management strategies of jamu entrepreneurs, focusing on the impact of cultural gender norms and roles. Institutional theory is useful for understanding how the existing cultural environment (which determines gender relations, gender expectations, and cultural norms), as well as the economic and political environment, in Yogyakarta effect the motivations of local women to engage in jamu entrepreneurship, as well as influence their management strategies vis-à-vis their businesses. Postcolonial feminist theory is instrumental to understanding how all oppressive forces (such as the history of colonialism which has influenced the culture and laws of Indonesia), not just patriarchal culture, has shaped the institutional environment that jamu sellers are embedded within. Gender norms are constantly changing in Indonesia. Traditional notions of gender have collided with imposed colonial definitions of what it means to be, not just male or female but also, an entrepreneur. Neoliberal trends toward free trade, the rise of Islam, and poverty have further changed these definitions (Elmhirst, 1998). The Chinese have dominated the private sector in Indonesia along with colonizers for centuries; this and traditional Javanese gender roles which place women in the role of financial manager and market place shopper, are influential upon ideas of what it means to be an entrepreneur (Ong & Peletz, 1995). Feminist theory and institutional theory consider the importance of cultural context and feminist theory acknowledges the need for more research of women entrepreneurs in different cultural settings.

Institutional theory puts attention on the structures which shape entrepreneurship, mainly the opportunities available and the actions which can be taken (Sine & David, 2010). It is important that this theory be used in a non-conflating way (conflation happens when structure and agency are combined and thus both lose important properties) and critical realism can be useful to ensure this (Leca & Naccache, 2006). The actions of an entrepreneur are often presupposed by the structures they exist within. These structures will affect women differently than men and therefore it is sensible to study them in the context of entrepreneurship. I will therefore be including agency (the personal experiences, decisions, and motivations of my interviewees) and structure (the context in which they are embedded) in my theoretical perspective.

In terms of methodology, convenience and snow ball sampling methods were used to gather thirty participants. Four key informants were also interviewed. Participants were approached while selling jamu in urban areas of Yogyakarta. Many participants were also found through jamu associations, which the head research assistant had connections with through a pilot study that she previously worked on. Interviews were semi-structured with an interview schedule; participants were interviewed in their homes and workplaces. Research assistants transcribed the interviews from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia, and then to English. Transcribers focused on translating the meaning behind the words of interviewees. The data was analyzed using grounded theory methods and NVivo software; themes were coded from a theoretical point of view (a priori approach) as well as from an empirical point of view (inductive approach).

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis will include a review of previous literature on motivations and management strategies as well as key concepts of interest, a discussion of theory, and provide information about the context of the research setting, analysis and discussion of findings, and the thesis conclusion. Chapter two is the literature review which will define important concepts and explore the existing research on gendered motivations of engagement in entrepreneurship as well as management strategies. Chapter three will present the foundational theories that are used to provide a perspective upon which the study is based including feminist theory of entrepreneurship with a focus on postcolonial feminist perspective and institutional theory. Chapter four will explain the research design, focusing on data collection and analysis. Chapter five will provide an in-depth explanation of the historical and socioeconomic context of jamu within Indonesia including main characteristics of the jamu industry. Chapter six will present the findings of the field research and a discussion of the findings in relation to previous literature and theory. Finally, chapter seven concludes the thesis with discussions about the research limitations and recommendations for future research and policies.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter defines concepts for the purpose of clarity, provides a brief history of feminist influences on the concept of entrepreneurship, explains gender roles and identities, and reviews discourse of entrepreneurial motivations and management strategies within gender entrepreneurship literature (GEL). The chapter is divided into three sections: The first section deals with important concepts used in the thesis including ‘entrepreneur’, ‘informal work’, and ‘micro-enterprise’. The second and third sections of the chapter will present definitions of gender identity and gender role before exploring how normative and cultural-cognitive institutional environments influence women entrepreneurs’ motivations and management strategies. A brief summary of the main themes revealed through the literature review will conclude the chapter.

2.1. Explanation and Definition of Important Concepts

2.1.1 Feminist Debates about Definitions for Entrepreneur

Feminist scholars argue that gender inequality and different gender roles compel women and men to behave in different ways; therefore women entrepreneurs should be defined solely by research which focuses on women, rather than be measured against definitions that were developed through research on men (Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004a; C. G. Brush, 1992). In order to develop reliable definitions of entrepreneurship, Ahl and Marlow (2012) suggest that measurement tools include narratives of women’s and men’s experiences, in order to “widen the conceptual net of what entrepreneurial behavior entails” (p. 550). Therefore, rather than defining entrepreneurship by a set of personality traits and value characteristics, process based models which focus on cognitive processes, beliefs, and behaviors of entrepreneurs are more useful (Gartner, 1988; Segal, Borgia, & Schoenfeld, 2005).

Entrepreneurs have been defined through "gender subtexts" such as opposing characteristic labeling, which "discursively operate – albeit in different ways – towards a common process of "othering" women entrepreneurs and rendering hegemonic masculinity invisible" (Bruni et al., 2004b, p. 260). The 'founding fathers' of entrepreneurship theory envisioned successful entrepreneurship to be associated with particular characteristics including "achievement orientation, optimism, self-efficacy, internal locus of control, cognitive skills, and tolerance for ambiguity above the ordinary" (Ahl, 2006, p. 599). These characteristics are ascribed to men in studies while opposite characteristics are used to describe those who are different, mainly women business owners (Ahl, 2006). Gartner (1988) cites Van de Ven, (1980), Jenks (1950), and Kilby (1971) to explain that it is impossible to narrow down specific traits and characteristics which all entrepreneurs are found to have.

For this research, I have opted to use a definition for entrepreneurship which was originally proposed by Moore and Buttner (1997), and subsequently modified by Heilman and Chen (2003). The definition speaks to the behavior, or process-based approach, considering the 'how'. The definition of an entrepreneur according to Moore and Buttner (1997), as well as Heilman and Chen (2003) is "someone who has initiated a business, is actively involved in managing it, and owns at least 50% of the firm" (Heilman & Chen, 2003, p. 349). This definition is simple and includes behaviors of entrepreneuring (actively managing a business).

A process-based definition of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs must consider the context of place in which entrepreneurs are studied. This is because cognitive processes and behaviors are affected by contextual factors including cultural gender stereotypes (Gupta & Turban, 2008), the local economy (Honig, 1998), and other cultural values including the valuing of hard work over innovation in the East (Begley & Tan, 2001). I will slightly modify the definition given by Heilman and Chen (2003) to include people who have taken over a business of a previous entrepreneur. This is important since it is common for women in Indonesia to become a business owner after a prolonged mentorship with an elder who has then given them their business after they can no longer do the work. For the purpose of this thesis, it is important to consider jamu sellers who have taken over a business as entrepreneurs.

2.1.2 Informal work and gender in Indonesia

'Informal work' is a term used by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to describe a form of precarious employment with the characteristics of a household business where all liability falls on the owner and "expenditure for production is often indistinguishable from household expenditure" (ADB, 2011, p. 47). Much informal work does not provide health benefits and is associated with less accessibility to healthcare (Vosko, 2007). The informal economy is an important source of employment for women (Franck, 2012; Williams, 2009) and a growing trend in neoliberal economies where policies focus mostly on profit for private corporations rather than on the welfare of people (Vosko, 2007).

The informal business sector is widespread across Asia and has grown considerably over the last few decades in terms of productive output and employment (Franck, 2012; Williams & Gurtoo, 2011a). About 30% of the working population work in the informal sector in Indonesia (Chun & Khor, 2010). In a survey specific to Yogyakarta, a well-known city in central Java where jamu is sold, it was found that 81.9% of the total employment was informal (ADB, 2011). It is noted that women make up a disproportionate amount of the informal sector in Indonesia (eighty percent of women who work) (ADB, 2002; Johnson, 2011; World Trade Press, 2010). Men are usually paid more than women and women take more than half of the unpaid jobs in households within Yogyakarta (ADB, 2011). Indonesian labor legislation that protects workers only applies to those who work in formal positions, those who work informally are not protected (ADB, 2002). Therefore, female workers are likely to be in a more precarious situation than male workers in Indonesia.

2.1.3 Definition for Micro-enterprise in the Indonesian Context:

The distinction between a micro enterprise and a small or medium enterprise is not always consistent. Different countries have different definitions of what constitutes a micro-enterprise and what constitutes a small or medium enterprise (SME) (Tambunan, 2009). Cahn (2008) defines a successful micro-enterprise as one that “fulfills the livelihood outcomes of the micro-entrepreneur and is sustainable in the sense that it is a livelihood strategy (or activity) that works in harmony with the cultural context, adapting to and coping with vulnerability while maintaining and enhancing assets and resources” (p. 3). The government of Indonesia created Act No. 9 of 1995, providing definitions for micro-enterprises as well as SMEs. According to The Organization for Small and Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, Indonesia is due to amend Act No. 9 to include the following definition; “a micro-enterprise is based in a traditional industry and is managed privately, and has net assets of no more than 50 million rupiah (not including land or buildings) and annual sales of no more than 300 million rupiah” (Organization for Small and Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, 2008, p. 4). Bank Indonesia’s definition stipulated that micro-businesses have annual sales of less than 100 million rupiah. The central statistics agency of Indonesia classifies micro businesses as household industries with three employees or less (including non-paid laborers) (Organization for Small and Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, 2008). For the purpose of this research, I will use the definition developed by Tambunan (2009), who defines microenterprises in Indonesia as small informal businesses which employ less than five people and often owners don’t employ anyone or use unpaid work from family members.

2.2 Gender, Entrepreneurship Motivations, and Management Strategies

How do women ‘do’ entrepreneurship? Gender entrepreneurship literature has started to ask this important question (Bruni et al., 2004a; West & Zimmerman, 1987), rather than simply compare the differences in characteristics and behaviors of men and women (Ahl & Nelson, 2010). Gender roles influence the views and behaviors (i.e., motivations and management strategies) of men and women entrepreneurs (Leung, 2011). Therefore, in order to understand how gender and entrepreneurship is done (i.e. motivations and management strategies), it is important to consider cultural social constructions of gender roles, especially within social roles and identities that get ascribed to women by people they interact with. The following section of this chapter will define gender identity and gender roles, explain how these concepts fit into gender views of work and entrepreneurship, discuss current gender roles and assumptions in Indonesia, and discuss motivations and management strategies in entrepreneurship literature. Understanding how the institution of gender affects motivations for engaging in entrepreneurship is important because motivations, needs, and values lead to particular management strategies, decisions, and behavior. As we shall see, literature shows how strategies and motivations are partly informed by cultural forces such as gender role identity and expectations, values, and available resources.

2.2.1 Definition of Gender Identity:

From the moment a person is born, they are attributed a gender; male or female. It is thought that after a critical period during childhood, in which they are socialized according to the gender they are assigned at birth, they learn to internalize their gender and self-identify as a male or female (Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Gender identity is the way a person feels about their own gender and is different from biological sex. Men and women often identify as the gender that is associated with their biological sex but they can also identify as the opposite gender or neither. ‘Gender role identity’, also referred to as ‘sex role identity’ is defined as “how much a person approves of and participates in the feelings and behaviors, which are seen as “appropriate” for his/her gender” (Kessler & McKenna, 1978, p. 10). The particular behaviors that are associated with a gender are called ‘gender roles’ (Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Gender roles are socially constructed, and therefore not static in any given culture and can change over time.

2.2.2 Gender and entrepreneurship

Contemporary feminist theorists focus on the effects of gender on entrepreneurship (Lewis, 2006), specifically within Western discourse (Ahl, 2006); embedded masculine practices within entrepreneurial activities have been normalized throughout time and rendered invisible (Bruni et al., 2004a)[1]. Researchers of entrepreneurship often fail to separate sex category and gender behavior, and fail to acknowledge how both are socially constructed (Patterson et al., 2012). This has resulted in majority masculine ideals “to be presented as a universal norm applied to everyone in a similar manner” (Lewis, 2006, p. 455). Studies continue to compare male and female entrepreneurial characteristics, traits, and behaviors; barely challenging gendered historical and cultural constructions of entrepreneurship (Patterson et al., 2012). This has led to assumptions that men and women entrepreneurs are essentially different and that female entrepreneurs underperform compared to men (Ahl, 2006). Ahl and Nelson (2010) ask: “How much do we lose by not considering variance within groups or across groups based on other than biological sex?” (p. 6). They urge researchers to pay more attention to the effects of institutions in entrepreneurship studies, especially with regard to the production of knowledge and ways of knowing in academia, which tends to reify gender hierarchies through the comparative binary approach; “the idea of men and women and their businesses as essentially different” (Ahl & Nelson, 2010, p. 8).

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[1] The earliest studies on male business tycoons have set a tone for how entrepreneurs today are defined and categorized and expected to behave (Hurley, 1999; Patterson et al., 2012), particularly with regard to ‘economic rationality’ (Bruni et al., 2004a; Mayoux, 1995) which includes growth oriented planning, highest profit values, and aggressive leadership styles (Patterson et al., 2012).

The global phenomenon of entrepreneurship has raised some questions about how culture effects differences in the motivations and management strategies of men and women entrepreneurs; “The underlying logic for the link between culture and entrepreneurship is that culture shapes the development of certain personality traits and motivates individuals in a society to engage in behaviors that may not be evident in other societies” (Mueller & Conway Dato-on, 2013, p. 7). Gender is culturally specific meaning that each specific place will have different gendered work roles; “the same jobs can be stereotyped” differently in different countries (Lorber, 2008, p. 537). Therefore gendered views of entrepreneurship are expected to be inconsistent across cultures.

2.2.3 Gender and Entrepreneurial Identities:

People, through daily interactions, are always working to construct their identity (Chasserio, Pailot, & Poroli, 2014). Gender entrepreneurial identity work is a “situated doing” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126); for example, women entrepreneurs must construct entrepreneurial identities within professional discourses that highlight notions of women doing business different from the norm of rational (masculine) business practices which includes a focus on profit, growth through aggressive competition, and hierarchical leadership styles (Lewis, 2013). Feminine business practices are constructed as characteristic of listening and building close networks, putting relationships and quality of work ahead of profit, and team based approaches to leadership (Lewis, 2013;

Patterson et al., 2012). Feminine professional practices are the ‘other’, and are considered to be less than the masculine norm (Patterson et al., 2012). Women are associated with feminine gender roles of wife/homemaker/caretaker and therefore they must situate themselves according to these expectations in their identity work - either by embracing femininity or masculinity and or rejecting one or the other (Lewis, 2013).

The identity work of women entrepreneurs is affected by gender roles because one’s internal identity (inner thoughts and feelings and what an individual communicates to the public regarding their character and competence) is linked with their external identity (social identities attached to an individual by others); the way that we see ourselves and the way that others see us, are interlinked (Charme, 2000; Lewis, 2013; T. J. Watson, 2009). Women entrepreneurial identities must be understood in relation to the unique context in which they exist, including history, politics, culture, economy, etc (Charme, 2000). In patriarchal cultures the identities that men can access are different from identities that women can access. For example, Bruni et al. (2004a) found that two women owners of a family welding business were often mistaken for secretaries; “the non-identification of the sisters as entrepreneurs is apparently determined less by any particular action on their part than by the association of their femaleness with the role of women in business organizations” (p. 417).

Gender discourses will be drawn upon by people in diverse ways as they construct their (entrepreneurial) identities (Charme, 2000). People cannot always control the identities that are ascribed to them by others (Foote, 1951) because they are situated within places with unique social mores, policies, economies, and gender expectations (Essers & Benschop, 2009). Within patriarchal cultures, there is pressure to conform to a normalized masculine ideal of entrepreneurship (in terms of sector, behavior etc.) and women may find it difficult to feel legitimate and authentic as a business owner (Lewis, 2013; Patterson et al., 2012).

2.2.4 Gender views about work in Indonesia

In most regions of Indonesia, patriarchy shapes the relationships between men and women (World Trade Press, 2010) meaning that the social order allots men greater amounts of authority and women are expected to be subordinate (Patterson et al., 2012). Javanese culture values the appearance of modesty; masculinity is associated with spiritual potency and emotional control. Showing interest in personal monetary gain is considered to be petty and unbecoming. Indeed, historically going back to the Dutch colonial era, trade has been considered to be in the “proper domain only of women and low-status men, as well as members of “foreign” ethnic groups such as Chinese, Arabs, or Europeans” (Ong & Peletz, 1995, p. 26) who perhaps do not share the same gender ideologies; the word for trader in Javanese also means foreigner or tramp (Dana, 1999). Those who appear to be interested in making profit are considered to be ‘kasar’ which means uncivilized and coarse in nature. Men, especially, are pressured to avoid any situation in which they would lose emotional control, such as bartering activities at the market (Ong & Peletz, 1995).

Male spiritual potency legitimates men’s status and social control over women in Java (Ong & Peletz, 1995). Though Indonesian men are traditionally expected to fulfill the role of breadwinner (World Trade Press, 2010), market business activities, such as grocery shopping, are usually left to women because they are not expected to save face;

they can become emotional and therefore barter effectively (Ong & Peletz, 1995). Javanese women, therefore, master the market exchange process, becoming excellent managers of finances. Yet these skills are devalued and women are considered to have less self-awareness, emotional control, and grace (Ong & Peletz, 1995).

Slatts & Portier (n.d.) cite two Indonesian magazines from the 1980s which describe the ideal Muslim women; she is educated, a devoted wife, takes care of many children, and even has a career. Her career however, should be inferior to her husband's; she should not make more income than her husband. This ideal is still present in the current Indonesian social atmosphere (Kuswandini, 2010); In Indonesia, it is thought that a woman who is completely autonomous is "always somewhat suspect… a woman who is not subject to any man's control is potentially threatening to the male-dominated social order" (Ong & Peletz, 1995, p. 37). Women, therefore, are pressured to do a lot of hard work in the home and outside of the home, earning money, often without enough respect or acknowledgement.

Indonesian law forbids women from working in labor which impedes their roles as mothers and wives; "they may not be employed in any job that threatens their safety, health, or morality" (World Trade Press, 2010, p. 5). Consequently it is no surprise that there is a wage gap in Indonesia despite there being a policy that men and women should be paid equally "for work of equal quality"; men are consistently paid more than women and men are consistently hired more often than women for higher level jobs and jobs with higher salaries (ADB, 2006, p. 14). Women have little opportunity to improve their work situation because of nationally valued traditional gender roles.

2.3 Motivations and Push and Pull Theories

Push and pull theory explains the motivations for engaging in entrepreneurship, the situations that drive entrepreneurship, and the experiences and success of entrepreneurs. The popular GEM (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor) reports, which are published by Babson College and the Global Entrepreneurship Research Association, presents push and pull entrepreneurs as two separate groups. Push motivations are associated with contextual factors, such as gender inequality and gender role stereotypes, which limit access to needed resources, especially for women entrepreneurs (Gray, 2001). A pushed entrepreneur is defined as a (sometimes displaced) individual who is pressured to engage in entrepreneurship because of an immediate need for money (perhaps due to the non-availability of jobs or divorce) or because of a bad employment situation which places restrictions on his or her career; the focus of this definition is that the entrepreneur has no (or few) other choices (Gray & Finley-Hervey, 2005).

Women are usually motivated more by push factors than men (Aidis et al., 2007; Blumberg, 2001; Cromie, 1987) because women from lower income backgrounds have less resources; they experience more poverty, lower wages, and discrimination (Yetim, 2008) and many developing countries, including Indonesia, have constraints such as cultural gender roles which lead to exclusion of women from the formal labor market (Aidis et al., 2007). Tambunan (2009) found that women with low-income backgrounds in Indonesia are usually pushed into informal micro-entrepreneurship to help support their family. Work environment related frustrations are also likely to lead women to take steps to launch their own business (Gray, 2001). Gray and Finley-Hervey (2005) marveled that "this is exceptional considering the phenomenal sociopolitical and economic barriers they [women] had to overcome” (p. 212) in order to participate in the market as entrepreneurs. Indeed it is not always the case for women to turn to entrepreneurship; Pagan (2002) found that female heads of households in rural Guatemala often chose salaried employment, when it was available, over self-employment because they had no access to start-up capital. Individuals who have the resources to afford higher education will be less likely to engage in pushed entrepreneurship (Diamond & Schaede, 2013)[2].

Motivations for engaging in entrepreneurship are not always purely push or pull – both push and pull factors can coexist for a person and change over time (Aidis et al., 2007; Eijdenberg & Masurel, 2013; Franck, 2012; Humbert & Drew, 2010; Kirkwood, 2009; Williams & Gurtoo, 2011b; Williams, 2009). Gender inequality along with discrimination in the labor market, multiple household roles, and lack of formal education represent push factors for self-employment of women but “this fact does not necessarily determine their subsequent development path, which may involve more “opportunity recognition” as external circumstances change and individuals grow in confidence, ambitions and competences” (Welter, Smallbone, Isakova, Aculai, & Schakirova, 2004, p. 50). Several researchers have found that “gender specific obstacles subside once the business is established and women feel they have proved themselves as competent business owners” (Bock, 2004; S. Singh, Simpson, Mordi, & Okafor, 2011, p. 214;

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[2] Diamond & Schaede (2013) found that educated women are more likely to enter into self-employment because of pull factors rather than push factors and educated women often become entrepreneurs during times when the job market holds plenty of opportunity (Diamond & Schaede, 2013). Pulled entrepreneurs are prevalent in innovative and high tech industries (Pines et al., 2010). Perhaps this is because such industries require a high degree of specialized knowledge which most acquire through an education degree program.

Williams, 2009). Women are therefore, active in shaping their experience as entrepreneurs, even though that experience is subject to cultural gender norms (Marlow & Patton, 2005).

2.4 Motivations, Values, Personality Traits, and Gender Expectations:

Discourse about entrepreneurial motivations include economic and non-economic values including propensity for risk, need for achievement, preference for independence, and flexibility as well as discussions about entrepreneurial intention and self-efficacy. Researchers consistently find that women tend to have the same motivation characteristics as men, but in different ways which reflect gender role expectations. This section will investigate how gender role expectations might be reflected in the motivations and management strategies of women entrepreneurs.

2.4.1 Motivations and Self-Efficacy:

Entrepreneurial self-efficacy (ESE), also referred to as entrepreneurial intention (EI), is the self-perception that one has the necessary knowledge and skills to engage with entrepreneurship. ESE is a popular category of interest in studies of motivations for business start-up. Studies generally focus on factors that affect ESE (and EI) to start a business or engage in entrepreneurial behaviors including cultural gender expectations, perception of barriers, education, willingness to participate, role models, and business growth.

Gender relationships and power structures will impact perceptions of opportunity and success and therefore available avenues of livelihood for women (Kantor, 2002). Research findings support the theory that individuals intend to engage in entrepreneurship when they believe that they have the requisite knowledge and skills to do so (Kelley, Brush, Greene, & Litovsky, 2010; Zhao, Seibert, & Hills, 2005). Motivations, therefore, must be studied with special sensitivity to cultural context; in terms of what women and men are capable of doing given environmental pressures.

Gender stereotypes in patriarchal cultures have been found to adversely affect ESE (and EI), entrepreneurial identification[3], and performance for women (Pollack et al. 2012). Women who have the same amount of social, financial, and human capital as their male counter-parts had less ESE (Kelley et al., 2010; Thebaud, 2010; F. Wilson, Kickul, Marlino, Barbosa, & Griffiths, 2009), about half as much as men with similar backgrounds (Thebaud, 2010). It was found that men had equal self-efficacy for traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine employment while women had significantly lower self-efficacy for traditionally masculine jobs than they did for traditionally feminine jobs (Hackett & Betz, 1981).

Despite such findings, some research has found that ESE is not always strictly related to gender (Mueller & Conway Dato-on, 2013; Zhao et al., 2005). Mueller and Conway Dato-on (2013) found that men in Spain and the US did not have statistically significantly higher ESE than women. They attributed their results to changing gender norms within those particular cultures. Zhao et al. (2005) also found that gender was not related to ESE, however, they did find that men had more EI than women.

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[3] See section 2.2.3, titled: ‘Gender and Entrepreneurial Identities’

Education (which is strictly interconnected with gender roles and expectations within a society) has a positive influence on ESE levels, more so for women than for men. Women with higher levels of education, specifically with post-secondary and graduate degrees, tend to have more ESE (Thebaud, 2010; F. Wilson et al., 2009). Less educated female business owners don't tend to identify as entrepreneurs (Williamson, Pillai, Owusu, & Oppong, 2004) and usually have more ESE for work that doesn't require formal education (Williams & Gurtoo, 2011a)[4].

Those who lack access to formal education, may seek to gain knowledge about business management from elsewhere, such as a personal mentor or role model (Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013). Exposure to role models can directly and indirectly positively affect entrepreneurial self-efficacy and intention (BarNir, Watson, & Hutchins, 2011; Thebaud, 2010); there is evidence that role models affect ESE more strongly for women than for men (BarNir et al., 2011). Role models provide guidance, information, and a supportive environment to would-be entrepreneurs (BarNir et al., 2011; Thebaud, 2010). Women tend to focus on personal role models (as opposed to impersonal role models, such as famous people in the media), but women are less likely (than men) to personally know an entrepreneur role model (Kelley et al., 2010) and there are more successful male entrepreneurs for men to look up to in the media (BarNir et al., 2011)[5].

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[4] Loh and Dahesihsari (2013) studied women entrepreneurs in Indonesia; 80% of the women in their study had only high school education. They found that developing business skills and having creativity and talent were more important than a formal education in becoming an entrepreneur (Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013).

[5] Despite the finding that women have less access to role models (Kelley et al., 2010), some research has shown that women entrepreneurs seek out mentors or seek to become mentors. For example, in their study of 30 women in Indonesia with small enterprises, Loh and Dahesihsari (2013) found that most women did not have formal education and therefore sought to gain business management knowledge from a mentor in their business sector.

2.4.2 Motivations and Need for Achievement:

The need for achievement is considered a primary characteristic of entrepreneurs (D. C. McClelland, 1961); both men and women (Cromie, 1987; Jones, 2000; Mahadea, 2001). Achievement is associated with a desire for challenge (Fenwick, 2002b; Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013), and business growth (Hasan, Afzal, & Parveen, 2011; Jones, 2000). Cromie (1987) defines the achievement motivation as "pleasure in generating resources and successfully launching an enterprise" (p. 25). The conception of need for achievement was built upon research that was done by McClelland (1961) who only studied male entrepreneurs. Other researchers built upon this concept by including women subjects for comparison, using the same measurement tools that were developed through the study of men, which means there is a possibility that women's perspectives are not fully understood (C. G. Brush, 1992; Hurley, 1999).

Individual perceptions of achievement needs and opportunity are influenced by gender hierarchies; work goals are influenced by the cultural environment which an entrepreneur is embedded within. Need for achievement is associated with masculinity; it is thought that men have more motivation for achievement and are more profit orientated while women are motivated more by feminine values such as benevolence (Mueller & Conway Dato-on, 2013). Since women are often in a position of subordination on the gender hierarchy, they may have some non-economic goals to achieve which are in line with their gender role responsibilities; "women still undertake the majority of domestic and caring labor while occupational segregation remains detrimental to female status and achievement in the labor market" (Marlow & Patton, 2005, p. 721). Women, therefore, may view success in terms of achieving a work-life balance meaning that both family responsibilities and business goals can be achieved (Bourne & Calás, 2013).

The "female underperformance hypothesis" is the idea that women-run businesses are not as successful as businesses run by men because they grow slowly (or not at all) and make little profit (Zolin, Stuetzer, & Watson, 2013). However, it has been found that many female entrepreneurs "deliberately adopt a slow growth strategy" (Cliff, 1998; Costin, 2012, p. 112) and therefore the idea that women's businesses underperform is a misleading and narrow-minded assumption (Costin, 2012). More importance should be placed on the business owner's perception of achievement rather than solely on achievements associated with economic performance of enterprises (Costin, 2012).

Besides business growth and profit, achievement can also be associated with non-economic achievements such as social recognition (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; S. Singh et al., 2011), and work-life balance (Ahmad, 2011). It is thought that disadvantages in the formal labor market cause many women, with a desire to work and succeed, to pursue entrepreneurship as a way to establish a more suitable work situation for themselves (Cromie, 1987; Buttner and Moore, 1997); especially in societies where women's ability to choose her occupation is limited by social mores.

2.4.3 Motivations and Risk Aversion:

It is thought that those who are unwilling to take business risks will be less able to succeed at starting and growing a business. Risk aversion is a popular topic of research in gender entrepreneurship; men are associated with more risk-taking behavior while women are expected to be more risk-averse due to their roles as caretakers (Maclean, 2013; Brush, 1992; Bock, 2004; Loscocco and Bird, 2012; Mahadea, 2001). For example, Bock (2004) found that Dutch rural women entrepreneurs were most concerned with not putting too much financial burden on their family. They started small scale business operations in activities which required little investment, and which they could easily quit if the income was too low or the burden on their family too high (Bock, 2004). Blumberg (2001) challenged this notion and cited her own study, which took place in the early 1990s in Ecuador, with findings that women micro-entrepreneurs were more inclined to take risks than male micro-entrepreneurs.

2.4.4 Motivations and Independence:

Desire for independence is a commonly reported reason for engaging in entrepreneurship for both men and women (Aidis et al., 2007; Blumberg, 2001; Cromie, 1987). Both men and women associate independence with a drive to do something for themselves rather than others (Aidis et al., 2007) and to control their own destiny (Aidis et al., 2007; Cromie, 1987; Fenwick, 2002b; Green & Cohen, 1995). Independence also means having access to resources such as knowledge, skills, networks and finances (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012). Elam (2008) argues that independence can mean different things to men and women; people of different status will experience autonomy differently. Women, therefore, will view independence in connection with structural pressures that they face related to gender inequality. Structural pressures include barriers to management positions in formal work environments, barriers to finances and financial control, and limitations to accessing professional symbolic domains (such as being seen as a legitimate professional).

Patriarchal gender hierarchy can mean less control of work contexts for women working in corporate environments; fewer women are in managerial roles (Devine, 1994; Winn, 2004), and therefore, women are less involved in decisions regarding payment schedules, work schedules, benefits, and acceptable work behavior. There are generally less opportunities for women to control their work environment and this can serve as a motivation to be independent as an entrepreneur (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Franck, 2012; Noritake, 2009; Strier, 2010). Independence can also be associated with financial autonomy; having little to no debt and financial organization and control (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Noritake, 2009).

Independence for some women symbolizes having a professional domain of one's own (Bock, 2004; Fenwick, 2002b), which can supersede traditional gender role expectations. Having the freedom to carve out a professional domain or space (in the literal and symbolic sense) for one's self can mean escape from oppressive spaces, finding more possibility and pleasure in one's work through more control, and having more autonomy over constructing an identity for one's self.

2.4.5 Motivations and Flexibility in the working environment:

Flexibility in the working environment is often associated with the traditional role of women to be good wives and mothers by staying at home to take care of children and perform other domestic chores. Studies which look at men in comparison to women find that men are less concerned with work time flexibility and the need to work while simultaneously caring for children (Humbert & Drew, 2010; Kirkwood, 2009). Some studies have found that flexibility gives women more control of their time (Cliff, 1998), while other studies have found the opposite – women who become self-employed for flexible work time must tend to the needs of others as well as their business and therefore become stressed from lack of control over time constraints and pressure to fulfill responsibilities (Jennings & McDougald, 2007).

Female entrepreneurs may appreciate having flexible work hours in order to carry out multiple and competing responsibilities in their work days while caring for children and elderly parents, attending to projects associated with growing a business that tend to lie outside managing the immediate needs of the business (such as trainings or meetings), and carving out time for leisure activities (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Cromie, 1987; Drew & Humbert, 2012; Harvey, 2005). Flexible work time may be especially linked to marriage as well; Pagán (2002) found that married women are more likely than divorced or widowed women to be self-employed; those who are married may feel more pressure to fulfill traditional gender roles. Alatas et al. (2010) provided narrative from a jamu entrepreneur, Eni, who said that she knew women with university degrees who chose informal work as a jamu entrepreneur over formal employment with a large company because they preferred flexible work hours in order to look after their husbands and children.

Women may engage in entrepreneurship to gain more control over work-life balance (Cliff, 1998) but the outcome is not always positive. Women may be perceived as the more flexible laborer in a marital partnership, making their time a family commodity (Carrigan & Duberley, 2013). Those with young children may choose to engage in entrepreneurial activities in order to maximize the time that they spend with their children (Carrigan & Duberley, 2013), but some may find it ‘improper’ for non-family members to care for their children; work that can be done in the home is more a necessity than a choice for women in this position (Bock, 2004).

2.4.6 Concluding Remarks about Motivation

The examined literature shows that gender roles have a powerful effect on the motivations of individuals who pursue entrepreneurship; entrepreneurial motivation is closely interconnected with the socio-economic environment and social relations which encourage or discourage an individual to start and operate a business. Furthermore, we can see that entrepreneurs are motivated by economic as well as non-economic reasons, meaning that aside from the opportunity to make more money, entrepreneurship also offers individuals greater control of their work (scheduling, environment, etc.), the opportunity to build their identity, and the opportunity to achieve. Women and men ‘do’ entrepreneurship differently; although societal gender role expectations can push women to construct entrepreneurial identities that are in line with feminine roles associated with homemaking and childrearing, the examined literature also shows that women are motivated to become entrepreneurs in order to gain independence from strict societal gender expectations and construct entrepreneurial identities and professional spaces of their own making.

Gender inequality can hinder access to resources such as financial capital, social support, and networks, making entrepreneurial pursuits especially hard for women. The next section of this chapter will explore how gender effects the access that entrepreneurs have to resources, and consequently the way that they manage their businesses and the resources available to them.

2.5 Introduction to Management Strategies:

Understanding gender roles and how they connect to business practices is a key component of this research. Integral parts to be explored include how existing gender roles can influence how local women perceive possible risks, barriers and opportunities of engaging in entrepreneurship, and how these roles produce day to day and long term challenges. Another important aspect in management strategies consists of analyzing how gender roles determine the access to resources for work in and outside the home (help received and raw materials collected). These topics about entrepreneurial management strategies provide different approaches to understanding the impact of gender roles on managing a business.

2.5.1 Gender and Resource Acquisition

Entrepreneurship literature explores how men and women manage resources (García & Carter, 2009; Honig, 1998; Ljunggren & Kolvereid, 1996) such as social capital (Farr-Wharton & Brunetto, 2009; Garcia & Carter, 2009), emotional capital (Garcia & Carter, 2009), legitimacy, human capital, and financial capital (Nelson, Maxfield, & Kolb, 2009). Other more specified resources such as raw materials, needed tools, experience, and knowledge (often referred to as assets) are also discussed. Entrepreneurs must take resources into consideration for plans involving business startup, expansion, and maintenance (Bennett & Dann, 2000). Therefore constraints, resources, and planning are all central components of maintaining a business and developing management strategies.

Due to existing gender roles and expectations, female entrepreneurs often face difficulties in gaining particular resources such as family support, financial capital (Al-sadi, Belwal, & Al-Badi, 2011; G. Singh & Belwal, 2008; S. Singh et al., 2011), skills and experience which are needed to run a business, access to markets and networks, opportunities for advancement, institutional support, and technology (G. Singh & Belwal, 2008). As discussed in the "Motivations and Self-Efficacy" section of this thesis, some common constraints that are discussed in gender entrepreneurship studies include lack of competency, fear of failure, and lack of support. These constraints are pertinent to this section, and are discussed with regard to the management of different types of capital. Female entrepreneurs who experience such constraints may utilize resources in innovative ways in order to fulfill their goals.

The next three sections of this chapter reviews the impact of gender on the access and management of resources in the form of social, economic, and human capital. Women in different entrepreneurial environments encounter similar forms of constraints and enablers, and therefore develop similar business management strategies. However, different cultural environments and gender constructs have also lead to some unique gender entrepreneurship strategies which will also be discussed.

2.5.2 Social Capital

Social capital can be defined as a type of wealth relating to knowledge of and connections to people sharing the same values and social norms. Entrepreneurs can utilize social networks to gain access to both financial and non-financial resources such as markets, customers, services, supplies (including labor), knowledge (including advice), and psychological support (Doyle & Young, 2001; R. Edwards, 2007; Elam, 2008; Kuada, 2009). Social capital is understood as inherent and relational; everyone experiences society and is embedded within social structures but how they experience those social structures depends on socio-economic status, culture, location, etc. Building social capital and having access to social capital is a part of the embeddedness that everyone experiences. In other words, "patterned relationships between individuals, groups, and organizations" (Dubini & Aldrich, 1991, p. 305) are navigated and negotiated by individuals as they build their own relational ties with others as a form of development, insurance, and stock (Anderson & Jack, 2002). Therefore social capital can be defined as "a social infrastructure created by groups of individuals through their social ties" (Kuada, 2009, p. 89).

Differences and similarities have been found between male and female networking in terms of the size and composition of networks[6] as well as how networks are utilized in business (Aidis et al., 2007; Doyle & Young, 2001; Kobeissi, 2010). In patriarchal societies where entrepreneurship is normalized as masculine, networks are especially important for women who wish to advance their business (Carter & Rosa, 1998; McClelland et al., 2005; Ntseane, 2004). For instance, Ntseane (2004) found that female micro entrepreneurs in Botswana engaged in networking and building social capital in order to overcome constraints experienced in the home related to patriarchy. She called it non-competitive networking because the women entrepreneurs would help one another reciprocally with business and family related issues. Torri (2012b) had a similar finding in her research of jamu entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta; these women could raise their social status by contributing regularly to nyumbang. Nyumbang is a custom in Java where community members contribute to a local community financial account which is used for special events or welfare for members in need. Those who contribute more become respected and important community members. This also served as a social and financial safety net; others were more willing to provide help in times of need to those who made more contributions (Torri, 2012). Jamu entrepreneurs can also gain membership in local jamu associations. This helps to elevate one's social status and mobility. Members go to monthly jamu meetings for trainings and networking opportunities (Krier, 2011; Torri, 2012). Social networking is a popular strategy of entrepreneurs in the Asia Pacific region (Dana, 1999) especially to compensate for discrimination from banks and other financial institutions (Kuada, 2009).

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[6] Networks have been categorized as formal, informal, personal, and extended. Formal networks consist of institutions such as banks, lawyers, realtors, and government offices. Informal networks consist of family, friends, neighbors, and personal business contacts (Doyle & Young, 2001)

Social capital and networks are not always an asset for women. Silvey & Elmhirst (2003) call attention to the costs, or "gender specific limitations" (p. 865) of social capital within communities in Indonesia. For women entrepreneurs who employ family members, working within family environments can present issues of trade-off; those who deal with disagreement by accommodating others or through compromise may end up sacrificing their own ambitions (Sorenson, 1999). Furthermore, if women are excluded from networks outside of their immediate neighborhoods and family, they may be at a disadvantage with less access to new and helpful information which could help them to expand their business and stay competitive (Blake & Hanson, 2009).

2.5.3 Human Capital

Human capital within a business is defined as a combination of education, knowledge, work experience, and skills of people who work for an organization (Becker, 1964). An entrepreneur must manage the human capital that they have; micro-enterprises have human capital from whomever is working for the enterprise, paid or unpaid. DeTienne and Chandler (2007) argue that everyone has unique and different types of human capital because of different experiences, but, in general, women are thought to have less human capital than men because women (due to existing gender roles and expectations) often have less formal education, less work experience, and less opportunity to gain business management experience (Aldrich, 1989; Boden & Nucci, 2000; Jamali, 2009). This is true too for women in Indonesia, where few women hold manager or administrative positions (World Trade Press, 2010).

Access to human capital in the form of trusted labor is important for entrepreneurs in order to grow and maintain a business (Chamlee-wright, 2002). Women entrepreneurs, however, tend to work alone (Al-sadi et al., 2011; Bock, 2004; Eversole, 2004); men business owners tend to employ more labor than women (Mahadea, 2001). Some studies have found that women entrepreneurs are more likely to get help from family members, rather than hiring outsiders (Turner, 2005; Woldie & Adersua, 2004) but family labor may be hard for women to access (Blumberg, 2001; Danes, Craft, Jang, & Lee, 2013). Blumberg's (2001) study highlights that because of gender inequality, men entrepreneurs have more access to the labor of their spouse than women entrepreneurs. When women work for their husbands, they are usually considered to be labor, but men working for wives tend to be seen as managers (Blumberg, 2001). Women business owners, therefore, tend to have less access to spousal labor than men because of gender inequality.

Knowledge and skills linked to feminine roles are often seen as opportunities for business. Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is especially important to women in developing countries because it can contribute to “household income, nutrition, food security, and health” (P. L. Howard, 2003, p. 27). TEK knowledge about jamu in Indonesia is usually passed down from mother to daughter, making it easier for women to acquire some of the necessary skills to open a jamu business.

Women entrepreneurs who are illiterate are especially constrained from access to business opportunities and the ability to voice opinions that could affect local business policies (Bushell, 2008). Women in Indonesia do not have equal access to educational resources; in 2003 68% of women were illiterate within Indonesia (World Trade Press, 2010), the numbers for illiteracy are twice as high for women than for men (Haidi, 2004).

Literature shows how women must find creative ways to overcome setbacks associated with lack of human capital including knowledge, skills, and literacy. Women micro-enterprise owners in Indonesia were found to be intent on building their skills by having mentors (Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013). Women entrepreneurs also utilize social networks to increase knowledge and skills; Harvey (2005) interviewed beauty salon owners who relied on former business colleagues for information about good locations to open their salons. This can also backfire, however, as Harvey (2005) points out that limited access to other outside networks means that the entrepreneurs interviewed missed out on rental properties or real-estate with lower property taxes, untapped customer bases, and better parking.

2.5.4 Economic Capital

Women entrepreneurs must manage economic capital which is defined as finances, and owned assets such as land titles, houses, vehicles, and other paraphernalia that could be sold for money or traded for other goods (Elam, 2008). This section will discuss how women entrepreneurs manage economic capital including start-up capital for a business in order to support family, maintain a business (growth strategies), and manage debt. This section will also discuss embedded social contexts which often include non-supportive social environments or constraints associated with cultural gender inequality; women business owners are often beholden to families' and communities' expectations of how income should be spent, and who should control it.

All entrepreneurs must have start-up funds to build a new business but women generally have a harder time with accessing start-up finances than men (Aidis et al., 2007; Al-sadi et al., 2011; Alsos, Isaksen, & Ljunggren, 2006; C. G. Brush, 1992), including Indonesian women micro-entrepreneurs (Tambunan, 2007). As was discussed in the "Motivations and Risk Aversion" section of this chapter, women generally do not want to put financial pressure on their family; a common reason for starting a business is to increase income for the family (Aidis et al., 2007). Many women, therefore, will tend to rely on their own financial resources, meaning that they have their own savings or they borrow from family or friends to start a business, rarely relying on bank loans (Aidis et al., 2007; Bloch, 2011; Bushell, 2008; Chamlee-wright, 2002). Women and men are equally likely to tap into personal savings and family savings than they are to access bank loans when starting businesses (Jamali, 2009). However, it is generally found that women start with less money for their businesses; they have less personal savings due to interruptions in their work histories, and lower pay received when they work (de Bruin, Brush, & Welter, 2007; Jamali, 2009). Women are also less likely to have good credit for loans (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Jamali, 2009). It is theorized that women are more likely to start businesses in the service sector because it requires little start-up capital compared to other sectors (C. Brush, Carter, Gatewood, & Greene, 2001; Jamali, 2009; Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013).

Bank loans are often avoided because of beliefs that the bank will not be interested in funding a new business (Aidis et al., 2007), and that bank loan officers have negative perceptions of women business owners as high risk lendees (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012). In developing countries, many policies that allow equal access to credit for both men and women are new in practice and older cultural barriers still exist which limit women's access (Abdo & Kerbage, 2012; ADB, 2006; Bushell, 2008).

In Java there are patrilineal, matrilineal, and bilateral systems of inheritance. Both women and men (who are citizens of Indonesia) are legally allowed to hold land titles (ADB, 2002). Despite this, statistics have revealed that only 30% of title holders are women while 65% are men. Only 5% of titles are held by a husband and wife jointly (ADB, 2006). This may be because the majority of citizens are Muslim and adhere to Islamic law which privileges men; sons are to receive twice the shares of daughters, however families may of course, ignore this rule. Civil law divides shares equally (ADB, 2006). Furthermore, although the law treats men and women who are citizens equally; it does not do so for noncitizens. Foreign born men who are married to Indonesian women may hold land titles through a prenuptial agreement but foreign born women who are married to Indonesian men may not own land at all (ADB, 2002).

Women entrepreneurs are often embedded in communities where they have long term obligations to their immediate family, relatives, and neighborhood. Examples of such obligations include the expectation of donating to community events such as marriage ceremonies or births, allowing customers to buy on credit, housing nieces and nephews, and caring for the elderly; “the level of support expected varies depending on one’s wealth, while compensation is offered through reciprocal support when needed” (Guerin, 2006, p. 554; Okten & Osili, 2004). This has a direct impact on women’s businesses; blurring the lines of domestic and professional activities means that enterprise income is usually used for needs of the family and community rather than invested back into the business (Guerin, 2006). More about this issue will be discussed in section 6.3 Management Strategies.

2.5.5 Conclusion:

The concept of entrepreneurship has been extensively debated within academia and has produced a wide variety of literature concerning its main objectives, purpose and actors. While there are still debates regarding the nature of entrepreneurship as well as the motivations of women who pursue entrepreneurial activities and self-employment, the endeavor of this chapter was to examine and review the key concepts and arguments about gender and its role in entrepreneurship. More precisely, this chapter has focused on reviewing how gender roles can influence entrepreneurial motivations and management strategies.

The literature review shows that the impediments and barriers that women face in starting and running a business are represented by normative environments, structures and social backgrounds which represent propelling forces that influence and limit entrepreneurial choices and motivation. Women entrepreneurs generally face disadvantages and inequalities in their access to and attainment of education, and employment. This forces many to pursue entrepreneurship as a consequence of poverty and necessity in order to ensure subsistence and family survival. Yet, the literature also shows a greater and more nuanced picture of why entrepreneurs choose this path and what motivates them to do so is gradually emerging and hence looks beyond necessity driven entrepreneurship. We can ask ourselves if informal entrepreneurship may provide a path, especially for women, towards a change of status, more resources, and new social spaces for redefining gender norms (Hanson, 2009) or whether it will help reinforce the existing gender roles within the household and the community where these women entrepreneurs operate. Different cultures will reflect different perceptions and behaviors in the management of personal identities, roles, and business resources, but gender inequality has created consistent patterns in women's access to resources and resultant motivations and management strategies.

Chapter 3 Theory: Introduction

Feminist theory and institutional theory guide this thesis research. Feminist theory has been developed to explore the impact of gender on entrepreneurship; more specifically how gender is socially constructed and how gender is performed in entrepreneurship. A feminist theory of entrepreneurship in Southeast Asia must acknowledge both structure and agency; "it is not meaningful to look at any individual separated from her social world" (Ahl, 2006, p. 612). Institutional theory is consistent with a feminist outlook because it focuses on larger structures in society which can create and maintain gender inequalities, therefore recognizing the embedded formal and informal systems through which people must operate their businesses day to day. When research fails to consider social structures that actors are embedded within, all shortcomings can be blamed on individuals and larger social problems remain invisible (Ahl, 2006). In order to understand the experiences of women and men who work as jamu sellers, it is important to define the societal gender norms that they are embedded within. Agency is also important to remember; third world women are often cast as special 'others' in research, who are helpless victims to the social and cultural structures that their lives are embedded within (Radcliffe, 1994); Such condescending depictions assume third world women have little agency (Kim, 2007).

The first section of this chapter will describe feminist theory in its application to understanding the effects of gender on entrepreneurial motivations and management strategies in a cross-cultural context by utilizing postcolonial feminism to understand cultural differences without exploiting subjects or reifying colonial knowledge production processes of domination. The second section focuses on institutional theory and critical realism, which will help provide further understanding of the way that institutions impact entrepreneurial motivations and management strategies without conflating structure and agency.

3.1 Feminist theory of entrepreneurship

The goal of feminist theory is “to provide alternative ways of theorizing, which may have significant social and political consequences” (Hurley, 1999), and, in the case of postcolonial feminist theory, to “deal with questions of difference and decolonization” (Kim, 2007, p. 113). Feminist theory of entrepreneurship stipulates that gender, not sex, should be emphasized. With regard to matrices of power, Foucault (1978) argued that the body and biology, has little to do with what other scientists have described as natural human behaviors which can be categorized as male or female; instead, gender and sexuality is socially constructed (Ahl & Marlow, 2012; Foucault, 1978; West & Zimmerman, 1987), meaning that different times and places (with different cultures) will have different constructions of what it means to be a man and woman, and how these gender identities are acted on through behaviors, which will be judged according to gender norms as legitimate or illegitimate) (Butler, 1990). With regard to understanding the effect of gender in entrepreneurship, feminist research of entrepreneurship has found that feminine business values and characteristics are often devalued in patriarchal societies (Calas, Bourne, & Smircich, 2009). Women are usually socialized in different ways than men, leading them to act (relationally) different than men, and structure their businesses differently (Ahl, 2003, 2006).

There has been very little development of theory on female entrepreneurship (Parker, 2010) and most research and theory development of gender entrepreneurship has been done in the West, by Westerners, and only since the 1970s (Ahl, 2006); "feminist theories, concepts, and methods continue to travel in one direction, typically from the Anglo-European academy to its "peripheral" sites and places" (Kim, 2007, p. 108). Therefore most theory on gender entrepreneurship has been developed from a Western perspective (Ahl, 2006), and theories of gendered postcolonial subjects exists on the margins of Western feminist theories as well (Spivak, 1988).

There is no 'one size fits all' with gender entrepreneurship. Different cultural realities create different constructions of 'doing' gender as an entrepreneur. As should be expected, entrepreneurship in the United States is perceived differently than entrepreneurship in other countries, such as Indonesia because of different local cultures, governmental policy structures, and history, all of which partially shape experiences. These different contexts exist within national borders as well as borders shaped by political regimes and "historical relations of unequal exchange" (Kim, 2007; Mitchell, 1997, p. 111). Postcolonial feminist theory is helpful/appropriate/applicable to understanding power relations that Javanese jamu sellers are embedded within because of the focus on issues of exploitation, imperialism, nations/states, colonialism, and postcolonialism, which remains largely "overlooked and under theorized in feminist scholarship" (Kim, 2007, p. 108).

Researchers should avoid representing third world places and people as unitary and unchanging (Spivak, 1988). An "individuals identity is not singular or fixed, but changes depending on context and circumstance" (Blake & Hanson, 2009; Hall, 1996).

In this same way, entrepreneurial identity is diverse because entrepreneurial cultures exist in very different social settings (Blake & Hanson, 2009). Women have diverse experiences, because they hold different social positions and build unique identities which can change over time (Ali, 2007; Hall, 1996). It is not the experience of all women to be "'oppressed by men' through a monolithic system named 'patriarchy'" (Ali, 2007, p. 196). Bhabha (1994) describes mimicry as attempts by the colonizer to recreate the colonized as a copy of themselves (imposing the culture of the colonizer onto the colonized). To present all women entrepreneurs as suffering from patriarchal culture (as a force that normalizes entrepreneurship as a masculine endeavor) is a form of mimicry; "presenting the [world] as a homogenous geographic space… [which] erase[s] the historical presence of people who were already there" (Ozkazanc-pan, 2009, p. 42).

Postcolonial feminism recognizes other systems of oppression which affect the status of people, such as gendered histories of colonialism. Subjectivities are situated within "scattered hegemonies composed in and through patriarchies, nations, states, empires, political economies, and (neo)colonialism" (Kim, 2007, p. 112). There is a need to shift our attention towards fragmented, situated knowledge which comes from diverse experiences and backgrounds, including differences in gender, nation, class, caste, race, culture, and sexualities (Kim, 2007), all of which can be interpreted uniquely by individuals as well.

Postcolonial feminist theory shines light on the diversity of women's experiences and material conditions under which they live and work throughout the world, and within given regions. Spivak (1992) stresses that a given population of people is heterogeneous and should always be represented as so; to take the narratives of a group of individuals and use it to normalize an image of entire people (usually as different from Western people in some way) is problematic. Cultural differences can only be understood by acknowledging highly influential histories and power imbalances such as colonial and postcolonial relations between nations and people. This includes acknowledging the background of authors of texts; it is important to consider who benefits from particular representations of the non-Westerner in academic writing. Postcolonial theory is useful for understanding how embedded power relations effect representations of subjects (Ozkazanc-pan, 2009), and it is important for researchers to do self-reflexive work regarding the power imbalances between themselves and subjects within their own research. More about this will be discussed in the methodology chapter – in the discussion on self-reflexivity.

Although women's and men's personalities and identities are multi-faceted, ever changing, and unique, they are also connected to the "everyday" and night " life interactions" that they experience in which they "encounter the starkly simplified gender stereotypes held by other" women and men (Blake & Hanson, 2009, p. 138). In other words, the subject positions that people can adopt as a part of their identity, are limited in availability based on societal gender norms (Butler, 1990). So although subjectivities are fragmented, they are also guided by "operating regulatory frameworks" (Butler, 1990). This means that individuals must appear as 'male' or 'female'; gender is a binary concept because institutions as well as individuals often conceive of it as such (Blake & Hanson, 2009). Gender can also be considered fragmented or flexible, because there are many constructions of gender (Hamilton, 2013), meaning there are variations or "differences within and across gendered subjectivities" (Ashe & Treanor, 2011, p. 192) (i.e. variations of female social constructions in U.S. culture includes tomboys, girly girls, and Butch). Nonetheless, people are labeled according to a binary framework, and gender appears unchangeable because of this; “gender is like an empty binary construction into which meaning can be poured ” (Kelan, 2010, p. 188). In order to appear legitimate in our actions, people must appear ‘normal’, or readable, to have a right to exist as humans in public (Butler, 2004).

Postcolonial feminism has the goal of deconstructing essentialist binary frameworks that are presumed to be normative, including gender (male and female), developed vs developing, and Eastern vs Western (De Lauretis, 1988; Grewal & Kaplan, 1994; Kim, 2007). Bhabha (1994) introduced the concept of hybridity as an attempt to disrupt binaries in hegemonic discourse which support ‘othering’. He argues that binary labels only serve to reify power imbalances by putting the ‘other’ into their place. All perspectives are important and hybridity recognizes this. To disrupt binaries, the focus needs to be placed on understanding how relationships between groups of people are constructed by everyone. Denied knowledge needs to enter into hegemonic discourse in order to disrupt normalized images of the ‘other’. This is because normalized images include stereotypes presented as empirical truths. These normalized images are false because identities are never static; there can be no essential characteristics of the colonizer or colonized (Bhabha, 1994).

Spivak (1988) and Said (2000) challenge academics to stop writing about non-Western subjects as in need of representation or help; such writing has imperialist tendencies because it establishes that researchers have dominance over subjects and their knowledge. Spivak (1988) argues that it is not possible to speak for the subaltern, and attempting to do so unwillingly reifies the subaltern subject as ‘other’ (Spivak, 1988). Narratives can never tell the whole story; “when a narrative is constructed, something is left out. When an end is defined, other ends are rejected, and one might not know what those ends are… What is it that is left out? Can we know what is left out? We must know the limits of the narratives” (Spivak, 1990, p. 19). Researchers who aim to give voice to the voiceless and speak for the subaltern cannot help but to recreate hegemonic forms of representation which reify the dominance of the West. Knowledge production exists within "matrices of power” (Kim, 2007, p. 108); making sense of the world is a relational process between people, institutions, material objects, physical entities, and language (Anderson, Drakopoulou Dodd, & Jack, 2012; G. C. Spivak, 1988). Feminist scholars have noted that because of this relational process, it is important to adapt a critical feminist stance to avoid reifying old gender-biased assumptions about entrepreneurship which “puts women back in their place” (Ahl & Marlow, 2012; Bruni et al., 2004b; Hurley, 1999; Ramazanoglu, 1992).

Postcolonial feminism recognizes that ethnocentrism and more particularly, ‘eurocentricism’ as serious issues in research and discourse; it is not possible for “postcolonial females to be valued, appreciated and justified by the Western hands” (Mishra, 2013, pt. abstract) because Western feminism is known for homogenizing the experiences and characteristics of all women. Postcolonial feminism has, therefore, emerged to help recognize and celebrate differences between women in different cultures and of different nationalities, while also fighting for their freedoms (Mishra, 2013). Feminist researchers must form collaborations – a dialogue among women (Kim, 2007). Women of different regions can represent themselves (Mishra, 2013). Feminists should seek to make differences (race, class, and contexts) in women’s lives visible and recognizable in non-oppressive ways (Kim, 2007; Mishra, 2013).

3.2 Institutional theory

Institutional theory (IT) first gained traction in the 19th century. It was popular until the first half of the twentieth century, when other theories developed and took stage. However IT has made a comeback in recent decades. IT has been developed into several different approaches; sociologists, political scientists, economists, anthropologists, etc. have used and contributed to the theory. There are four core assumptions to IT: (1) institutions create rules by which actors must follow to fit in, (2) People or groups who follow the rules are seen as legitimate, (3) institutions usually resist change, (4) history is important in understanding current institutional structures. Giddens defines institutions as “society-wide structural principles that extend over time and space” (Lorber, 2008, p. 538 cites Giddens, 1984, p. 17). Scott & Marshall (2009) similarly describe institutions as “established aspects of society”, noting that this definition is very similar to the common English one.

Three divergent streams of IT exist; rational choice, normative, and cultural cognitive (Richard, 2004). For my thesis I will be mostly using the cultural cognitive stream of thought to theorize about the social structures within Indonesian Javanese society in Yogyakarta. Cultural cognitive theory focuses on belief systems and social identities. Social constructionism is key to the development and maintenance of social structures for this theory, which is geared towards understanding informal structures which make up society (Richard, 2004).

Institutional theory of entrepreneurship deals with how structure affects agency. When analyzing women entrepreneurs in a development context it is important to consider the surrounding environments in which they live and work in order to analyze their entrepreneurial endeavors and motivations. Structure is a term used to describe “relatively stable and patterned relationships of social units” (Spencer, 1964, p. 615). Institutional theory is applicable to entrepreneurship; putting attention on the structures which shape behavior and highlighting available opportunities or actions which can be taken by individuals within society (Sine & David, 2010). In other words, the theory can be used to understand how the cultural environment affects entrepreneurs and constructs entrepreneurship; “how entrepreneurs come to be entrepreneurs, how entrepreneurial opportunities are created, how such opportunities are evaluated and exploited, and how institutional environments are manipulated to support entrepreneurship” (Sine & David, 2010, p. 2).

Institutional theory understands social behavior as an outcome and contribution to social constructions; the behavior of groups and individuals is largely controlled by cultural norms or rules which help to provide guidelines in how one should act in any given situation (Voss, 2001). Institutional theory is helpful in understanding how such norms come into existence, are maintained, or fall apart, as well as how they shape future ‘social facts’ or institutions (Richard, 2004). Understanding institutions is not simple. Voss (2001) cautions those who use institutional theory to avoid narrow uses of the term to explain phenomena. He suggests relating to the theory as a kind of ‘thought experiment’ in which the goal is to try to understand the complex and multiple processes taking place as idealized models in order to “enhance the clarity of theoretical arguments” (Voss, 2001, p. 7564).

3.2.1 Use of Realism:

Leca and Naccache (2006) recommend a critical realist approach to institutional theory in order to avoid conflation of structure and agency. Conflation happens when structure and agency are understood as a combined phenomenon. This is problematic because understanding of important emergent properties can be lost (Leca & Naccache, 2006). Leca and Naccache (2006) avoid conflation with the application of Bhaskar's (1978) three domains into a stratified model of reality. The critical realist approach allows for institutional theory to be used with a bottom up approach to research (inquiring about phenomena at the microlevel) without conflation by recognizing the “ontological status of structures and actions – i.e. their distinctive emergent properties, relative autonomies, previous existences, and causal efficiency – as well as their permanent interaction” (Leca & Naccache, 2006, p. 629). Furthermore their approach provides a way to understand how entrepreneurs might “create and change institutions by using existing structures” (Leca & Naccache, 2006, p. 629).

Bhaskar's (1978) three domains include the ‘empirical’, the ‘actual’, and the ‘real’. The ‘empirical’ domain consists of actors’ lived experiences of events which includes one’s perception of interactions; individuals can describe this domain because they experience it personally. The ‘actual’ domain consists of events (interactions between people in society, which makes up society); events are different from experiences - not all actors may experience an event the same (or at all). The ‘real’ domain is institutional logics (culture, or societal norms), and cannot be directly experienced, regardless that we all know it exists (Bhaskar, 1978).

Institutional logics are described as “underlying principles of the game” and “justification regimes” (Leca & Naccache, 2006, p. 632). Institutional logics provide the criteria or information for entrepreneurs to “articulate claims” (Leca & Naccache, 2006, p. 632). Institutional logics vary depending on the particular place or subject of interest (Leca & Naccache, 2006). According to the critical realist approach, institutions (institutional logics) are the rules, assumptions, norms, and beliefs that individuals know of and act according to within society. Institutions are therefore “self-reproducing recurrent patterns of behavior” (Leca & Naccache, 2006, p. 632). The critical realist approach is useful to view society from a structural standpoint without reducing structures to the level of agency and without conflating agency with the structural domain. Bhaskar's (1978) model is hierarchical meaning that the structural domains encompass the domain of agency; Table 1 provides a visual of this model below.

Table 1: Bhaskar's Three Domains of Reality

	Domain of real	Domain of actual	Domain of empirical
Institutional logics (structures)	★		
Institutions (events)	★	★	
Experiences	★	★	★

Source: (Leca & Naccache, 2006, p. 630 and 633)

3.2.2 Different types of Context

Institutions are contexts in which entrepreneurs operate. Griffin (2007) writes about context through the lens of organizational behavior, focusing on organizational context which he defines as “the set of circumstances in which phenomena (e.g. events, processes or entities) are situated” (p. 860) and he goes on to say, citing Mowday & Sutton (1993) that “context typically exists at a unit of analysis above the phenomena being investigated” (p. 860). Welter (2011) argues for a ‘contextualized view’ of entrepreneurship in order to understand “when, how, and why” (p. 176) it happens. Entrepreneurship can be affected directly or indirectly by structural forces and it is not only affected by context but affects context as well (Welter, 2011).

There are many types of contexts to consider, including, social networks, family and kin context, community, geographical (which includes local cultures and identities), gender aspect of spatial context (part of geographical context) (Welter, 2011), economic institutions (such as property rights), political institutions (such as a constitutions or laws), educational institutions, and religious institutions (Voss, 2001) to name a few. Even time can be considered a contextual variable (Griffin, 2007). Culture is also an institution or context that must be considered in the study of entrepreneurship.

Culture encompasses “knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired [or learned] by [persons] as a member of society” (Tylor, 1968, p. 18). Culture entails the thoughts and values which drive behaviors or actions. Culture, like institutions in general, is continuously evolving; it is a product of prior people and civilizations (Tylor, 1968). Kluckhohn (1964) provides a more comprehensive definition of culture in his discussion of Herskovits theory of culture. He lists five characteristics of culture; (1) it is learned, (2) culture is structured and derived biologically, environmentally, psychologically, and historically, (3) culture can change and is different from place to place, (4) culture has regularities in any given period in time which allows it to be analyzed, (5) culture is used by individuals to fit in or adjust to settings and is useful for creative expression (Kluckhohn, 1964).

Different cities have different institutions, cultural forces, and societal norms. Therefore every city has a unique context and unique institutional logics which affect entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs must adapt in unique ways to local pressures, resources, and demands which can inevitably lead to unique business management strategies. Understanding the context, therefore, can help in the investigation of "salient aspect[s] of the phenomena" (Griffin, 2007, p. 860 citing Cappelli & Sherer, 1991). Blake & Hanson (2009) describe social identities as being 'place specific' and affecting access to particular networks. Therefore gender, which is a part of identity, can affect access to networks. As gender norms change, networks change, and so too do institutions (Blake & Hanson, 2009).

3.2.3 Legitimacy

An important context to consider for entrepreneurship is "moral space" or legitimacy which is the connection between institutional logics within the private and public spheres (Welter, 2011 cites Anderson and Smith, 2007). In other words, legitimacy is "culturally constructed moral boundaries for entrepreneurial activities" (Welter, 2011, p. 173). Most people who engage in small scale jamu entrepreneurship are women; therefore male jamu sellers may encounter problems with legitimacy.

Women also encounter many boundaries in their work pertaining to moral spaces – more about this will be explored in my data analysis of jamu seller management strategies.

There are different types of legitimacy; Blake & Hanson (2009) cite Aldrich (2000) as identifying two different forms of legitimacy, the cognitive and the socio-political. Cognitive legitimacy is definitive of moral ideas that individuals hold due to being socialized a certain way. Cognitive legitimacy influences individuals to behave according to how they interpret the symbols of morality around them. Socio-political legitimacy refers to the moral boundaries which society creates through processes of social construction (Blake & Hanson, 2009) or, as a critical realist would put it, the dominant institutional logics. Jamu entrepreneurs, for example, are a part of a certain field of work and, therefore within a certain place, will most likely share a common ideology. In order to succeed with gaining clientele, they will align themselves with those values that "are likely to match potential allies' interests and/or values" (Leca & Naccache, 2006, p. 634). Cognitive legitimacy is tacit knowledge and deals with agency, affecting individual decisions about behavior, whereas socio-political legitimacy is given from society and deals with structure (Blake & Hanson, 2009).

It is important to discuss here how one gains legitimacy. Blake and Hanson (2009) have several things to say about this. They say that trust and legitimacy is gained through personal interactions as well as performance of roles or identities. If people seem trustworthy (they act according to social mores) then they are able to access the benefits of having legitimacy, one of which is social networks. Western feminists theorize that women have a harder time with gaining entrepreneurial legitimacy then men because of gender inequalities (Blake & Hanson, 2009; Bruni et al., 2004a, 2004b). In society, the majority of interactions which take place are in places where there are both men and women. And men often have higher power and status. Therefore, women are accorded less legitimacy than men because of their lower status in society. In order to gain legitimacy, entrepreneurs must make investments; one of which is time. The amount of time that is needed to invest depends on the place where an entrepreneur operates. Some places are more accepting than others. The experiences of individuals will vary as well, and so their skills with dealing with and interpreting specific social contexts is also important because it allows an individual to gauge the amount of risk and reward associated with a given situation (Blake & Hanson, 2009).

In order for an entrepreneur to gain legitimacy, they must act within the confines of the gender roles of that place (Blake & Hanson, 2009). Legitimacy is a type of context which is especially important in the discussion of networks (another type of context). Individuals must build up legitimacy within networks in order to be successful, without legitimacy, entrepreneurs will not be valued by the community (Blake & Hanson, 2009) and therefore will not get much business. Because legitimacy is so important, it can be both constraining and enabling. A lack of legitimacy can be seriously constraining (individuals will avert themselves from risk and if resources are not available they will know there is greater possibility for failure) while gaining legitimacy is very enabling because it allows for greater access to resources (Blake & Hanson, 2009).

3.2.4 Gender as an Institution

Legitimacy is connected to “gender status beliefs” (Thebaud, 2010) which are shared cultural assumptions about gender that allow individuals to think about gender in terms of the competences of individuals. Thebaud (2010 p. 290) writes about gender as a "multilevel structure" which can be categorized into three levels: the micro scale which is related to identities and roles, the interactional level which is related to how multiple individuals interact to create societal structures (behavioral patterns), and the macro level which focuses specifically on structures or institutions (cultural beliefs and how resources are distributed). Each level interacts with the other two and they reify gender norms and structural processes which often lead to inequality (Thebaud, 2010). This categorization of gender is very similar to the way critical realism deals with institutions and context.

Lorber (2008) described gender as an institution with three structural components: the first is that of a binary code. People are labeled as either men or women. The second is that roles and characteristics are ascribed to people based on their respective gender. People, first and foremost, are expected to fit the part of their gender – to be a man or a woman- and who they are as an individual (including their religion, ethnicity, economic class, education level, etc.) then comes second to that. This means that people are considered to have certain work roles and family roles; women must care for children and men must work outside the home, for example. Ideal characteristics are pushed upon each social group, and these characteristics are often opposite for each gender. Heterosexuality is also expected. Third, people are treated a certain way (depending on cultural norms, gender roles, and governing regimes) based on their gender. The institution of gender is a system of inequality with, often, white men and the wealthy at the top. The poor, which is dominated by women and minorities of all genders, are at the bottom (Lorber, 2008). Though women and men's identities are never static and always changing, the structures of society are fairly stable; individuals internalize the gender beliefs and they are hard to break through (Blake & Hanson, 2009). Stefano (1990), coming from a cross-cultural perspective, agrees with this idea of gender as an inherently unequal system. She discusses gender as a universal feature of all human cultures which is defined differently throughout the world. She makes the point that "difference" does not always translate into "unequal" but that the system of gender itself, is "more or less of an obstacle to achieving parity between the sexes than many of us had previously imagined" (Stefano, 1990, pp. 64–65).

3.3 Conclusion

In order to gain a better understanding of the diversity of experiences of jamu entrepreneurs, Institutional theory and feminist theory provide a perspective into the social structures that entrepreneurs are embedded within, which undoubtedly effect their experiences and perceptions. Feminist theory focuses on social systems of oppression, such as patriarchal culture and colonial regimes. Institutional theory broadens our view to other structures as well, such as the culture of jamu; Javanese traditions and culture. Institutional theory and feminist theory come together in our understanding of gender as an institution, and the importance of legitimacy in entrepreneurship. Pertaining to the motivations and management strategies of jamu sellers, gender institutional logistics plays an important role in gaining legitimacy as a jamu seller.

It is important to study cultural institutions which entrepreneurs are embedded within, in order to understand their reasoning and behaviors. By using critical realism, structure and agency, are explored in a way that avoids homogenization and 'othering' of the subject. The critical realist approach to institutional theory compliments postcolonial feminist theory; stratifying the different domains of societal activities, allows for stories to be told while explaining the impact of culture, and also still taking into account the personal reasoning and decisions or participants, therefore allowing an understanding of hybridity, or diversity of personal perspectives regarding gender norms and entrepreneurial identities.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Feminist research methods seek to include a plurality of women's experiences of society, minimize harm of research, and support progress that leads to more gender equality (DeVault, 1996). There is no specific feminist methodology; feminist researchers use and create research techniques (both qualitative and quantitative methods) to explore different aspects of women's lives, and there is no agreement on the best way to do this (Doucet & Mauthner, 2007; Hesse-Biber, 2012). It is generally agreed that in order for a methodology to be described as feminist, it must enable processes of knowledge construction to be explored. Power imbalances between participants and researchers are inevitable, and researchers must be aware of their own assumptions and how this impacts findings.

Methods for data collection must respond to issues of difference (Hesse-Biber, 2012) because subjective knowledge is heterogeneous; there are a plurality of voices from which to gather information which builds upon collective knowledge, and the most marginalized voices and viewpoints often come from women (Doucet & Mauthner, 2007). This thesis research sought to collect a diverse array of perspectives, predominantly interviews and stories from women, by searching for participants of varying ages, from different socio-economic backgrounds, with different marital statuses, and living and working in different parts of Yogyakarta.

Data analysis in feminist research must allow findings to be interpreted in a way that includes the experiences of marginalized populations (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Feminist researchers have noted the dangers of assuming that marginalized voices can be represented and advocated for, by researchers, no matter how good the researcher's intentions (Doucet & Mauthner, 2007; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; G. C. Spivak, 1988; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2013). There will always be power imbalances between participants and researchers; reflexivity helps to expose power imbalances (Doucet & Mauthner, 2007).

Researchers should be honest about who is involved in collecting, translating, transcribing, and coding interview and field data, as well as the writers who use the data to tell a story. Processes of self-reflexivity can help researchers become aware of how personal assumptions influence the construction of knowledge; knowledge building is a relational process and hegemonic viewpoints will always be present, but it is the job of the researcher to make obvious the impact of taken for granted perspectives (Hesse-Biber, 2012). This thesis research, therefore, seeks to be reflexive by discussing the involvement of all research assistants who interviewed participants and translated the data. It is the author's intention to share her processes of self-reflexivity and data analysis, so that readers understand how stories of participants are being told, and all the voices involved in telling these stories.

This research was conducted as a part of a larger project, funded by SSHRC and headed by the author's supervisor, Maria Costanza Torri, which collected ninety-three interviews with jamu entrepreneurs who work and live throughout urban areas of Yogyakarta, Indonesia on the island of Java. All of the interviews that were conducted for this thesis had the same interview schedule with the same questions, as the larger research project. The interviews that were used for this thesis project were selected for use because they were the first interviews available in English, from the transcription and translation team. The author of this thesis made her work unique from the larger project through utilizing grounded theory methods in her analysis of the data with NVivo software.

This chapter will explore methodology in three sections, (1) data collection, (2) data analysis, and (3) the limitations of the methodology. Data collection encompasses considerations for finding participants, ethical procedures including the consent process, working with interpreters, creating and editing interview questions, interview procedures, debriefings with research assistants, and the collection of field notes. The section on data analysis will include descriptions of the transcription and translation procedure, the generalizability of the results, processes of reflexivity, the process for analysis, and the use of NVivo software for data analysis.

4.1 Data Collection:

Thirty interviews were conducted for this thesis. Four key informants were interviewed as well, including a government employee who has dealt with the jamu sector, a leader of a jamu association[7], a graduate student whom consumes jamu, and a psychiatry professor conducting research on jamu. Data was collected from sellers in several different neighborhoods throughout the city of Yogyakarta. Several neighborhoods were explored to ensure that interviewed sellers represent different socio-economic and geographic backgrounds. A variety of sellers were sought out; young, old, male and female, new to the trade (between 0 to 3 years of selling experience) and those who have had a business for a longer period (more than three years), those that came from urban areas or rural areas, those with different marital statuses and number of children (i.e. with or without children). Having a heterogeneous sample is helpful because it reduces the risk of underrepresenting a diversity of experiences; there is such little information collected about jamu entrepreneurs and the goal is to portray, as much as possible, the reality and complexity of informal jamu entrepreneurship.

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[7] A jamu association is an organization that jamu sellers can join in order to access support in the form of government business assistance (governments will disperse money or supplies to jamu organizations in order to help women start up or enhance their business), trainings about jamu or business management, and credit or start-up capital. Monthly dues must be paid in order to belong. Not all jamu sellers are members of organizations – some do not wish to pay monthly fees and others explain that they have never been invited or association meetings are too far away to attend.

4.1.1 Sampling methods

Participants were found through convenience and snowball sampling methods; we looked for jamu sellers by visiting different urban areas in Yogyakarta and a jamu association (that the head research assistant had already had established ties with through her work on a pilot project with the author's supervisor. Some participants were found through recommendations from sellers that we interviewed or through friends and family of the Javanese research assistants. Key informants were found through the jamu association (the leader of the jamu association), by contacting organizations that were involved in helping jamu sellers (government department of health) or researching jamu (psychiatry professor at local university), and by chance (unplanned meeting with a grad student consumer of jamu).

The research assistants (RAs)[8] were asked to conduct a search for professionals with close ties to the jamu industry to approach for interviews, including a government employee involved in programming to support jamu sellers, a psychiatry professor researching the efficacy of jamu recipes, and a jamu association leader. The graduate student who is a regular consumer of jamu was found through a chance encounter (she was kind enough not only to grant the author an interview, but also to show her a store that serves traditional bitter jamu in a rural area just outside Yogyakarta). The research assistants found the other three key informants by conducting google searches, and then set up meetings through a formal process that involved sending letters asking for an appointment, and offering gifts of framed certificates of appreciation. These interviews were helpful in gathering information about jamu in Yogyakarta and gaining a better general understanding of the jamu sector, informal jamu sellers, and Javanese culture of jamu.

Scouting trips were conducted by the research team to find jamu sellers to interview; we visited market areas and neighborhoods, asking around about where we could find jamu sellers. We went on scouting trips at different times of the day – hoping to find a variety of jamu entrepreneurs who work at different hours including the morning, day, and night. Participants were approached in their workplaces and asked for an interview. They gave prior consent for the time and place of interviews and appointments were scheduled for every day of the week. Interviews were often conducted in the interviewee’s home and sometimes in the sellers’ workplaces, according to expressed preferences of sellers.

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[8] The author’s RA team included eight students; six Javanese RAs (four women and two men), one female Canadian PhD student who had lived in Java during her 20’s and could speak Bahasa Indonesian, and one male PhD student from Ghana (also conducting research on jamu). More about the RA team will be discussed in the methodology section titled, “4.1.1 Sampling methods”.

4.1.2 Ethical Procedures:

Ethical procedures were followed throughout the data collection process to ensure that participants experienced no harm during the study. Ethics has been described as being respectful, not doing harm, and conducting research which will benefit the participants (Brynjulf Stige, Malterud, & Midtgarden, 2009). Consent was obtained from participants before the recording devices were turned on and before any questions were asked. To ensure that participants could give full consent for the interview, the nature of the research was first explained; the research assistants read the consent forms out loud to participants and answered their questions about the research if they had any. Through the consent process (and through the consent form), participants were notified that their interviews would be used for only scholarly purposes which includes presenting on research findings at conferences and in scholarly journals, the persons who can access their interview (which includes myself, Dr. Torri, Dr. Laplante, and Dr. Koumari), that the interviews will be stored in a locked file cabinet within a locked office at UNB in Canada, that all interview tapes will be destroyed after being transcribed, and that upon request the findings and results of the research will be shared with the participant.

Interview participants were also notified on the consent form that they were not obligated to answer any questions that they did not wish to answer and that they were free to end the interview at any time, for any reason. Respondents were also notified that they could withdraw from the study if they wished, and that interview materials pertaining to that individual would then be destroyed. Research participants were given the choice to sign their consent form or give their consent orally; those who could not read or write could, therefore, still give consent. Each participant was given a copy of the consent form after giving consent. Contact information for Dr. Torri and for Dr. Nason-Clark were provided on consent forms so that participants had a way to contact someone if they had questions or wished to withdraw from the study. A few participants gave consent for the interview, but not to have their voices recorded and in such cases the field assistants wrote down participant answers for transcription. Anonymity of all research participants was ensured by destroying all interview recordings after the transcripts were completely typed out. Transcripts were also kept in a locked filing cabinet within a locked office at UNB and the names of the participants were changed in the discussion of findings in order to protect participant identities.

Cultural norms and politeness were researched before the trip and followed closely during the field work in order to ensure that participants (as well as research assistants and key informants) felt respected when the author interacted with them. Facial expressions are important in Indonesia; blank expressions or any expression that could be interpreted as unfriendly could lead to alienation (World Trade Press, 2010). Handshakes should be gentle and followed by a slight bow of the head; the bow should become more pronounced for those with elevated social positions (such as a professional or an academic). General contact between women and men is avoided (World Trade Press, 2010). The author was informed that it was okay to shake men's hands but it was best if she were the one to initiate it. Upon meeting others the author always made sure to follow these guidelines. As foreigners, the Western team was not expected to follow

Muslim dress codes (for example, wearing the hijab), but the author was careful to always dress modestly during the research process; covering her shoulders, and wearing pants, long shorts, or skirts that covered her knees.

It was noted before interviews that business cards or gifts should be received and given with both hands. Any gifts that are given to the participants must be appropriate and not burdening in anyway; gift giving in Indonesia requires reciprocation (World Trade Press, 2010). Receivers of gifts never un-wrap gifts in front of givers (this is taken as greed or impatience). Taboo items - such as alcohol, anything pig related or human form related, anything sharp (against Muslim Culture), and leather and beef products (taboo for Hindu culture) - were avoided (World Trade Press, 2010).

All interviewees (except for key informants) were gifted $50,000.00 Indonesian Rupiah (which is equivalent to $5.00 CAD). This ensured that participants were not losing money, since they were losing valuable work time by participating in the interview. This money was considered to be business related, as a way to acknowledge the participation of the interviewees in the research. Often the interviews were 1.5 hours to 2 hours long. Sellers can make 50,000 rupiah in this time period from selling jamu. The time taken to participate in the study was time that could have been dedicated towards their business or household duties, and so it was important to provide this gift which ensured that the research was mutually beneficial and the interviewees were not taken advantage of. By giving interviewees a gift as a compensation for their time, this also helped to ensure that any future research will not be looked upon negatively.

The Javanese research assistants educated the team about the importance of the manner in which gift money was given to informants; if given to participants out in the open, where others could witness the exchange, the money could be considered to belong to the community or family, rather than to the interviewee. It was important to hand the money, within an unmarked envelope with both hands covering the envelope, to informants after interviews while thanking them; otherwise the payment could become burdensome to participants if family or community members saw the exchange and expected the money to be shared. It was the intention, of the research team, to make sure the participants could spend the gift money as they saw fit without pressure from others.

4.1.3 Working with interpreters: important considerations

Interpreters can impact the findings of research because their role is central in gathering, translating, and analyzing data. This thesis research seeks to allow the voices of the participants to be heard, but (as was discussed in the section titled, ‘feminist methodology’) it is dangerous to assume that this is possible without acknowledging power imbalances between researchers and participants. Rather than seeking to smooth out power imbalances which, arguably, can never be corrected (including the privilege to decide how a story is told) (DeVault, 1996), it is important to discuss imbalances and inform the reader of all the voices involved in telling the stories of participants, and this includes providing information about interpreters (Temple, 2005). Wallin & Ahlström (2006) give several important considerations in working with interpreters including the number of interpreters involved, the background of the interpreter(s) (e.g., their cultural background, their skills and education), interpreting position (the interpreter’s physical positioning, recording devices used, and whether the interpreter translated during the interview or after), the extent of the interpreter’s participation in the research process, and the competence of the interpreter (language skills and familiarity with the culture). Interpreters were needed for this thesis research because Indonesian and Javanese were the only languages spoken by the interviewees and the author was unable to understand, or communicate, in these languages.

Wallin & Ahlström (2006) suggest that it is better to work with just one interpreter when conducting a study because this allows for one to spend sufficient time to get to know him or her. It is easier to measure the impact of one interpreter over several. Researchers must be familiar with their interpreter to put trust in their abilities and skills. It takes time and energy to develop rapport and familiarity (Wallin & Ahlström, 2006). On the contrary, having more than one interpreter can be helpful because participants may react differently to each interviewer, therefore having many interviewers may allow for more variety in responses to questions. Having multiple investigators can also help to foster dialogue about the research process (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). During the author's stay in Yogyakarta, she had the chance to develop friendly work relationships with each RA on the team. The author's RA team included eight students; six Javanese RAs (four women and two men), one female Canadian PhD student who had lived in Java during her 20's and could speak Bahasa Indonesian, and one male PhD student from Ghana (also conducting research on jamu).

All of the Javanese interpreters spoke fluent Javanese and grew up in Java, so they had a good understanding of the local culture in Yogyakarta, though four of them were not familiar with the informal work of jamu sellers. The Javanese RAs did their best to ensure a good experience for the interviewee and to keep the non-native researchers, informed as much as they were capable. The head of the Javanese RAs has previous experience and knowledge of jamu sellers because she had worked as an interpreter on a pilot research project about jamu sellers, and another female Javanese RA had knowledge of jamu sellers, because her thesis was about maternity care with jamu. All of the Javanese RAs were graduate students in Anthropology or a related social science, and were trained well as interviewers through their classroom work.

The only difficulty that the author encountered in working with the RAs was communication in English. The head RA, who is Javanese and whose first languages are Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia, is also fluent in English, but at times she misunderstood some questions. We found that it was essential to have an English mother-tongue that was both fluent in English and Indonesian, such as the female Canadian RA, to ensure that our interview transcripts were translated with correct meanings as well. The rest of the Javanese RAs had difficulty speaking English, which made communication difficult at some points.

Expectations about the role of the interpreter as well as the research and interview process must be communicated clearly (Wallin & Ahlström, 2006). The interview is a “collaborative construction” between the interviewer and the interviewee (C. Watson, 2006, p. 369). An interpreter acts to translate interview questions and responses, therefore playing a central role in this collaboration. As was mentioned, it was difficult to communicate with team members who did not speak fluent English. During interviews, without RAs available to translate, the author was at a disadvantage. It was not always possible for her to pair up with the two RAs who were fluent in both languages for interviews, often they had to go with separate interviewers, so the author relied more on writing down her questions and saving them for later times, during debriefings. Most interviews were, therefore, conducted without any translation into English during the interview. Translations regarding general responses took place after the interviews, during debriefings.

Javanese RAs were given much decision making power over translation, interview, and transcription procedures. It is best for a researcher to work closely with interpreters to create a systematic and collaborative process of interviewing and data translation, but due to time and language constraints, the author was not able to work with the interpreters as closely as she preferred. Aside from not getting much information from the interviews as they happened, she also was not able to have many conversations about methodology with the Javanese RAs when it came to transcribing and translating the data.

The first day that the author met the Javanese RAs, the interview questions were translated. The two RAs fluent in English and Bahasa Indonesia worked closely together for this process. The translated interview questions were then given to each member of the team. The author and her supervisor explained the main ideas behind the research and had a moment for the assistants to ask questions. Two main things about methodology were stressed to the research assistants; (1) it was important to ensure that interviewees/participants felt comfortable and good about the interviews, and (2) the RA’s had an important role to translate and capture the meanings of what participants said in interviews in the transcripts, “meaning must have priority over form in cross-language interview studies to increase the trustworthiness” (Wallin & Ahlström, 2006, p. 733). Debriefing meetings were held every day to keep the process of communication open between team members. RAs were asked to discuss the interviews and provide their impressions of the interviewee’s reactions to questions. This allowed the team to update and improve the interview questionnaires, for example, questions that were misunderstood were changed to be clearer. The questionnaire was updated at least twice every week and the questions were constantly improved to ensure that they were relevant and clear. After two weeks of conducting interviews (halfway through the data gathering process) the whole team sat down for two days, to discuss responses from the interview questionnaire. This helped the author to understand the general responses that the team was getting and gave the author a moment to think about any follow up questions that she had, therefore ensuring that more and better information could be collected as the research continued.

4.1.4 Interview Questions and Procedures

Interviews lasted one to two hours and were semi-structured, meaning that general interview topics were preconceived, and each interviewer had an interview schedule (interview questions organized by topic) which were followed loosely to promote easy-flowing conversations. Conversation topics included general demographic questions, motivations, business management strategies, and socio-economic impact of selling jamu. The interview schedule was organized so general demographic questions, which usually provoke less emotional responses, such as marriage status, children, and education were asked first in order for the participant to get to know the researchers and gradually become familiar with the interview process before more personal questions (regarding income and problems with the business, such as experiences of sexual harassment) were touched on. The interview schedule (along with notes on changes in the schedule) can be viewed in the appendix.

Speech act theory is helpful in understanding the interview process. In terms of context, respondents may answer questions differently depending on the self that they see being addressed at that point in time. People have many different ways of interacting with others; for example a business person will interact differently with clients than they will with their own children. In general, people portray different parts of themselves depending on the situation. It is good for researchers to be aware of this and to acknowledge it. Respondents give only one sided information about themselves and this may contradict with other parts of their lives (C. Watson, 2006). Speech act theory assumes that participants understand interviews; they know what to expect from participating in such an act (where they are expected to take a “response stance”) and they understand that it is different from normal day to day conversation (Cicourel, 1982, p. 14).

The way that interviews and language are structured will affect the answers that are given by respondents. Language, therefore, can serve a functional purpose beyond formulating questions; it can also help to formulate expected responses or collected data. The participant of an interview will often formulate his or her own hypotheses about what the interviewer wants to know by the types of questions that they are asked (Cicourel, 1982). It is important for researchers who are conducting cross-cultural studies to make sure that their questions are truly addressing the information of interest; that they are asking participants questions that are culturally relevant and that at the same time they are capturing the data that they set out to capture. Cicourel (1982) asked: “[d]o our instruments capture the daily life conditions, opinions, values, attitudes, and knowledge base of those we study as expressed in their natural habitat?" (p. 15).

Each interview schedule included conversation topics and questions that could be asked to keep respondents talking on relevant subject matter. Questions about motivation revolved around available choices of work, reasons why individuals chose to sell jamu, and how gender role identities played into the decision to become a jamu seller or how the construction of the quintessential jamu seller effected a seller's relationship with their family, customers, and larger community. Questions about management strategies focused on knowledge training and opportunities to expand upon skills and available resources for business improvement as well as the problems that sellers encountered in day to day operation, and long term challenges. A large portion of the management strategy questions were also about knowledge transmission of jamu and how one's business changed over time. Questions about socio-economic impact (of selling medicinal plants) were concerned with learning more about the positive outcomes from selling jamu including individual and family health, education for children, increase in income, and elevated social status. Questions about specific ideas were on the interview schedules, but most questions were open-ended, allowing interviewees to define concepts in their own way. Interviewers were encouraged to ask questions in any order so that interviews could flow more like conversations, rather than follow a rigid schedule.

There is one question in which personal narrative is utilized. The question was posed as asking the seller to tell the story of how they came to be a jamu seller. The use of narrative for this particular question was a deliberate decision; asking sellers to tell the story of how they became a jamu seller may provide insight into how they identify with their work. Riessman (2003) argues that narrative is a genre that is useful for representing and analyzing identity “in its multiple guises in different contexts” (p. 342). As a person tells a story about their life, they must reposition themselves as they tell about past events, often making realizations or connections that they had not made in the past. The story teller will reflect on certain events in their life where they changed as a person. This is called a ‘turning point’ (Riessman, 2003, p. 341).

Interviews took place predominantly in the home or on the porches of participant’s homes, but some also took place where participants worked. At times neighbors or family members were present during interviews, sometimes even joining in to the conversation. For example, one interviewee was consistently interrupted by her husband, who answered almost every question asked, at times even dictating to his wife, how she should answer. This was an extreme situation, and did not always happen, but it provides a good example of a challenge that the team faced in getting reliable responses; sellers who were accompanied by family members (including sisters, mothers, aunts, sons, daughters, and husbands) may not have felt comfortable answering all questions honestly and with detail. When it was possible to have privacy with the sellers we would do so, but since we were in the homes or workplaces of sellers, we could not control the environment and it was always the decision of the participant for where and when the interview was to take place. Once, when we were interviewing a female jamu seller, her brother came into the room and started to answer questions for her. This made the participant uncomfortable. We arranged to continue her interview in another seller’s house. This was done inconspicuously to avoid upsetting her brother.

Translation of the research questions from English to Indonesian was important to ensure that the research assistants were asking the right questions of participants. Most of the participants wished to conduct their interviews in Javanese as this is the local dialect spoken in Java, so the research questions were also translated once more from Indonesian to Javanese during the interview. The Canadian-born research assistant who spoke fluent Bahasa Indonesian worked with the Javanese RA who speaks fluent English, Bahasa Indonesia, and Javanese to translate the interview questions; they were able to converse about each question in English and Bahasa Indonesia, so they could double check that meanings were correctly translated.

The interview questions were modified eight times during the month-long period of conducting interviews. For example, the interviews started on June 17th and the first few renditions included questions asking about a connection between the work of making and selling jamu and spirituality (spiritual rituals and spiritual therapeutic healing powers of plants), these questions were deleted on June 21st because we realized by this time that spirituality was not relevant to jamu seller's motivations. On June 20th, questions about instant jamu were added because the team noticed that some sellers sold instant jamu as well as fresh jamu. A question about sexual harassment was added on June 20th because some sellers reported that men would sometimes give them trouble while they sold. Interview questions were modified after debriefings with field research assistants whenever new interesting information seemed to be coming out of the data (such as stories about sexual harassment), and when research assistants noticed that some questions were getting little response, such as the questions pertaining to spirituality.

4.1.5 Debriefings

An important part of working with interpreters is to keep communication open and flowing at all times in order to ensure that everyone is always on the same page (Wallin & Ahlström, 2006). In order to achieve this, debriefings were held each day before going out into the field and after returning from the field as well. The debriefings at the beginning of the work day were a time to discuss the goals for the day, the number of interviews we intended to do, to review changes to the interview questionnaire, and discuss ideas or concerns. At the end of the workday the team met to discuss that day's interviews and the author referred to her field notes to see if she had questions about responses to specific questions or about the environment. This was also a time for the team to evaluate the interview style and make improvements where necessary. The interviewers discussed with the team about certain questions which were consistently not working or if one question received a response that was not normally given. These discussions allowed the team to brainstorm solutions and improve the methodology of the research.

Regardless of these efforts, there were some language difficulties among the team members. As mentioned, almost half of the team (grad students and supervisor from Canada) could not speak any Javanese. All of the Indonesian team members spoke fluent Indonesian and Javanese but only half of them could speak English well enough to understand the Canadian team and explain ideas. To deal with these gaps in communication, the team also had one main debriefing in the middle of the project to discuss the interviews. This enabled all of the non-native researchers to get a better grasp of the general responses that had been received through the interviews up to that point.

By getting a feel for the general responses received, the team came up with follow-up questions for the rest of the interviews.

4.1.6 The collection of field notes

Interviews focus on what people think rather than what they do; therefore, it is important that research includes observation (Silverman, 1998). With prior authorization, digital pictures and videos (of jamu sellers, their selling places, and their tools for making and selling jamu) and written observations (about jamu sellers and the places where they work and live in Yogyakarta) in a field notebook were recorded as interviews happened and while embarking on trips through the city. These recorded observations were helpful for remembering particular people, events, sites, and processes in the research.

Field notes are described as an automatic filter for what a researcher believes to be important in his or her observations and therefore help to identify important themes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Spradley (1979) describes four different types of field notes; condensed verbatim accounts (writing down exactly what a participant says), expanded upon notes (notes taken after field sessions), field work journal notes (notes to record unfiltered thoughts or emotions), and notes to record analyses or interpretations.

‘Condensed verbatim accounts’ were only possible to record a few times during the trip when speaking with Javanese key informants who spoke fluid English. As previously explained, interviews with jamu sellers were conducted exclusively in Javanese. The author was able to record ‘field work journal notes’ as well as analyses and interpretations during interviews; jotting down details of the physical surroundings – describing the homes that sellers lived in, their family, and my impressions - and taking photographs. When interviews were conducted in work places, the author observed these market areas and the jamu entrepreneurs as they worked, writing down every relevant detail she could think of. After conducting interviews, during lunch or at the end of the day, she took ‘expanded upon’ notes.

Expanded upon notes were used to reflect on the culture and record follow-up questions to ask in interviews or later in debriefings with RAs. Expanded upon notes were also useful for improving the interview process and other research methods. For example, after conducting the first interview for the project, the author wrote an expanded upon note, which recounted her first impressions of the interview. In this note, she wrote that it would be helpful to discuss the consent form process with the RAs, to ensure that the consent is obtained before the interview. The act of writing this detail down helped her to remember to discuss it during the daily team debriefing. Expanded upon notes were helpful in recording the methodology of the research, so that the author could report accurately on it in this thesis. Notes were recorded chronologically (giving the date and time for each entry) and with headings (explaining the type of note which is being taken) which increased the usefulness of the notes in writing thesis findings.

4.2 Data Analysis

Data analysis took place after the research was conducted. The thirty interview recordings were listened to, transcribed, and translated by Javanese RAs in Yogyakarta, and then sent as word documents, by email to the thesis author, in Canada. The author then read the English transcriptions and coded them with NVivo software. This section will describe the analysis process in detail.

4.2.1 The transcription/translation Process:

Translators have the power to decide how communication is represented. It is usually not possible to produce a word for word translation without losing some of the meaning behind the words in an interview. The interviews were transcribed from the digital recording in the language that they were given, (Javanese). The Javanese transcripts were then translated into Indonesian. The Indonesian transcript was then translated into English. This processing before the analysis can create a triple hermeneutic because the “primary data was not merely second hand but almost third hand – removed from us not only as situated interaction, but also in tongue” (Temple et al., 2006, p. 3), meaning that when the interview transcripts were translated to English, there is the possibility that some elements from the original interview can be lost or reformatted into something similar but different, which makes the potential for misunderstanding greater. It is important for translators to translate what is being said word by word as much as possible. Wallin & Ahlström (2006) argue that if translators describe in their own words what the participant is saying it can make it difficult to know whose views are actually being expressed. Therefore meaning must take precedence during translation procedures and descriptions of what is being said (rather than translations) should be avoided.

In the analysis and discussion section of this thesis, quotes from participants were put into correct English by the author, since the English transcriptions were not in perfect grammatical English. Temple, Edwards and Alexander (2006) argue that cleaning up language, helps to avoid showing respondents as incoherent, and as stereotyping respondents as ‘third world others’. At the same time, changing the language to correct

English can have the effect of stripping away context by making the process of translation invisible (Temple, Edwards, & Alexander, 2006). One way to deal with this issue is to keep some original native language in translated interview transcriptions (Spivak, 1992; Temple, 2005). For example, some Javanese and Indonesian words were retained in the English transcripts.

The interview data and the presentation of the findings in this thesis, is presented with one listed author, but the reality is that the data has been through many stages before it is eventually read within the context of the thesis. These stages include the actual event of the interview and the information that the interview participant decided to give, the recording of the interview is then made into a transcript based on the transcriber's interpretation (i.e. what he/she hears on the recording), the translator then decides how words and sentences should be translated (based on what they know of the languages), the author interpreted the English transcripts and wrote a story about the findings which went through stages of editing with the author's thesis advisor. Readers than interpret the thesis. Much of the original meaning can be lost in this process, therefore, it is important to acknowledge all the contributions of each party to the research (Temple, 2005).

Thesis data translation and transcription were performed by individuals who live in the cultural environment (grew up locally) of Java and made their homes in Yogyakarta. Their knowledge of the English language is good enough to understand how to translate the language properly and keep the meaning behind the words alive in the translation. The transcriptions include many Javanese words to help with this process of letting the reader in on the cultural consistencies that are tapped into; such as names of tools used to make jamu, words for entrepreneur, and words used to describe jamu sellers.

4.2.2 Generalizability of the results

Williams (2000) argues that interpretivists justify their methodology with cultural consistency. Interpretivists often do studies on the micro level and collect data which entails small intricate details, for example, by interviewing an individual and recording every fine detail of the conversation, as well as characteristics from the interviewee's life (i.e., descriptions of their living room and neighborhood, where they come from, and who they live with) that can be recorded in field notes (recording details about each interviewee's home and work environment was a part of the data collection process for this thesis). Williams says that interpretivists take this data and make speculative generalizations from it; 'Why' questions help a researcher to seek explanations and speculate. Cultural consistency is shared meanings and in order to access shared meanings, researchers need "communicative cement" or language and expressions which allow for an understanding of everyday cultural consistencies. If the researcher can understand such moderate generalizations, than he/she can know about the cultural consistency from where those generalizations come from, and therefore make her/his own generalizations about the cultural consistencies (Williams, 2000).

Speculative generalizations can be made from the research data in understanding motivations and management strategies of jamu entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta; with a small sample, generalizations can be speculative, and only in regards to the participants in the data. Nevertheless, this information provides a better understanding of the jamu small-scale sector and the conditions for workers. A lot of time was spent with interviewees (interviews lasted from one to two hours) to carry out in-depth interviews. The sample may be small, but it still gives valuable insights on the topic under study, and provides some general trends about the motivations and management strategies of the interviewed jamu entrepreneurs.

4.2.3 Reflexivity

In order to do ethical research, self-reflexivity is imperative; "values and moral principles are integrated in the actions and reflections of research" (Brynjulf Stige et al., 2009, p. 1511). Reflexivity has come to be known as one of the most important themes of feminist research discussions (DeVault, 1996; Doucet & Mauthner, 2007; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Reflexivity is important to research because knowledge claims are embedded in matrices of power (Kim, 2007). Researchers, therefore, must understand and make known, how their own position (including values and taken for granted assumptions, perceptions, and beliefs, as well as power imbalances) influences the nature of the research findings. This helps to protect against reification of hegemonic knowledge which tends to homogenize the experiences of the third world 'other', and further marginalizes those persons or groups whom the researcher often claims he/she is advocating for (Spivak, 1988; Spivak, 1992). Aside from acknowledging the position of the researcher/writer, it is also important to acknowledge the position of research assistants, especially when they are heavily involved in the data collection and analysis process. The section titled, "working with interpreters: important considerations", covers some details about the research assistants, and this section will compliment that by providing some insights about how their roles, characteristics, and experiences may have impacted the research findings. Reflexive journaling is also important to research; this was already discussed to some extent in the section titled, “The collection of field notes”, and the discussion will be expanded with some excerpts from the author’s field work journal notes (unfiltered thoughts and emotions about the research) to give examples of the reflexive process.

Representation and interpretation are central themes of concern in Koch and Harrington's (1998) discussion of reflexivity in research; whose points of view are actually being represented? And how is the perception of the subject being interpreted? They suggest that reflexive research is “characterized by ongoing self-critique and self-appraisal” (p. 887) so that readers can understand when participants are speaking, and when researchers are speaking within the text, therefore, getting to know both voices as distinguishable from the other. This helps readers to decide if the research seems plausible. Readers need details about all actors involved in research (telling a story), in order to judge, for themselves, if the work is legitimate. In the analysis section of this thesis, parts of the interviews are always shared to help paint the picture of what informants said about their experiences and motivations – this also allows readers to get a sense of what was reported by informants, and how those reports are interpreted.

To be self-reflexive, the author must understand their own assumptions and develop self-awareness to see themselves as a “positioned subject” within their research project (Grills, 1994; Renato Rosaldo, 1989). Part of this involves the author communicating his/her intentions and interests, and how their perspective contributes to the thesis. This is important because individuals cultivate an understanding of everything they experience, directly and indirectly, through prior socialization (learned behaviors and perspectives). In other words, one cannot see the world without relating to their own prior experiences in life, therefore anyone's terms of understanding is built through their own initial situation (Koch & Harrington, 1998; Renato Rosaldo, 1989). The next paragraph explains the author's origins, and therefore, hopefully, provides the reader with an idea of the author's learned cultural perspective, to which they are attached.

The author is from the U.S.A., and studied sociology at the University of New Brunswick in Canada. Prior to beginning her studies, she lived in Ohio and worked for five years in social work, predominantly with women (and their children) who were homeless. Before beginning her social work career, she studied Geography for her B.A. and was trained in digital cartography, but her favorite classes were those in which the main themes included social justice, cultural diversity, and human behavior. Her original focus for her master's thesis was to research handicraft industries in North America – an interest that spawned from her passion for art and crafting which she has engaged in from the time she was very young. However, she was presented with and accepted the opportunity to travel and conduct research on jamu sellers in Southeast Asia, a new and exciting experience which intrigued her. Her interest in crafters largely influenced her initial perspectives about jamu sellers and their motives. As an artist and crafter herself, she recognized her own connection of crafting with her identity and the process of constructing her identity – which she recognized to be ongoing. She was interested in other crafters – what were their unique experiences? Her research evolved to be centered mostly on gender roles and how that influenced entrepreneurial motivations and management strategies. Her initial interest in personal identity influenced some of the research questions to be designed to tap into interviewee's self-perceptions and identity. This was helpful for gaining insights into the construction jamu selling, and the impact of gender on the identities of the jamu sellers.

Temple, Edwards, & Alexander (2006) suggest that researchers who conduct research in foreign languages should reflect on the context of the subject location through field notes, reading reports, and reflexive conversations with research team members about the research process. This helps to make analyses of secondary data (translated transcripts), "good enough", regardless of the main researcher's inability to understand the primary data (interview recordings). As mentioned in the section titled, "Debriefings", conversations with research assistants about the research process, interview questions, and reflexivity took place during the data collection phase of research. In addition to these conversations, all field research assistants were asked, through email, to (on a voluntary basis) answer a questionnaire about their involvement in the research project. Two out of the six research assistants, who conducted the main interviewing and transcribing, answered the questions. The following paragraph will outline these questions and the answers that were provided.

The research assistants (RA's) who answered the questions were both female – one single, the other married and with one child. They are both in their late 20s and university students studying anthropology. They felt that the jamu sellers most likely identified them not only as interviewer, but also as university students and young women; the RAs reported that being female was helpful in interviewing women jamu sellers, who otherwise may have been nervous to speak with men. Age differences between the RAs and interviewees also created some challenges for older sellers who seemed to sometimes find the questions irrelevant or difficult to answer, because they were very philosophical. The RAs reported it was common to hear phrases such as, “your questions are too smart for me!” Posing questions in a way that jamu sellers could better relate to was a consistent challenge. One RA explained that older jamu sellers wanted more privacy – and were less willing to talk about some things[9]. Speaking Javanese was recognized as the most important part of interviewing, both RAs emphasized Javanese language to be the preferred interviewing language for informants. These insights on RA self-reflexivity is helpful in understanding the impact of RAs on the findings.

Journaling can be a helpful part of reflexivity in research, by allowing the writer to reflect on their research process and what is going on; essentially providing a “research trail of gradually altering methodologies and reshaping analysis” (Ortlipp, 2008, p. 696). In other words, journaling can provide a record of what took place during research, and allows a researcher to come back to their original thoughts about the research at a later date, to remind themselves of what actually happened during particular phases of the research (Koch & Harrington, 1998).

Journaling during the different phases of research, including the phase of writing about the findings and following up on suggested edits from her supervisor, allowed the author to reflect on her own assumptions, and how she was communicating the stories of jamu sellers through the data. For example, the author wrote in her findings chapter, that women jamu sellers care about the quality of the products that they sell. Her supervisor provided the following comment - “what is the evidence that you provide to show that this is the case?” - which helped the author to rethink the statement about product quality. The author, realized that she made this statement because she felt it to be implicitly true, after writing about findings such as the hand that makes the jamu, need for recognition, hygienic jamu, and the different ways to process jamu. She wrote this in her journal notes; “nine out of thirty jamu sellers discussed the importance of ingredients, the processing of ingredients, and the taste of the jamu. But I cannot assume that discussions and comments about ingredients, processing, and taste are always related to product quality; because sometimes the interviewees were speaking about strategies to decrease the time to make jamu.” This self-reflexive journaling helped the author to come to the conclusion that it would be better to delete the statement that jamu sellers care about product quality.

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[9] She did not elaborate about which topics made older sellers uncomfortable

In addition to journaling, the author sought to educate herself on the cultural, economic, and political context of the research location – Indonesia as a country, the island of Java, and more particularly, the region of central Java and the city of Yogyakarta. An entire chapter was written listing everything that could be learned from newspapers, journal articles, and books; much of this chapter was never added to the thesis, but it enabled the author to better understand the social climate that jamu sellers are embedded within. Parts of this chapter were also infused into sections of the thesis to provide institutional cultural context when needed.

4.2.4 Analysis methods

Grounded theory methods for analyzing data offer an empirical approach to understand what is happening in social life (Clarke, 2012). The analysis of the translated interviews was directed towards discovering themes within the data. There is no right way or wrong way to find themes, but more effective techniques for analyzing qualitative data, that is collected in a language that the coder/analyzer is not familiar with, includes cutting and sorting (making piles of quotes which seem to be important and go together), searching for repetitions (themes which are continually expressed by informants), and searching for similarities and differences (themes which come from comparing conversations about the same ideas and finding where there are similarities or differences) (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). It is important to share the process of analysis so that readers can assess the methods, this section will give a full report of the analysis methods for readers to assess.

Open coding and axial coding methods were used to generate themes from an empirical point of view (inductive approach), as well as an a priori (theory related) view. Open coding is "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61). More specifically, the data was broken down into incidents by cutting and sorting and constantly comparing in order to search for repetitions and similarities and differences. Axial coding, which is done simultaneously as open coding, is the process of organizing themes; often this is done hierarchically by arranging and rearranging themes to symbolize how concepts connect and fit into particular categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Glaser (1992) describes open coding as "the initial stage of constant comparison analysis" (p. 38), in which the analyst remains entirely open and starts with no preconceived themes. However using only an inductive approach to finding themes can become “assiduous theory avoidance”, while using only an a priori approach (a priori categories are theory related material) can “inhibit the form[ation] of fresh ideas” (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 94; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), therefore, both the inductive approach and the a priori approach were used to find themes in the data. Using a priori or “borrowed concepts” in developing themes, helped the author to develop her understanding of knowledge about the data. The author was careful to only create themes from borrowed concepts when she saw that the data seemed to mirror concepts that she knew about from previous literature, rather than imposing borrowed concepts on the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 94).

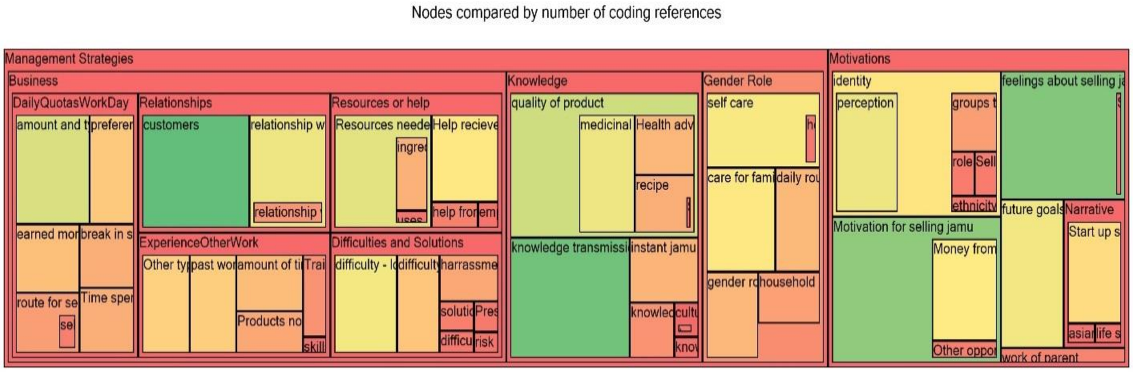
Grounded theorists usually dip into existing literature only after they feel that the data is saturated, they have coded it, and developed theories about it (Glaser, 1992). The author, however, conducted a preliminary literature review before gathering data in the field in order to make herself familiar with existing concepts about gender and entrepreneurship, jamu, and to get familiar with the environmental and cultural context of Yogyakarta and the country of Indonesia. Her review of the literature helped her to develop her interview questions, and ideas about interesting topics to explore with jamu sellers. After coding the interview data, she then conducted another literature review, using NVivo, to review the relevant gender entrepreneurship literature and understand how it related to the theories she developed through her analysis of the data. For example, themes that re-emerge in literature over and over again, such as independence and risk aversion, were also themes uncovered in the qualitative data analysis. The form that some of these concepts took in the data, were different than the forms they had taken in the literature. Excerpts from the data are shared in the analysis chapter (chapter six) because “[a]ny categories, hypotheses and so forth, generated by the literature have to be checked out against real (primary) data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 55).

A large portion of the analysis is also narrative. Narratives are meaning making stories which are useful in understanding how gender, jamu, and entrepreneurship is socially constructed; some stories from participants are similar, showing recurrent patterns and shared collective experiences. For example, jamu sellers were asked how they learned to make jamu; the stories told from answering this question were analyzed and grouped into four categories – part of childhood (these sellers grew up making jamu, and so learned it as a children), apprentice (these sellers worked for another seller at one point in their life, before starting their own business, end goal (these sellers sought a mentor/teacher in order to learn jamu recipes and how to run a jamu business with the end goal of staring their own business eventually), and not specified (this group did not elaborate on their story of learning to make jamu – they gave little detail and therefore, could not be categorized). Narrative analysis is useful for systematically studying personal experiences and the meanings behind such experiences. People interpret their experiences in different unique ways, leading to growth and change in personal identity over time (Riessman, 2003).

NVivo software was used to code the data; data was categorized into themes through ‘node’ generation. Nodes are folders which contain information on themes that is chosen by the coder; each node has an underlying theme and is named according to that theme. Nodes were coded hierarchically (through axial coding) and have relationships to other nodes; ‘parent nodes’ contain ‘child nodes’, which are themes that fit into a higher theme category; for example, the “Motivations” node is the parent node to the nodes “independence”, “risk”, and “time flexibility”. Nvivo software was also used to generate models and charts, and conduct word searches.

The first nodes that were created were the “Motivations” and “Management Strategies nodes”, these nodes were created before any data was read. Emergent themes and a priori themes were then coded under these main themes; themes were identified by cutting and sorting, meaning that the author read through each transcript and labeled text from each part of the transcripts (section by section) according to her first impressions of the data and repetitions were labeled under the same themes. Figure 1 and 2, titled “First Tree Map” and “Second Tree Map”, are visuals of the hierarchal node generation scheme; all nodes (themes) are boxes and in this diagram, we can see that the smaller boxes (child nodes) are contained within larger boxes (parent nodes); some nodes are child nodes as well as parent nodes. Strauss & Corbin (1990) explain that categories (or nodes) have conceptual power, meaning that concepts are developed through the categories that are named. The author groups the data into categories, and those parts that seem to match the same category can be developed into a concept. Analytical notes about each node were made, meaning that the author thought about the node and the category, and tried to imagine each node’s significance to the rest of the data, and subject matter.

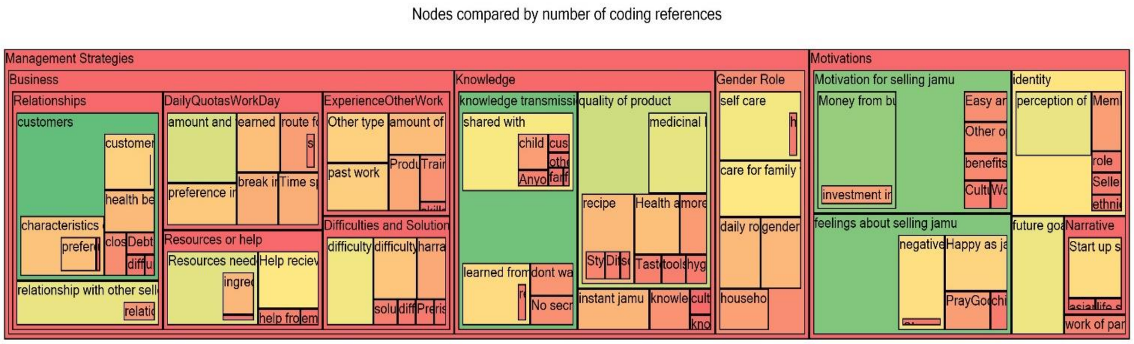
Figure 1: First Tree Map



Over time, while coding transcripts in NVivo, the author was able to break down some codes which were coded the most (and therefore very robust) into parent and child nodes. Axial coding and organizing the data hierarchically, can help to reduce the number of units with which to work and therefore tighten up the story that the data tells (Corbin and Strauss). After the first read through, the generated tree map (figure 1 above) was a useful visual for exploring the amount of quotes (referred to as “number of coding references” within NVivo) that were coded to each node. In other words, the tree map shows which nodes were given the most attention; the squares are sized and colored according to the number of references (quotes) coded to each node. In addition, one can see how the nodes were coded hierarchically in this model – the largest squares in which the other squares are contained are the “parent nodes”, while the smallest squares within the larger squares are the “child nodes”. The squares which are dark red have the least amount of coding references, while the squares that are yellow have more, and dark green squares have the most coding references.

The author combed over the data a second time after her first initial read through and coding of each transcript, in order to make sure that all transcripts were fully coded according to the developed node scheme. This is defined by Charmaz (2006) as "focused coding" (p. 57). Focused coding allows for the researcher to comb over data and find information on themes that may have previously been missed; this is important in order to ensure that all information is captured and developed into themes from the available data. A second read through of the data can also be helpful in the axial coding process. The child nodes with the most coded items (dark green) were read through again and sometimes broken down into further themes if possible. Figure 2, titled "Second Tree Map", (below) is the end result of breaking down larger nodes even further into more child nodes, in order to break down information into groups, through searching within themes for similarities and differences. For example, the node titled, "Motivation for selling jamu", was broken down into more child nodes to reflect all the different types of motivations including independence, flexibility, money, risk aversion, etc.

Figure 2: Second Tree Map



Although the analysis was qualitative, the author also quantified some of the data in order to partially validate the qualitative analysis. The data was coded in a different way by a different person so that each node was an interview question, therefore, the responses of each question went into the correct node. This allowed the author to double check on the data that she quantified.

After the coding was completed the author made a list of all of the nodes that were the main encompassing nodes in the node hierarchy and printed out this list. She then cut out all the nodes on this list (cut out the individually typed words). The author then put the nodes in a pile and started to sort them into a model based on notions and understandings of the data that she had developed from doing the coding. By doing this, she made models of data. She then remade the models in NVivo. This helped her to visualize the “big picture” of her data, so that when she started writing about her findings, she could do so in an order that spoke to the story that she was hearing from the transcripts. Figures 3, 4, and 5 (below) are “big picture” models which were created from this brainstorming session.

Figure 3: The Big Picture (1)

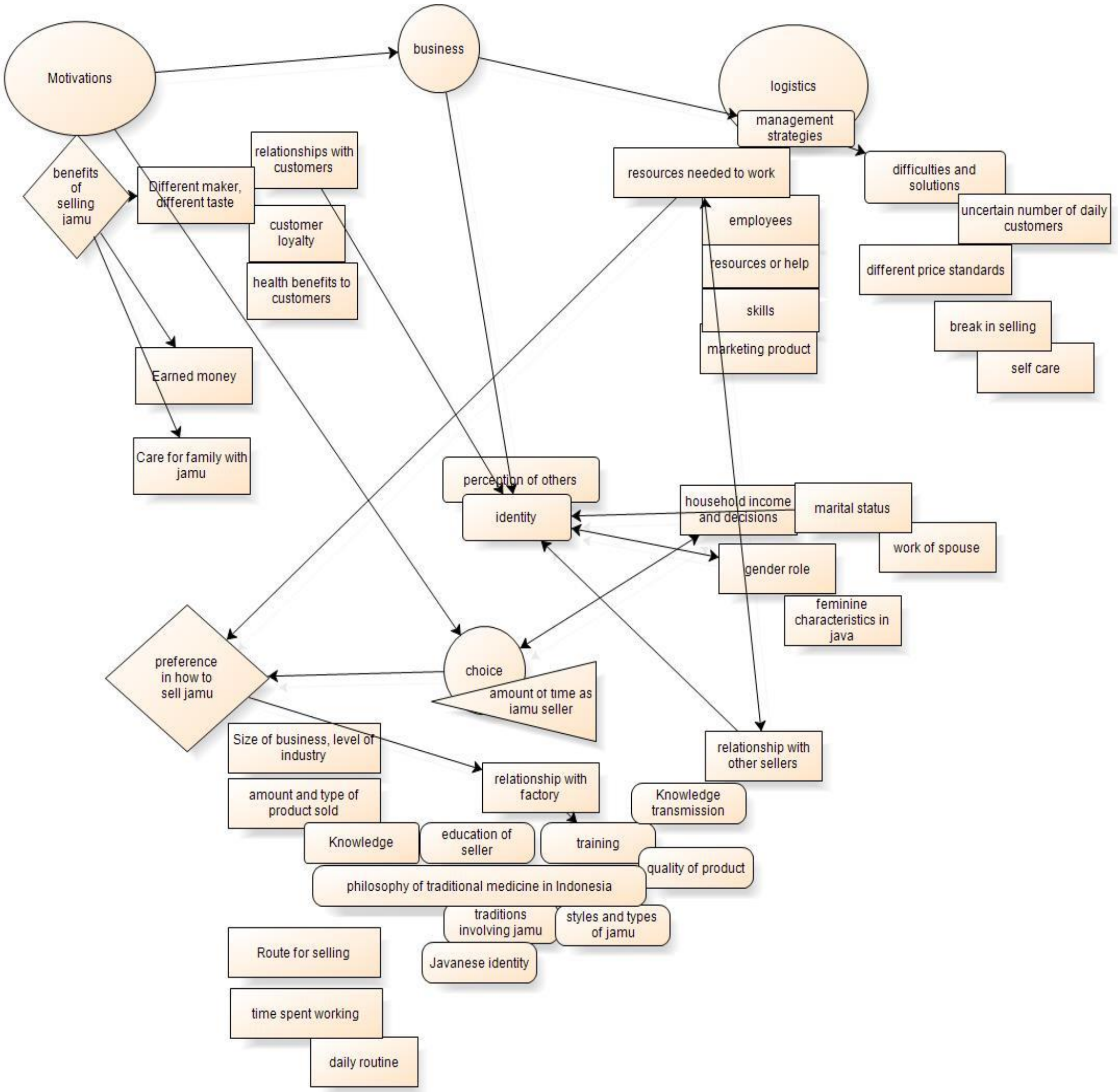
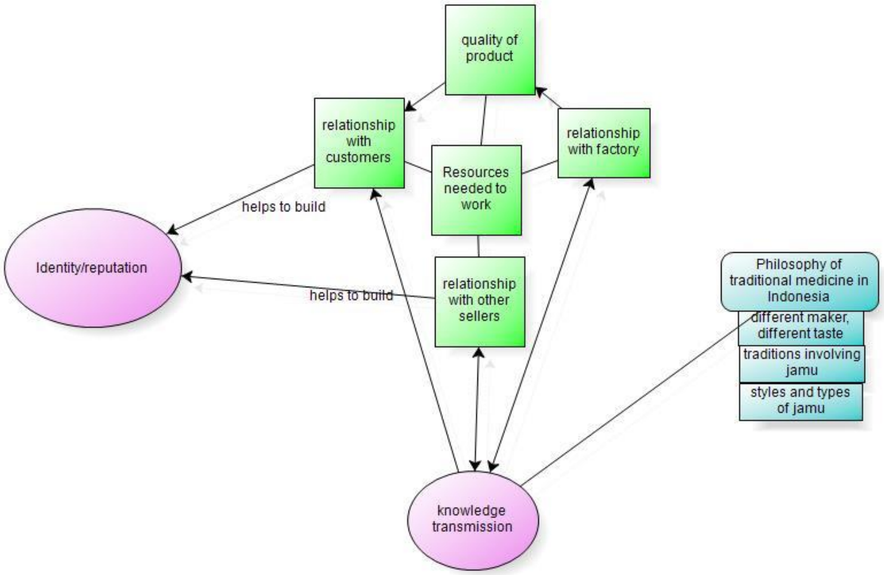
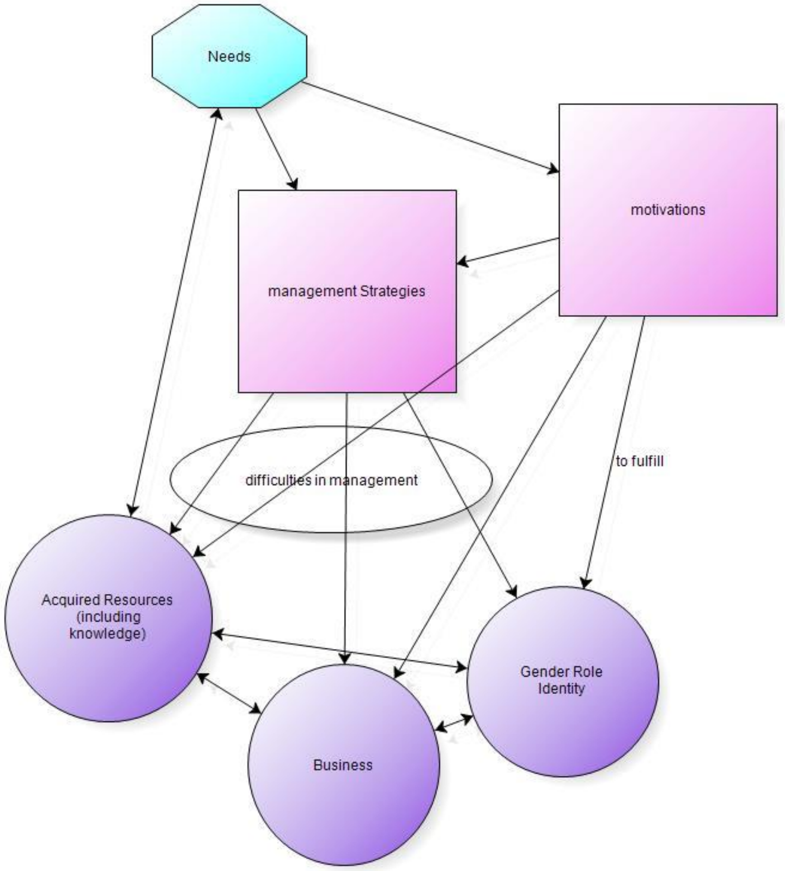

Motivations
business
logistics
management strategies
benefits of selling jamu
Different maker, different taste
relationships with customers
customer loyalty
health benefits to customers
resources needed to work
difficulties and solutions
uncertain number of daily customers
employees
resources or help
skills
marketing product
different price standards
break in selling
self care
Earned money
Care for family with jamu
perception of others
identity
household income and decisions
marital status
work of spouse
gender role
feminine characteristics in java
preference in how to sell jamu
choice
amount of time as jamu seller
Size of business, level of industry
amount and type of product sold
relationship with factory
relationship with other sellers
Knowledge transmission
Knowledge
education of seller
training
quality of product
philosophy of traditional medicine in Indonesia
traditions involving jamu
styles and types of jamu
Javanese identity
Route for selling
time spent working
daily routine

Figure 4: The Big Picture (2)



quality of product
relationship with customers
Resources needed to work
relationship with factory
helps to build
Identity/reputation
helps to build
relationship with other sellers
Philosophy of traditional medicine in Indonesia
different maker, different taste
traditions involving jamu
styles and types of jamu
knowledge transmission

Figure 5: The Big Picture (3)


Needs
motivations
management Strategies
to fulfill
difficulties in management
Acquired Resources (including knowledge)
Gender Role Identity
Business

The "Big Picture" models helped the author to visualize her ideas about the data, and develop interpretive theory about how the nodes (thematic concepts) connect. Interpretive theory emphasizes understanding over explanation; "the very understanding gained from the theory rests on the theorists interpretation of the studied phenomenon" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 126). This understanding of theory gives priority to showing patterns and connections, and not to linear reasoning and seeking causality. The titles of the chapter headings in chapter 6 and 7, reflect the combined themes and theorizing of the literature review and the created nodes of the field data. "The Big Picture (1)" model is one of the first models created, using most of the created nodes from the coding, while the other two models are narrowed down versions of the previous models.

“The Big Picture (3)” is the most narrowed down version of theorizing about the data; this model shows that “Needs” influence “Motivations” and “Management Strategies”. Needs are discussed in both the motivations and the management strategy sections of the analysis chapter. The motivations section of the analysis chapter is organized according to economic and non-economic motivations; this shows that financial needs are very important for jamu sellers. The management strategies section of the analysis chapter, is organized according to the different types of capital needed to run a jamu business: social, human, and financial capital. These different forms of capital are symbolized as “Acquired resources” in “The Big Picture (3)”. This model also shows that gender role effects and is effected by motivations to have a jamu business and management strategies. Constraints, or “Difficulties”, in acquiring resources and managing a business, are an important part of the model and analysis chapter, especially in the management strategies section; such constraints are often connected to gender role because of gender inequalities.

4.3 Limits of Methodology:

Limitations of the research methods are noted in this section to provide the reader with an understanding of how the author was limited (mostly by time constraints), and how the methodology impacted findings. Methodology limitations include aspects of the training process for RAs, the interview process, language difficulties, analysis methods, and processes of self-reflection.

To become a grounded theorist, and correctly apply grounded theory methods, one must be familiar with grounded theory. In order to be truly familiar with grounded theory, Glaser (1992) argues, that one must have experience with applying the methods in research because the lessons that can be learned in applying grounded theory are delayed; "It is only by applying the methods in research that one gains the sufficient delayed understandings of how they work and what they produce, and the openness and flexibility to apply them to diverse fields of substantive study" (Glaser, 1992, pp. 17–18). This thesis was the author's first experience with using grounded theory methods for qualitative analysis. Regardless of this insight (that she might have delayed understandings about how to best utilize grounded theory methods), the author was able to come up with and form connections between some interesting themes through open coding of the data. This helps to build a theoretical analysis of the research area and over time, as more studies are generated, and more theories are developed, research can be combined into formal theories (Clarke, 2012).

The interview questions used with participants were sometimes very specific, sometimes even giving the interviewee examples of what we wanted to know, which, Glaser (1992) warns against doing; "the researcher never, never asks the question directly in interviews as this would preconceive the emergence of data" (Glaser, 1992, p. 25). Interview questions for this research had to be very specific in order to maximize the richness of the data collected; language differences made it important to ask focused questions which the participants could easily understand; otherwise we would often get responses from participants that the questions were too 'smart' for them, meaning that they were too philosophical and nonspecific. Therefore, the interview questions helped in discovering problems that came directly from the subjects, who know best.

The RAs were given much decision making power on styles for conducting interviews, and transcription and translation of interviews, resulting in broad impacts on the data and findings. Because there were six Javanese RAs doing this work, the transcriptions were done in six slightly different styles. More communication about expectations for interviewing procedures and the outcome of transcripts (such as more training and training packets with detailed explanations) may have resulted in transcripts with better overall organization and more data. However, this was never a guarantee, and time limitations for the author with regards to preparing for the field research phase made it very difficult to spend more time on training the RAs, which would have resulted in less time for preparing the interview questions (which were more important to the research).

The style of interviewing may have been improved to include more short answer questions to help paint a better picture of the lives and socio-economic positions of jamu sellers. The style of semi-structured interviews rendered all interviews very different, and sometimes participants did not comment on a topic, or they gave extra information which helped to paint a picture of experiences, but made it hard to really gauge any type of patterns or trends among all interviewees. An example, is the question regarding the importance of protecting jamu recipes, which brought up the finding about the ‘hand that makes the jamu’ – which was more thoroughly explained by a few sellers, and barely mentioned by others. In fact, only eighteen sellers answered this question. The semi-structured interviews, gave jamu sellers the chance to give lots of different information;

anything they deemed to be important in the moment of the conversation. Therefore, interviewees were encouraged to provide detailed explanations, but this also made it difficult to give meaningful statistics about the sample, since some sellers gave more information on certain topics than others. However, to add more specified survey style questions to the already loaded questionnaire would have made the interviews longer, and the issue was not foreseeable, as the author had no way of avoiding these transcript outcomes, without doing the interviews, translations, and transcriptions herself, which was not possible.

As already discussed in section 2.1.3, language difficulties between the author and the research assistants made it impossible, at times, for the author to get feedback about interviews while they were taking place. This could have stunted the process of knowledge sharing between informants and the author. The author was only able to get information from informants as second hand, and only after the interviews were performed, making it hard for the author to dig for more information directly from informants. Daily debriefings and the mid-project debriefing helped with this limitation, and enabled the author to gain a better understanding of the accumulating data, and prepare follow up questions for future interviews. Regardless, correct interpretation of the data is not guaranteed; the interview is a performance for the narrator, who tells a version of their story for an audience (the interviewers), positioning themselves according to the way that they wish to be seen by that audience. Audiences can read such meanings differently than how they are meant to be read, and this of course can result in contested meanings (Riessman, 2003).

As mentioned in the section 2.1.4, the added presence of domineering interruptive family members and friends made it less possible to ensure that informants were comfortable sharing private and honest information. For example, during an interview with a female informant, the informant’s husband dictated to his wife during the entire interview, about how she should answer questions. Sometimes it was possible to change the location of an interview to have more privacy; but other times it was not possible without possibly upsetting family members or interviewees. This matter was always handled delicately to ensure that no feelings were harmed, therefore, often the only choice was to allow for family members to be present during interviews and at times, to help answer questions.

Although self-reflexive journaling, was utilized during each phase of research and writing, the author acknowledges that it could have been done more systematically, to ensure more recorded details about what was actually happening during the thesis project. Time limitations made it impossible to record every self-reflexive thought that the author had, but an implemented schedule of writing, such as setting aside time at the end of each day, would have pushed the author make more time to write about the work that was accomplished, and the struggles of each day.

Taking field notes would have been more helpful to the author if she had used the transcripts of all the interviews, in which she was present. Because this research was a part of a larger project, and because the team split up into groups for each day of interviewing, the author was only able to be present for 20 interviews – which her field notes are based on. In addition, the author used the first transcripts which were available from the RAs, for her own analysis of the data; meaning that only a small portion of the field data from interviews, are those transcripts from interviews that she attended. Therefore, the author can only use a small portion of her field notes to jog her memory of specific interviews that were used for this project. However, the author's field notes are still very helpful for allowing her to remember the context of place where the research took place. Furthermore, she was present in almost every neighborhood which was visited to conduct interviews, so she has great field note descriptions of the places where jamu sellers live and work.

The limitations of the project were always met with thoughtful reflection on how to best conduct the research using available resources. The author worked hard to prepare for the data collection and analysis phases of the project. Despite detailed preparation, including classes in qualitative methods and research design, problems were encountered in different phases of the research, as outlined by this chapter. Problem solving limitations within the research methodology has been invaluable experience, and has provided the author with much insight for her future career in research.

Chapter 5: Contextualizing Jamu

Jamu is a type of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) which is widespread in Southeast Asia; it is found in Malaysia, Singapore, as well as Indonesia[10]. In Java, jamu is traditionally crafted and sold by women, who sell in urban areas or go door to door by foot, bicycle, motorbike, vendor stall on wheels, or standing market stall. This holistic medicinal approach is used preventatively for maintaining health, as a beauty or skin care product, as treatment for illness (such as minor cold, headaches, chicken pox, or rashes), and for maintaining women's reproductive health; women use jamu for staying healthy before and after giving birth. (Beers, 2001). Different concoctions of jamu are sold depending on customer needs (Krier, 2011).

Jamu is made from many different medicinal plants and is sold as a powder, liquid, cream, and pill (Sinaga, 2012 cited Christine Tuschinsky in H Selin). It is consumed orally, as a suppository, and by rubbing on the skin depending on the type of jamu which is used (Beers, 2001). It is thought that the more bitter ("pahit") the jamu, the better it is for treatment or remedy (Ferzacca, 2001). Some jamus are prepared using animal materials, though herbal jamu is much more popular (Handayani et al., 2001)[11]. Some jamus come with consumption directions; such as powders which must be mixed with water and consumed orally. Many drink jamu every day to avoid illness and the costs of doctors or hospitals (Beers, 2001).

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[10] Jamu recipes are based on local traditions and therefore different regions have different ways of preparing jamu (Sinaga, 2012 cited Christine Tuschinsky in H Selin).

[11] Popular ingredients in jamu include kunir (turmeric), asem (tamarind), beras (powdered raw rice), kencur and lempuyang (forms of ginger), cabe (chili peppers), kapulaga (cardamom), gula jawa (coconut sugar from the areca palm), asin (salt), the seeds and bark of kedawung (a forest tree), the leaves of the luntas (a common hedge), daun papaya (papaya leaves), and daun sirih (betel leaf).

Jamu sellers are considered to be sexual health experts. In this role they are expected to have sexual prowess; to be good sellers they must advertise the efficacy of their own jamu by looking healthy and beautiful. The pressure to be attractive is especially heavy on young sellers who are often sexually harassed by men (Krier, 2011). Young girls in Indonesia are taught by their mothers how to make jamu for their own health and for the health of their families (Handayani et al., 2001). When a person gets hurt, a common saying is “Aduh, biyung!” which means “ouch mother!” (Currie, 1994, p. 63 cites Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 109-110). Jamu is central to the traditional and cultural role of women to be the caretaker of the family in health (Handayani et al., 2001). Though jamu is a gendered activity that usually women are associated with, there are male jamu practitioners[12].

Some who use jamu are thought to be ‘traditional healers’ or ‘Dukun’ which means Javanese shaman (Ferzacca, 2001; Handayani et al., 2001). Traditional healers treat rational (diseases thought to be caused by an imbalance in one’s diet) as well as irrational diseases (which are thought to be caused by psychic disturbances attributed to magic) (Handayani et al., 2001). Dukun are often seen as “backward, backwater, [and] out-of-date superstitions” (Ferzacca, 2001). Some men also sell herbal tonics on the streets but the range of customers which they can sell jamu to is limited since female customers would be embarrassed to share sexual health issues with a man (Beers, 2001).

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[12] Pak Suryo is a popular healer in Indonesia who is unique not only because he is a man who makes jamu, but also because he was a film maker before starting his jamu practice. His past work provided him with a network which has enabled him to serve jamu to elite Indonesians. Pak Suryo claims to get all of his jamu recipes from God. He says that any knowledge that he needs to treat a patient is instantly available in his head. This is similar to the experience of other jamu practitioners who speak of receiving jamu formulas through dreams (Beers, 2001).

Women who sell jamu are called jamu gendong, (gendong translates to “carry on the back”). Jamu gendong put bottles of jamu into a basket and a selendang (a strong shawl) is used to tie the basket to their back (Elfahmi, 2006). Krier (2011) recognizes women who sell jamu as “Mbok jamu” which means “Ms. Jamu” (p. 10). Jamu sellers are similar to Javanese herbalists who sell jamu in both fresh and powdered form in markets. The difference between jamu sellers and herbalists is that jamu sellers sell jamu drinks which are prepared in the morning (or the previous night), prior to being sold in the market or other urban areas or neighborhood areas. Herbalists will make jamu in accordance with customer’s specified needs and so will prepare concoctions of fresh or dried compounded jamu on the spot. This blended jamu is called ‘jamu racikan’ and it is sold with directions for consumption (Handayani et al., 2001).

5.1 History and Politics of Jamu

It is believed that jamu originated in ancient palaces located in the cities Surakarta and Yogyakarta on the island of Java (Beers, 2001). Today jamu is celebrated as a part of Indonesia’s cultural heritage (Sinaga, 2012). Proof of jamu’s origin is within stone reliefs at the Borobudur temple which is estimated to have been built around 800-900 A.D. (Beers, 2001) and located just 40 km from Yogyakarta (Hayes, 2010). These reliefs depict plant ingredients as well as processing methods for making jamu. Many ancient manuscripts were produced with recipes and information about jamu which are kept within the libraries of the palaces of Yogyakarta and Surakarta today (Beers, 2001). It is thought that maids and servants who worked in the palaces brought the knowledge of jamu to outlying villages (Sinaga, 2012 cites Anton and Antons-Sutanto, 2009).

Knowledge of jamu has changed over time; different groups have influenced recipes and systems of production[13]. Much also has been written about jamu, in terms of recipes and the effectiveness of plant medicines by Dutch, Eurasian (of mixed Dutch and native Indonesian descent), and Chinese people who lived within Indonesia during its time as a colony (Beers, 2001; Jordaan, 1988; Sinaga, 2012). Trade between neighboring islands of Java has brought jamu to different regions of Indonesia. Several government transmigration programs have also influenced the production and distribution of jamu and traditional knowledge (Sinaga, 2012).

In the 1940s several organizations formed events to recommend in-depth studies of jamu; the Second Congress of the Indonesian Physicians Association and the Mother's Association of Yogyakarta. During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia from 1942 to 1944, more attention was brought to jamu as an important source of medicine and during Indonesia's War of Independence (1945-1949) jamu became central to healthcare for Indonesians since Western medicine was very hard to obtain at this time (Beers, 2001). When Indonesia gained independence, its first president, Soekarno, supported the production of jamu as a way for Indonesia to maintain its Independence. Western pharmaceuticals remained expensive and most people relied on jamu for medicinal needs (Sinaga, 2012).

The first policy to recognize traditional medicine in Indonesia was passed in 1963; Law No. 7 on Pharmacy defines the difference between chemically derived medicines (obat modern) and traditional medicine (obat asli Indonesia). Although the law recognizes obat asli Indonesia, the stance taken toward it in comparison to obat modern is somewhat negative; traditional medicine is said to be inferior to pharmaceuticals and also to have potentially harmful effects. This stance was influenced by the viewpoints of formally (institutionally) certified medical professionals (Sinaga, 2012 cites Undang-Undang No 7 Tahun 1963 and Afdhal & Welsch).

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[13] Indian Ayurvedic medicine was introduced to Indonesia in the 14th century. Hinduism was also brought to the region, influencing the agricultural system. By the 16th century, Moslems brought other notions of how to manage health and disease (Currie, 1994).

The government has taken interest in integrating jamu into its system of healthcare at least since the early 1980s. In 1981, the Ministry of Health aimed to establish “Health for All” in Indonesia by the year 2000, by encouraging the establishment of family gardens through a program called TOGA (family herb garden) and also encouraging the utilization of medicinal plants (Handayani et al., 2001; Sutrisno & Kadir, 1981, sec. preface). This “back to nature” approach has inspired renewed interest, among the medical community, in jamu (Handayani et al., 2001). Today the efficacy of jamu is researched by Government departments in Indonesia including the Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Environment, and Ministry of Health. Universities are also involved in research as well as NGOs and Industrial companies (Elfahmi, 2006).

5.2 Small and Large Scale Jamu Industry:

The commodification of jamu is comprised of large and small scale industry with an annual growth rate of 25-30% (Torri, 2013 cites Pramono, 2012). Those who sell jamu on the streets or in small markets as entrepreneurs (with little to no employees) are small scale industry and those who own large corporations that produce jamu which is sold in stores within Indonesia as well as abroad are a part of the large scale jamu industry. Factory made jamu, usually jamu made in powdered form (called jamu pabrik, or powdered jamu),[14] is often produced by large scale industry (Ferzacca, 2001). Jamu did not become heavily industrialized until around 1930. At this time many modern Western medicines were introduced to the country and in order to compete with this jamu producers began to produce jamu as a powder or "jamu bubuk". As a powder, jamu can be kept longer before use, and when needed, can be prepared quickly in the home, and therefore it became easier to consume. In 1963, when jamu was legally recognized as an indigenous product in Indonesia, companies were able to use this term as a marketing tool creating new packaged and patented jamu products. The industry expanded and became very lucrative (Jordaan, 1988). The 1970's marked the beginning of the modern jamu industry (Sinaga, 2012 cited Afdhal and Welsch, 1988). Major large scale jamu companies today are mostly owned by Chinese Indonesians; popular companies include Jamu Jago, Nyonya Meneer, and Air Mancur. These companies often market jamu products as natural and traditional, incorporating folk names for illness, images, Javanese terms, and anything else which will make the product look authentically Indonesian (Ferzacca, 2001).

Most large jamu businesses are located in central Java. Small scale industry is scattered throughout all areas of the country. Large scale industry must abide by regulations put in place by the government to ensure the safety of the product. Small scale industry is not regulated. Small scale jamu industry is characterized by entrepreneurs who run the business from their homes, creating jamu from fresh plant ingredients with simple kitchen utensils and then going out to sell it in market areas. Herbalists also sell jamu in markets. These entrepreneurs must compete with industrial jamu which is sold in stores (and therefore easy to find) and infused with preservatives meaning that it lasts longer (Handayani et al., 2001). Kiosks and special jamu shops are also located throughout Yogyakarta where commercialized packets of powdered jamu are available for purchase (Torri, 2013). Sometimes large jamu industries take a paternal stance with small sellers. Krier (2011) found that large industry in some cases will attempt to educate jamu sellers about issues related to sanitation, safety, and health in the production of jamu through workshops held at local jamu associations. Large industry also attempts to partner up with smaller sellers by acquiring recipes and supplying sellers with industrial jamu products which can be sold alongside home-made jamu or alone (Krier, 2011).

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[14] Factory produced jamu is also called "jamu bubuk" or "jamu serbuk" (Ferzacca, 2001).

5.3 Knowledge Transmission and Production of Jamu:

Knowledge transmission is not well understood and can differ among different groups depending on relationships and how people communicate and relate to one another (P. L. Howard, 2003). Those who produce knowledge and those who are privy to it are in a position of benefit; “knowledge producing activities are part and parcel of any intended social change” (Calas et al., 2009, p. 554). Therefore, it is important to understand how knowledge of jamu is passed from person to person; as the jamu industry grows more rapidly, knowledge transmission may change as well, and traditional recipes could be changed or lost in the process of commodification. Especially in peasant and indigenous societies, where plant knowledge is eroding rapidly (P. L. Howard, 2003).

When jamu loses its cultural and traditional value other elements such as knowledge, tradition, identity, and historical connection are also in danger of disappearing. Since there is a lot of inequality of access to healthcare services in Indonesia, jamu serves as an important cultural healthcare method for many people and any loss of knowledge about this type of medicine would be damaging to individuals and the larger society (Country Office for Indonesia, 2008). This is especially true for women who use jamu more often than men and who are generally the beneficiaries of traditional ecological knowledge (Handayani et al., 2001). On the other hand, selling cultural items as commodities can be mutually beneficial to producers and consumers. One side gets an experience while the other side gets income as well as the opportunity to continue to practice the craft for income (Aragon, 2011). In other words, the commodification of cultural products can help continue the cultural practice- therefore the actuality that jamu is commodified- is perhaps a part of what keeps its existence stable, and because many people in central Java prefer fresh jamu over industrial factory produced jamu, small scale jamu sellers still have a large accessible market.

Generally, knowledge of jamu is passed down through observation (a person watches another to learn how to make a certain recipe) or is orally communicated from person to person; usually from mothers to daughters and sometimes from neighbor to neighbor (Handayani et al., 2001). Recipes have been recorded in historical books from the royal courts as well (Beers, 2001). With improvements in communication and technology, recipes are easier to obtain (Beers, 2001).

An important part of manufacturing jamu on any scale is having a source from which to buy or acquire raw materials; collecting raw materials for jamu production is a livelihood. Collectors will grow some plants and pick other plants (hard to cultivate) from the wilderness. Large scale jamu manufacturers usually buy their ingredients directly from collectors while others will partner with small villages to which they distribute seeds for cultivation. Recently, skilled pickers are increasingly rare and knowledge about medicinal plants is diminishing. Younger generations of workers are not as interested in this type of work (Beers, 2001). At the same time some plants are becoming excessively harvested within Indonesian rainforests due to increasing demands from large scale industry for certain ingredients. Several plant species used in jamu are near extinction because of this (Sinaga, 2012 cites Antons and Antons-Sutanto, 2009).

Businesses that are based on traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) are action oriented; meaning that utilizing TEK for livelihood generation is not just a body of knowledge, it is a lifestyle (Dana & Anderson, 2007). Many people who produce jamu grow their own ingredients within gardens. In Madura (Indonesian island), the villagers have a special name for jamu produced this way; jamu phagar, which means fence medicine (Jordaan, 1988). A government program in Indonesia called TOGA encourages people to have gardens in their yards in order to assist with knowledge transmission about jamu and to encourage families to save money by growing their own food (Handayani et al., 2001). In some parts of the country food gardens provide up to 40% of calories, 30% of protein, and 65% of fuels for rural households (Wilson, 2003 cited Brownrigg, 1985). Entrepreneurs can grow their own ingredients and save money this way (Handayani et al., 2001).

5.4 Jamu and National Healthcare:

Jamu has become associated with poverty since the introduction of Western medicine to Indonesia; those who can afford expensive Western medicine will often choose it over jamu and those who cannot afford Western medicine do not have the choice (Currie, 1994; Handayani et al., 2001). However, it has also been claimed that many people prefer jamu over Western medicine, seeking out a jamu practitioner over a regular Western doctor (Stevensen, 1999)[15].

There are government plans to integrate jamu into the national system of healthcare in Indonesia. The system of action was designed to have 50% of regional health offices include traditional medicine (including herbal medicines and acupuncture) in their services by 2014. This could be a challenge to implement because it involves educating practicing specialists about the benefits of traditional medicine when many doctors believe that Western medicine is best (Faizal, 2012). Non-the-less, this is an important step for Indonesia and perhaps could lead to greater acceptance of traditional healing practices. Prior efforts to investigate and document jamu recipes were concerned only with standardization and efficacy (Sutrisno & Kadir, 1981) and Currie (1994) noted that government policies, regarding the production and use of jamu, during the 1990's were concerned with promoting the use of industrial jamu rather than fresh jamu produced by small scale producers.

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[15] Torri (2013) spoke to those who purchased jamu regularly and found that people from all age groups, socio-economic classes, and educational backgrounds preferred jamu. Ferzacca (2001) says that use of traditional medicine (and traditional healers) is on the rise while those seeking treatment from medical practitioners is on the decline.

Traditional healthcare has been described as a way towards “self-reliance and holism” (Currie, 1994, p. 13), especially for women since they are often the beneficiaries of TEK (traditional ecological knowledge). Women who use TEK often follow procedures which are similar to that of doctors; they first identify the symptoms that are present and come up with a diagnosis. They then select a treatment, prepare the treatment, and apply it. Currie (1994) claims that, when cross-referenced with pharmaceutical medicines, most traditional medicine has the same properties that are present in manufactured medicines and often contains fewer side effects. Hull (1979) argues that Western treatment will often promote dependency by providing treatment that comes without knowledge (such as prescribing a drug without directions for use and without full information of what the drug will do or how the drug works). Treatment without knowledge can harm patients in various ways; for example, patients may not know what the drug treats, or they may assume that mild ailments should be treated with drugs meant for worse conditions, such as treating a cold with antibiotics. Another issue that happens is patients cannot afford full doses of medicine, and end up buying only partial dosages (Hull, 1979).

Healthcare facilities for the poor are not offered in all locations in Indonesia and many people must rely on traditional medicines for basic healthcare needs (Stevensen, 1999; World Trade Press, 2010). Extremely poor women often must use traditional forms of contraception because they cannot afford or do not have access to modern contraceptives which may be more reliable (Schoemaker, 2005)[16]. There can be risks (associated with quality control) in consuming jamu (such as interactions with other medications, possible contaminations, and allergic reactions to name a few) and many consumers are unaware of such dangers (Torri, 2013). Current policies and healthcare structures regarding the use of traditional medicine such as jamu, therefore, can be improved.

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[16] Abortion policies only allow women to have therapeutic abortions in order to save a mother's life. Therefore many women get illegal abortions (an estimated 2 million per year) from traditional practitioners and medical practitioners which can lead to complications such as infection (World Trade Press, 2010).

Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion

This chapter will present the research findings about jamu sellers and discussion in relation to the research questions, theory, and previous literature. The chapter is divided into three sections. First the socio-economic characteristics of participants and details about jamu businesses will be discussed in order to help the reader get acquainted with the jamu sellers in the sample, the background characteristics that lead women and sometimes men to sell jamu, and general information about jamu businesses in terms of the types of jamu products that are normally sold. The second section will focus on non-economic and economic motivations, in order to explore the reasons for why women (and sometimes men) start jamu businesses, and the incentives for continuing a jamu business. This analysis reveals the function that entrepreneurship plays in the lives of sellers as well as personal narratives and perspectives of work which help to shape identity. The third section will focus on how jamu sellers manage and strategize with three different forms of capital – social, human, and financial – and how entrepreneurs in previous studies have adopted similar or different strategies with their businesses.

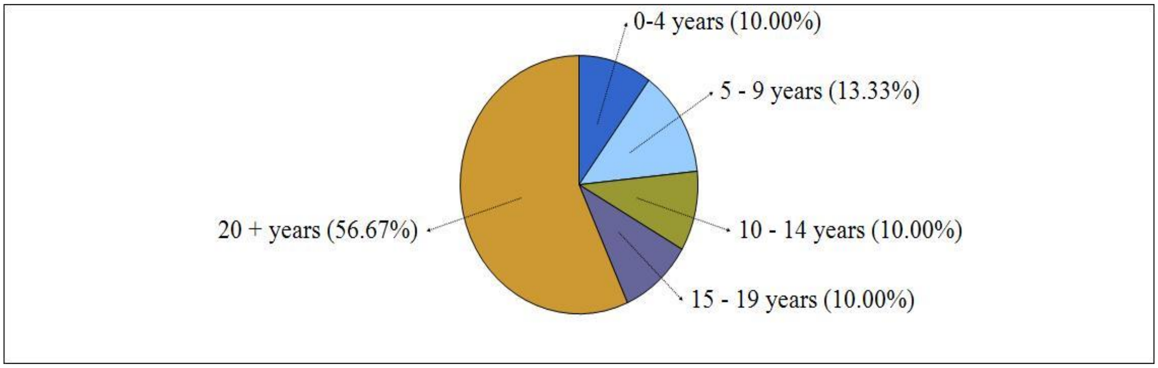
The narratives that sellers share regarding their professional and personal lives reveal how gender roles and gender identity influence motivations and behaviors in business and family life. Findings are both unique (reflecting Javanese cultural values) and similar to previous gender entrepreneurship research. In each section, attention will be given to the broader normative and cultural institutional dynamics that jamu sellers are embedded within, and how these institutional structures can influence individual motivations and behaviors.

6.1 Socio-economic characteristics of the participants and information about jamu businesses:

Thirty jamu sellers in Yogyakarta were interviewed for this research. Demographic information such as gender, age, marital status, children, education, and regions from which sellers come from was collected about each seller at the time of the interview, as well as information about jamu businesses (such as jamu products, selling routes, ingredients needed, and problems with the market during the time that interviews took place) to provide the reader with some details about each seller’s social positioning and background. Relevant information about institutional and cultural context within the regions where jamu is produced and sold is provided as well.

The majority of jamu sellers are women. Of the thirty sellers who were interviewed, only two were men, and both ran their businesses with a female family member. All of the participants in this study were currently running a jamu business at the time of the interview except for two persons, Adiratna (age seventy-one) and Shinta (age eighty). Adiratna is retired and Shinta was taking a break for health reasons stating that she had stopped producing and selling 2 months prior to the interview, and if her health improved she would continue to make jamu again. More than half of the sample has been selling jamu for 20 years or more. The pie-chart below (figure 4) provides a visual of how long jamu entrepreneurs in the sample have had their business.

Figure 6: Amount of time as a jamu seller



Twenty-five participants provided information about where they came from or where they were born. The sample participants are mainly from Central Java; twenty-three were from Yogyakarta or a nearby region (surrounding cities and rural areas in Central Java) and two were from North Sumatra and East Java.

All of the sellers in this study reported they were currently married, or had been married before. Most, twenty-two, were still married when the interview was conducted, six were widowed, and only one was divorced[17]. Marriage is considered a rite of passage into adulthood within Indonesia[18] and is associated with harmony within a community as it joins together not just two people into a union, but two families and therefore two communities (O'Shaughnessy, 2009). In this way marriage is a part of the identities of most people in Java and there is much pressure on women especially to get married and have children by the end of their twenties[19]. In traditional Javanese culture, it is expected that couples will have children soon after marriage[20]. All sellers except for two reported having children; more than half of the participants have two or three[21] children. The number of children reported by each person may not include those that are deceased, and one seller did not specify how many children she had, only speaking of her first-born.

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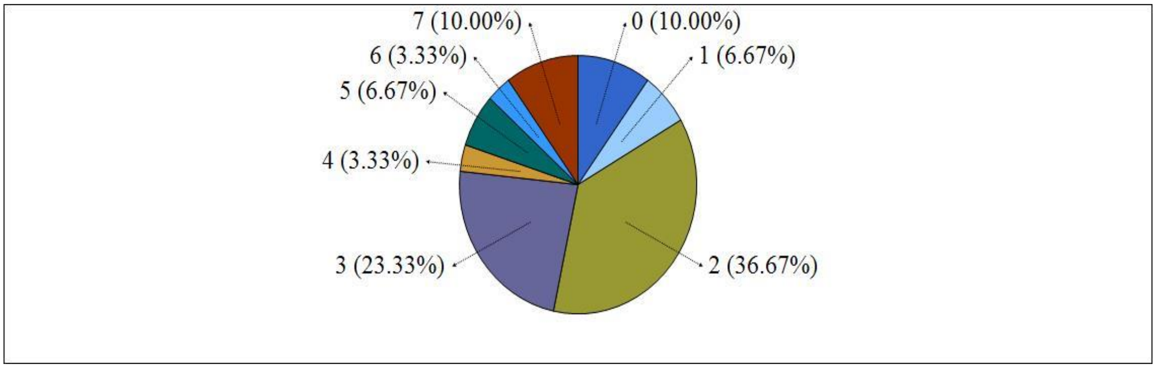
[17] Shame is often associated with a divorce and O'Shaughnessy (2009) argues that women will adhere to such shame (which is put on them through the state and the culture) as a way to keep in harmony with the public.

[18] Muslim women who are not married by the end of their 20s are often stigmatized. In general, women in Yogyakarta are expected to get married, at the very latest, by the age of 27 and although in some areas arranged marriages are still practiced, love marriages are now the norm (Klaveren et al., 2010).

Figure 7: Number of Children



Twenty six interviewees provided information about their education. Out of these twenty-six, only one seller (female) received some college education, two went to senior high school, nine went to junior high school, ten went to elementary school, one attended an illiteracy program, and two reported not receiving any education. Therefore, the trend seems to be that jamu sellers do not tend to get higher education, only receiving basic education from elementary school or junior high school. This reflects the trends in the larger population of Indonesia[22]. Of the two sellers who went to senior high school, one was male[23] and one seller in the sample attended some college and she was also the youngest age in the cohort (thirty years old).

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[19] It is thought that marriage “half-perfects an individual’s duty to God” meaning that marriage is a very important part of becoming a contributing member of society (O’Shaughnessy, 2009, p. 161).

[20] Unmarried women who are pregnant are looked down on (Klaveren et al., 2010).

[21] Indonesia’s National Family Planning Coordinating Board (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional – BKKBN) was created in 1970 to make family planning available to married couples and to promote smaller families. The impact has been sizable; in 1976 contraceptive use was at 26% and by 2002 it had increased to 60%. The total fertility rate dropped from 5.6 children per woman to 2.6 (Schoemaker, 2005). The effects of the family planning program are reflected in my sample; a little over half of the sellers reported having two or three children. The government only provides family planning and reproductive health services to married women and men; women who are sexually active before marriage must rely on their own means of obtaining birth control.

Despite the existing trend that older jamu sellers have less education, a new universal free basic education system which was implemented in 1993 has dramatically improved access to education by making elementary school (six years) and middle school (3 years) compulsory (Klaveren, Tijdens, Hughie-williams, & Martin, 2010). Yogyakarta has one of the highest enrollment rates for children attending middle school in the country (Klaveren et al., 2010). The children of the jamu sellers in my sample seem to reflect some of the success of this policy. Five sellers spoke of their children attending university and six sellers said that their children attended senior high school or equivalent vocational schools. Three sellers spoke of junior high school for their children. Ten did not specify the details of their children's education, and only three did not mention education at all. Therefore, the majority of the children of jamu sellers attend school, most likely getting the compulsory years through the public school system (if they were in school after 1993).

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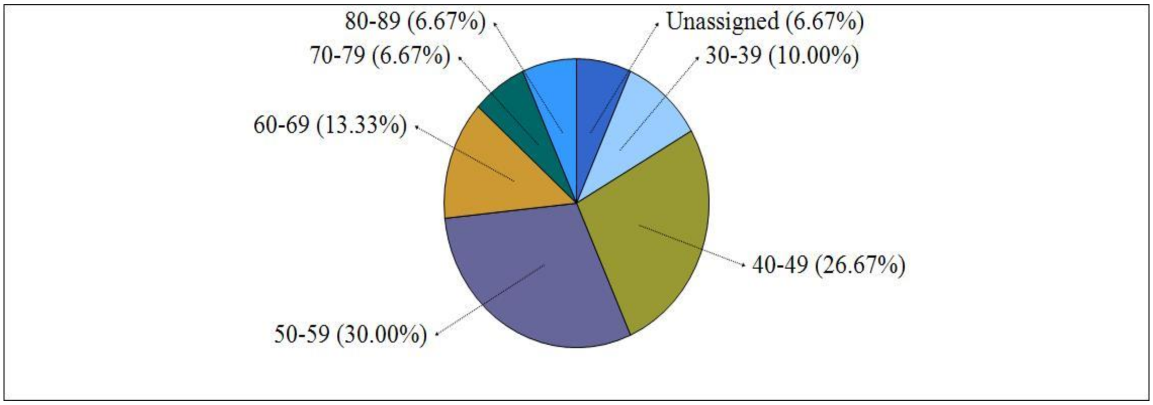
[22] People living in many areas of Indonesia do not have access to middle school because of insufficient funding and resources (Klaveren et al., 2010). Many of the poor living in rural regions do not even finish their primary education, especially women (Schoemaker, 2005).

[23] Girls are more disadvantaged than boys within the education system because of traditional gender roles which place women in the home. It is believed that education for women is therefore less important than education for men (World Trade Press, 2010).

The age of the jamu sellers in the sample were fairly broad. All but two sellers reported on their age[24]. The youngest sellers interviewed were thirty years old while the oldest were eighty years old. Three sellers were in their thirties and more than half of the sample consists of persons age forty to fifty-nine. Eight participants were age sixty and over. Figure 6 (below) shows the age cohorts of sellers.

Figure 8: Age of jamu sellers



Jamu Products

The most popular products sold by jamu gendong include beras kencur[25], kunir asem[26], and uyup uyup[27]. Most sellers report that a majority of their customers are women, especially young mothers; kunir asam and uyup uyup are products used exclusively for women. Other products sold less often include paitan (for headaches), cabe puyang, galian putri, galian, kunir or duan sirih (which comes from a plant called piper betel), sawan tuan, gula asam, gulas and others consisting of many different plant ingredients.

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[24] Reasoning for non-disclosure was not explained.

[25] Beras kencur is a mixture of rice, the root of the resurrection lily, tamarind, red sugar, and water. It is consumed by men and women and is useful for an energy boost and for treating coughs and the common cold.

[26] Kunir asem is a mixture of turmeric, tamarind, palm sugar, and water. It is used for regulating women's menstrual cycle (keeping it on a regular schedule).

[27] Uyup Uyup is a mixture of the root of the resurrection lilly, common ginger, purple ginger, round turmeric, katuk leaves (leaves from a tropical shrub, also known as star gooseberry), shepherd turmeric, sugar and salt. It is used for increasing breast milk production.

Jamu is served in different forms, usually prepared as a drink, either as jamu peresan (meaning it is squeezed and mixed in front of the customer) or in a bottle (jamu botolan). Some jamu is prepared as 'uthik uthik' which means that powdered herbs are stirred into the jamu drink. It is assumed that the majority of the sellers interviewed sell jamu in a bottle, since most sellers interviewed are regular jamu gendong sellers, however, this was only specified by eleven interviewees (six participants specified that they sell squeeze jamu and five specified bottled jamu). Some sellers will also sell factory-made (or homemade) instant jamu, sometimes even mixing it into fresh jamu. Sellers generally reported that most of their customers prefer to drink fresh jamu because they believe it to be more effective than instant jamu.

In Yogyakarta, the type of jamu in greatest demand is freshly made jamu, rather than instant or powdered jamu from a factory (powdered jamu is sold in a packet with directions such as; add boiling water and lemon). Dinda, a middle aged seller who is married with four children, explains why customers might prefer to drink fresh jamu instead of instant jamu;

> "Sometimes I give my customers the suggestion to drink jamu from Sido Muncul [factory brand jamu]. They don't like the idea. They prefer fresh jamu… Instant jamu has a different taste. People that get accustomed to drinking fresh Jamu will feel a different effect from instant jamu, a bit *ampeg-ampeg* [means feels a bit nauseated]. We

> can taste a kind of chemical material in the tongue. But it depends on the buyer - which one they prefer."

Jamu consumers all over Indonesia seem to have different preferences of consumption depending on the region from which they are from. Dinda explains that most buyers in Yogyakarta find instant jamu made in factories to be unnatural since it is made with preservatives. Most people can taste the difference and sometimes instant jamu can upset one's stomach. However, consumers in Jakarta [capital city of Indonesia] prefer instant jamu because it is regulated by industry standards and therefore believed to be safer to consume[28]. Kartini, age thirty-six, married with two young children (age 10 and 1) and from North Sumatra, explained that buyers from North Sumatra consume fresh jamu mixed with instant jamu; "Unlike the jamu here, there are many instant manufactured jamu which are mixed with bottled jamu." Jamu may be more popular among the Javanese than those from other islands in Indonesia. Kartini noted that only those who were from Java, in her Sumatran neighborhood, were interested in consuming jamu; "Jamu is sold here [in Yogyakarta] more than in Sumatra. In Sumatra the ones who buy *jamu* are from Java."

Jamu recipes have changed over time. Shinta, eighty years old, explains in more detail;

> "There are more young people, today, that like to drink jamu, not like long ago when jamu was known as a bitter beverage… Nowadays,

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[28] In Jakarta, a cab driver explained to me and my party that factory made jamu is safer since it is industry regulated. A jamu producer in Yogyakarta also reported that most people in Jakarta consume instant jamu produced in factories in Solo.

> many children like jamu, since there are some jamu with a sweet taste, like *Kunir Asem*... In earlier times, people looked for *Uyup-uyip, Parem, and Kencur*. There was no Kunir Asem at that time. Nowadays, there is no Jamu Parem anymore."

The bitter jamu that Shinta is referring to is still available in some locations in Yogyakarta and surrounding areas. It is worth noting that the author visited two locations where bitter jamu could be purchased, and both locations were larger operations; one was a famous jamu café located in the city and the other was an operation in a rural area just outside the city where many of the ingredients were grown in a greenhouse[29].

Many of the interviewees also commented on a time when jamu was more 'complete', meaning that more ingredients were included. Tirta's daughter explains; "My mother had a more complete jamu. She also used egg and wine. There were some customers that requested for the wine only. Eventually she stopped using the wine." Hastinah, age sixty-seven, also reported that she sold a complete jamu in the past, but now only sells kunir asem and beras kuncir. The taste of jamu has changed over time. Today, most jamu gendong sell sweetened jamu as opposed to the previously popular bitter jamus and 'complete' jamus which included eggs and wine.

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[29] Bitter jamu is thought to be more effective.

Jamu Businesses during Unstable Market Periods

The cost of ingredients was on the rise during the phase of interview data collection (summer 2013)[30]. When the market, for raw materials of jamu, is unstable, jamu sellers can feel the strain on their business. Sellers don't want to charge more for jamu, in order to compensate for sudden price fluctuations in the market, for fear that customers will get upset and buy from another jamu seller. When the market is unstable sellers can lose much profit in little time. Jamu sellers also reported that they can have difficulty with their jamu business during Ramadan, when many are fasting, and during the rainy season; due to the weather, sellers find it harder to go outside and sell. Jamu sellers have adopted different methods to deal with these unstable market periods.

One way to deal with the price fluctuations is to provide slightly less jamu per customer or put less ingredients in each batch of jamu. Zuhra serves less jamu per glass; "I reduce the portion of each glass of *jamu* that I sell but with the usual prices." Gita, the elderly seller with glaucoma, explains that she uses less expensive ingredients in her jamu;

> "*Sunthi* [rhizome similar to ginger] is also expensive. It is used for seasoning, it make the jamu taste better. But actually it could heal fatigue, because it gives warmth to the body. Unfortunately, *sunthi* is expensive, so I bought it little, just for seasoning."

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[30] For example, Putri (age 30 and married with no children) explained that the price for kencur increased from Rp 28,000 per kg to Rp 30,000 per kg within one week. And another seller, Endang (age forty-one and married with two children) reported that it had continued to increase up to Rp 32,000 per kg.

Other coping methods, for rising fuel costs and subsequent rising ingredient costs, include buying ingredients from larger markets in the city of Yogyakarta. Bringharjo market is a popular option among sellers; Zuhra explains that she can get her ingredients at a lower cost at this location;

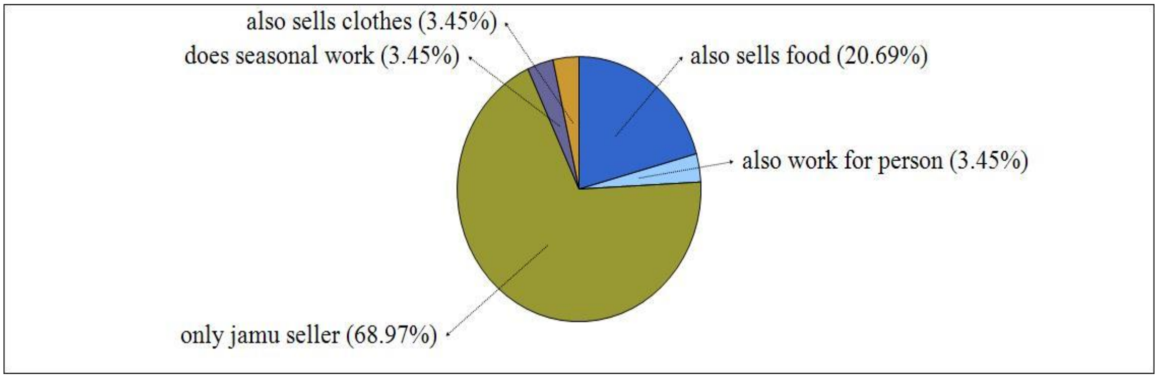
> "I get jamu ingredients from Bringharjo market because of the lower cost than other markets with small stalls. When you buy jamu ingredients at small stalls the price is more expensive; usually even two times as much. Usually I buy ingredients two times in one month. I buy it in the market Bringharjo, first floor…"

Tirta, a male jamu seller, is able to manage the price changes by growing some of his own jamu ingredients; "I also have some plants of jamu, but not so much. So, I still need to buy it in the market if the plants are not ready to be harvested or I don't have the type." He still must buy many ingredients at the market but harvesting some from his plants cuts down the cost. Wardah's (41 years old with two adult children) method for dealing with rising cost of ingredients is to keep her prices low so that she can sell out.

Eight sellers have diversified their product line. By selling commodities other than jamu, sellers can ensure that they have a product to sell or a job to generate income at times when the market is unstable, or if demand is low, such as during Ramadan, or when it is harder to sell, such as during the rainy season or when pregnant. A popular product to provide on the side includes homemade food (which is sometimes bought from others to save time) such as capcay (a stir-fried vegetable dish which can be served with meat), noodles, fried rice, steamed buns, spring rolls, corn fries, and steamed bananas.

The pie chart below (figure 7) shows the different types of work that some jamu sellers do in addition to selling jamu.

Figure 9: Additional paid work of jamu sellers



Product diversification is a strategy that is common among entrepreneurs who deal with more market uncertainties; for example large price fluctuations over short periods of time, during periods of economic crisis (Tambunan, 2000), or for volatile (unstable) markets such as agriculture (Hennon, 2012). Diversification, therefore, is an excellent strategy for women entrepreneurs who operate in gender discriminating markets, which make business operation more difficult. For example, Zimbabwe women entrepreneurs (Chamlee-wright, 2002), women entrepreneurs from Gauteng, South Africa (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012), as well as Senegalese women entrepreneurs (Guerin, 2006) use product diversification strategies in operating their businesses.

6.2 Motivations:

The motivations for working as a jamu seller were explored through narrative as informants were asked to share the story about how they became a jamu seller, why they chose such a profession, what other opportunities they had for work, and the benefits of selling jamu. Jamu sellers were also asked questions about their roles within families and communities, and how they thought they were perceived by customers, neighbors, and family. Sellers reported economic and non-economic motivations. Non-economic motivations to sell jamu include flexibility, customer health benefits, social benefits, and promoting Javanese culture. In terms of economic motivations, all sellers reported that they sell jamu in order to increase family finances and resources including homes, transportation, education for children, and daily family needs including meals. Other economic motivations include risk aversion, independence, and the ability to contribute money to the community. Despite the finding that jamu sellers take pride in using their earnings to support their families and give back to their communities, many sellers are pushed into informal jamu selling because of financial needs and limited resources.

6.2.1 Non-Economic Motivations:

Brush (1992) and Kantor (2002) both note that past research has focused exclusively on economic motivations for profit and business growth, and this has provided only a partial picture of motivations for engaging in entrepreneurship. Recent studies have revealed that entrepreneurs can have personal goals and values that have little to do with money or economic growth – such values are influenced by culture (including gender norms) and individual experiences (Moore & Buttner, 1997; Terrell & Troilo, 2010). Non-economic motivations that are consistently discussed in the literature include need for achievement, flexibility, and independence. Although both men and women entrepreneurs are found to value need for achievement and independence (Cromie, 1987; Jones, 2000; Mahadea, 2001; Blumberg, 2001), women entrepreneurs are thought to be more reliant on flexible employment to fulfill their gender roles as wives and mothers (Mueller & Conway Dato-on, 2013; Humbert & Drew, 2010; Kirkwood, 2009). These studies are consistent with my study which shows that jamu sellers also value work time flexibility, independence (discussed as both an economic and non-economic motivation), and need for recognition which is just as important as a need for achievement. A unique non-economic motivations for jamu sellers is preserving culture. Two other unique non-economic motivators are customer health and making close friendships –these two motivations are linked to need for recognition and achievement.

Time Flexibility:

Five sellers described work time flexibility as an important benefit of selling jamu because it allows them to make income and prioritize household duties (ten interviewees reported their main priority is to be a good wife and mother by caring for the household). Time in the home is spent making jamu, cleaning (laundry, dishes, etc.), preparing meals, taking care of children, and resting; these activities take up mental and physical energy. In order to balance home duties and jamu selling, time management and flexibility is important. Sellers manage their time by strategizing in several ways; using a blender to mix jamu as opposed to using a traditional stone tool called *lumpang* (like a mortar and pestle), building up a regular customer base, and getting help from family and friends with childcare and household duties.

Selling jamu was not the first career choice for Kusuma, age 52 and married with three adult children, who learned about jamu as a child by helping her mother to run a jamu business. She explains that she preferred to work at a coffee factory but after having her first child she required more flexible employment in order to fulfill her domestic duties; “Actually, I had a desire to work in a different job but I couldn’t care for my children while I’m working in the factory, so I got out… I want a job where I can still take care of my family and my children”. Flexible work hours allow Kusuma to make income and play the role of mother and housewife.

Zuhra, thirty years old and married with two young children (age 7 and 1), says that selling jamu is a suitable activity for women, as it does not take much time and does not interfere with her activities in the household; “I only work selling *jamu* for 2 or 2.5 hours per day. Selling jamu is more comfortable than other work. I am still able to take care of my household and all my children.” The time it takes to prepare jamu depends on the tools a seller uses to process the ingredients. Dewi, a 45 year old married seller with two adult children (both attended higher education, paid for by her jamu selling earnings) reported that she uses a blender to mix her ingredients, therefore, allowing her to spend less time preparing her jamu; “I can use a blender to save time.” She also discusses how a regular clientele base can help save time; “To make and sell jamu, it only takes a few hours. If I already have clients, selling jamu is easier and quick.” Typically sellers are concerned with selling out of their entire daily product.

The typical day for a jamu seller starts early in the morning, sometimes as early as 3am. These early risers prepare their jamu as well as breakfast for their husbands and children. Women who sell later in the day prepare their family meals first and then make their jamu. After their family is fed and the jamu is produced, they go out and sell, often relying on a neighbor or their spouse to care for children while they are away. When sellers come home they have to wash the pots, pans, blenders, bottles, and other tools, and make any other necessary preparations so that they can get up and do it again the next day. Ingredient and grocery shopping must get done, and dinner must be prepared. Some women also help other family members with their domestic duties. There is always work to do. Vina, a 57 year old jamu seller who is married with seven children explains; “if I am not able to wash the dishes or wash the children’s clothing in the middle of the day, I will do it at night.” For women, coming home after work does not represent the end of a work day, women are always at work, including when they are home.

The data is consistent with research that shows women, because of their traditional roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers, are found to appreciate self-employment because it allows for flexible work time (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Cromie, 1987; Drew & Humbert, 2012; Harvey, 2005; Humbert & Drew, 2010). Literature reports that women put their families before their business, or feel guilty if they don’t; many women seek only to run a business if it does not get in the way of their gender roles in the home (Drew & Humbert, 2012; Kirkwood, 2009). The data connected to this thesis reflects similar trends; as many sellers only turned to selling jamu after getting married and having children. Sellers reported that performing business and gendered household roles at the same time was not troublesome because selling jamu is not a time consuming activity. This finding is consistent with the study of Cliff (1998) which reported that women entrepreneurs preferred self-employment because it gave them more control of their time.

Jamu sellers seek to minimize their work time to produce jamu by strategizing the way they do business (i.e. using blenders instead of lumpang, seeking help from family or friends, and working to develop a regular clientele base). Strategies to limit work time are usually not discussed in research, which is unfortunate, since it would be interesting to understand how other business owners strategize to maintain flexible schedules, and if the existing gender roles influence management styles.

Close friendships, customer health, and need for achievement and recognition

The data shows that sellers are motivated to be close with buyers and to produce jamu with health benefits; both motives are linked to need for achievement and recognition. Twelve sellers (including both male sellers) out of thirty are motivated to provide a health promoting product and ten sellers out of thirty are motivated to make close friendships with their clients. These aspects are discussed in relation to recognition and achievement because sellers focus on themes of attracting more buyers and selling more jamu, being respected in the community where sellers live and work, and valuing their work because it is benefiting the community.

Fitri, an elderly seller (age 80) who is married with three children, reports that her customers always return to her because of the health effects they experience from her jamu; "[buyers] always return to me again. *Alhamdulillah* [meaning thank God] they [are] healthy again. So buyers are like my patients. Everytime they feel tired, they buy my herbal products." Nurul, a female seller considers customer health to be one of the most important outcomes of her product; "I was happy to sell *jamu*. The most important thing is; first, *jamu* can cure diseases that people complain of."

The two male interviewees cared about customer health as much as the female jamu sellers. Tirta, a 60 year old male widower with two children, acknowledged that helping other people is a part of his work; "As jamu seller, I feel like I also helping other people." Agung, a 45 year old male jamu seller who is married with three children, discusses health with his customers;

> "Usually, the buyers are inclined to tell me about their health problems. Most of them are ibu-ibu (mothers) that have a problem with keputihan (*flour albus,* [which is infection of the genitals]), or if they got menstruation with pain. Then, I will tell them to use *Kunyit Asam* (a mix of turmeric and tamarind). If it's proper [meaning that the jamu is effective], then she will become my customer."

Other jamu sellers also referred to their jamu product as being "proper" or a good "fit" for their clients; it is generally believed that the "hand that makes the jamu" is just as important, if not more important, as the recipe and ingredients that sellers use. More about this will be discussed in the management strategies section titled "knowledge and skills".

A minority of sellers reported that their jamu is only a drink and they do not believe their jamu can cure serious illness; they believe that jamu can only enhance an individual's feeling of well-being. Aminah, age 54 and married with children, explains that customers, who have faith in the therapeutic benefits of jamu will benefit from drinking her product; "About the effectiveness of jamu to cure the illness; I think it is because of the customer's belief. They think that the jamu they drink has the effectiveness."

Seven sellers stated that they preferred not to call themselves an expert in traditional medicine because they felt like they did not hold enough knowledge, or because they did not want to give customers the impression that their jamu products could cure all illnesses since this could potentially lead to customers complaining if the jamu did not meet particular expectations. Avoiding the identity of expert, therefore, was a way of ensuring that customers make their own expectations about the product based off of their first experience with drinking it.

Whether or not sellers always believe that their jamu has efficacy in fighting illness, they are happy to gain customer's trust in their jamu as a healthy product. This is because buyers who are satisfied with a particular jamu often become returning clients, meaning that it will take them less time to sell jamu each day, and they will have a more consistent daily income. Providing a product that is believed to have health benefits gives jamu sellers a greater purpose in the community; sellers come to believe that selling jamu is more than just a way to make income, it is a way to benefit the greater community as well.

One third of the participants (ten out of thirty) explained that one of the benefits of selling jamu is having more close friendships; sellers even feel that some of their clients are like relatives or close friends. Such friendships can blossom through repetitive and continuous interactions between a seller and her clients. Dewi, age 45 and married with two adult children, explains; "Every day I meet, chat and laughing with buyers at the time I sell jamu." When sellers create such bonds, they feel respected and cared for. Kusuma, age 52 and married with three adult children, explains this aspect in more detail; "People respect me… The buyers are like close relatives of mine. There were also old customers who sometimes missed me [when I wasn't selling] and they gave me presents." Nurul knows that having close friendships are an important part of running a jamu business; "I ask my employees, they said many of them are close to the buyer. In fact, there is some who order jamu in large number of bottles." In other words, close relationships with buyers enables the sale of more jamu. Despite such reports, some feel that their position with buyers is strictly business-related. For example, Wardah (a widower with two adult children) reported; "I rarely have close interactions with my customers, the relationship is limited to buyer and seller."

Previous literature has associated need for achievement with profit and growth oriented goals for men (D. C. McClelland, 1961), and work-life balance for women (Bourne & Calás, 2013; Mueller & Conway Dato-on, 2013). Selling a jamu product, can be linked to work-life balance since having regular clients allows jamu sellers to sell out more quickly, thus reducing the selling time. This can also be linked to making more profit, as some sellers stated that their regular clients introduced them to more buyers, allowing them to sell more jamu and make more income. This finding is consistent with the research of Akhalwaya and Havenga (2012) which found that South African women entrepreneurs perceived product quality to be an important factor of business success in terms of attracting more clients and making more profit.

Thirdly, need for achievement can also be linked to need for recognition, as jamu sellers value the recognition that they receive from buyers who experience positive health effects from drinking jamu. Entrepreneurs have previously been found to seek appreciation for their work (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; S. Singh et al., 2011). Social obligations in families related to the care for others "may well fall mainly on women and, it could be supposed, the expectation that women fulfil these roles may mean such work goes unrecognised and is largely invisible" (Singh et al, 2011, p. 214). Therefore women may seek social recognition for their hardwork. Connections have also been made between the economic profitability of women's businesses and social recognition; mainly the idea that profitability leads to social recognition (Akhalwaya and Havenga, 2012); "women entrepreneurs who are financially independent will have social recognition and respect from other business owners and society at large" (p. 25). In Akhalwaya and Havenga's (2012) study, women business owners were given formal recognition (awards for good business) for their profit driven business achievements by formal institutions, showing that profitability can lead to social recognition; my research finds that the relationship can flow the other way as well and that social recognition also can lead to profitability.

Jamu sellers have a unique relationship to the product they sell. As will be discussed in greater detail in the upcoming 6.3.2 section titled; 'knowledge and skills,' buyers care about "the hand that makes the jamu". There are a number of practices that help sellers to gain recognition and attract buyers which will be outlined in more detail and discussed in relation to entrepreneurship literature, in the section about reputation management in the management strategies section of this discussion chapter.

Promoting Javanese Culture:

Jamu and jamu gendong are considered important elements of Javanese culture in Indonesia. Seven sellers reported that preserving Javanese culture was a motivation for engaging in jamu micro-entrepreneurship. Maghfira, age 52 and a widow, explains that her business was passed down to her from her parents, and by carrying it on, she is assisting to preserve Javanese culture; "Jamu is Java… I carry on my parents' jamu business and that means that I am preserving Javanese culture. Jamu is a part of Javanese culture as long as there is a jamu seller like me." Other research on jamu sellers and culture has found that customers prefer to drink jamu as a way to preserve Javanese culture as well (Krier, 2011). Five sellers specified that culture is not a motivation and they were more focused on making income to provide for their family.

Many associate jamu and Javanese culture with community welfare. Vina, age 57 and married with seven children, explains; "In my opinion, the activity of selling *jamu* is essential for the Javanese, because it means to provide love and to help each other. For example, I give *kunir asem* and *pahitan* [see glossary for explanation of meanings] for people who complain of stomache aches, and then we become a blessing for each other." Ayu also reported that preserving culture includes making special jamus for people close to her; "Selling jamu means conserving our culture of jamu. As an example, when one of my relatives gave birth, I made her jamu to drink in the morning and afternoon." More about the links between mutual assistance and culture will be discussed in the economic motivation section titled, "Need for income and financial expenditures".

Entrepreneurship literature often discusses culture as a barrier to women's entrepreneurship (Chitsike, 2000; Essers and Benchop). Culture is also discussed as an influence on entrepreneurial motivations (Aramand, 2013). Basu and Altinay (2002) found that entrepreneurs can be highly motivated by a tradition of entrepreneurship within their family, but they did not mean that entrepreneurs support the preservation of a specific culture. Other studies that discuss the motivation to engage in entrepreneurship as a way to preserve a culture, either do not exist, or are so few that they are not easy to find. There are a few studies that come close to discussing motivation to maintain cultural traditions, for example McGehee and Kim (2004) found that entrepreneurs of agri-tourism are interested in educating consumers, but failed to go into depth about what they wanted to educate consumers about (about culture or just farming techniques). Mykletun and Gyimóthy (2010) discussed how traditional foods help to preserve a local cultural identity, but failed to comment on whether this was a shared motivation for entrepreneurs of traditional cuisine. My study has revealed a unique motivation for engaging in entrepreneurship; the desire to preserve Javanese culture. This type of entrepreneurial motivation needs more in-depth research. Women specifically are engaging in passing along knowledge of jamu recipes, especially from mother to daughter (Handayani et al., 2001), meaning that jamu knowledge has a heartier existence between women and within the Javanese feminine realm, making this a particularly unique motivation to women engaging in traditional entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurial Identities

Most sellers reported that they were not business men or women, entrepreneurs, or big business; they view their jamu business as a small enterprise to help add income to their family. Twenty-three out of thirty participants specify or allude (meaning that they call those like themselves, “other jamu sellers”) to calling themselves a jamu seller. Six others (and some of the twentry-three also) call themselves by other labels including mbak jamu (a name for a female jamu seller), mbok jamu (another way to spell mbak jamu), bu jamu (female seller), pak jamu (male jamu seller) peddlar jamu, tukang jamu (tukang means craftsman), Yu, jamu vendor, herbs seller, and jamu gendong (selling jamu while carrying it on ones back); all of these labels are common. Only two out of thirty sellers consider themselves to be entrepreneurs.

Most jamu sellers report that they do not consider themselves to be entrepreneurs or business-men or business-women because they associate such labels with larger businesses. Agung, a male jamu seller reported that his business is small and doesn't require much capital (large businesses require more capital); "For me, I prefer to see myself as a vendor. I don't feel that I am an entrepreneur because, in my opinion, entrepreneurs need more capital to start their business." Endang elaborates; "I call myself a jamu seller. I'm not a businessman because to me, businessmen must be bigger, and have a lot of branches. I feel this jamu business is a small business – just to add some income to help my husband." As was also discussed in section 6.2.1, titled "customer health", jamu sellers avoid the title of expert so customers do not expect jamu to work in a particular way that they associate with the term 'expert' (such as curing a disease). Although gender was not specified by informants as a reason for not identifying as an entrepreneur or business-man/woman, many reported that they view their work as a way to help their husband add income to the family, which means gender has an impact on women jamu seller's entrepreneurial identities. Jamu sellers are more likely to consider their role as 'helping' rather than 'entrepreneuring'.

Few women in Indonesia own larger enterprises, most women who own businesses own micro-enterprises (Tambunan, 2009). Entrepreneurial intentions are affected by perceived barriers (Shinnar et al, 2012), and women in Indonesia tend to have more barriers to entrepreneurship than men including low levels of education and lack of training opportunities, more household responsibilities which leaves less time for business, cultural and religious norms such as complying with a husband's wishes, and lack of access to credit from formal institutions (Tambunan, 2009) . It is possible that women jamu sellers do not consider themselves to be entrepreneurs because they cannot see ways past these barriers.

Some jamu sellers may not share the same connotations with the term entrepreneur. For example, Nurul, the jamu seller with seven employees, does not consider the term entrepreneur to be related to big business, but does consider the term business-man/woman related to big business; "I call myself an entrepreneur. I don't call myself a business woman because business women have big businesses while my jamu business is still counted as a small business." Zuhra, who attended some college and is thirty years old and married with two children, explains that for the purpose of reporting her work to government surveyors, she considers her work to be entrepreneuring; "If someone asks me about my job, I will say I'm a jamu seller. I also often write this job as a seller or vendor, or entrepreneur." Dewi prefers to report her work as a trader; "I call myself a jamu seller. If I fill out the population survey, I write my work down as a trader, because I sell other things when I am taking a break from selling jamu."

Women jamu sellers usually identify with the traditional gender role of wife and homemaker, more so than as entrepreneurs or business women. This is consistent with other research findings about gender stereotypes affecting women's business behaviors, and the identities that they perceive they have access to (Lewis, 2013; Pollack, Burnette, & Hoyt, 2012). Brush (1992) theorizes that women business owners perceive themselves to be coordinators of relationships, of integrated networks including the family, friends, and neighbors. Jamu sellers fit this idea. They attribute a great importance with being in harmony with other people in their community, they emphasized their roles as wives and mothers, and really emphasized their community roles as helpers, givers, and caretakers, rather than profit motivations.

Summary

Jamu sellers are motivated non-economically by their public role as helpers in their communities, as well as time flexibility with their work, the prospect of making close friendships, providing clients with a health-promoting product, and preserving Javanese culture. Work time flexibility is connected to gender role activities of needing to be at home to care for children and the household, but non-economic motivations are not always directly related to gender, as we see with the motivation to provide a health promoting product to customers – which is more connected with gaining the trust of customers which can lead to a regular clientele base. Gaining regular clients in order to have regular business, and therefore a regular source of income, was a common theme within the discussion of non-economic motivations. This shows that there is a connection between economic and non-economic motivations.

6.2.2 Economic Motivations:

Even though jamu sellers associate their business with their roles as caregivers, as mothers and wives, economic motivations are important in pursuing their business; informal small scale jamu businesses supplement daily income needed to fulfill family needs for food, clothing, and housing. Jamu micro-entrepreneurs can be pushed or pulled; many sell jamu out of necessity (financial needs), while others have pulled motivations which are also economic in nature, for example with goals to send children to school, fix or buy a house, and buy a motorcycle. Economic goals reflect the values of women and their intentions of caring for their families, often putting the needs of others first. This research reflects how the gendered motivations of women entrepreneurs who sell jamu are similar to the research findings from other studies (Aidis et al., 2007; Guerin, 2006), where women put their families first and prioritize spending on the family over business. In accordance with these studies, women jamu sellers operate informally and on a small scale, because it fits their main priorities to provide household income while performing gendered duties in the home.

Risk Aversion

Almost half of the interviewees (i.e., thirteen) reported that selling jamu is a low risk endeavor. Making jamu requires little start-up capital and few resources. Purnama, married and mother of two (age 8 and 4), began her jamu business in 2006 because "it was easy and did not need much money to start". Endang, age 41 and married with two children, explains that she didn't need to buy very many materials; "the raw material is quite cheap, and the tools, like bottles, are easy to get." Aside from needing little money and resources (tools and ingredients such as herbs and roots) to start a jamu business, the risk of loss from not selling out of the product is low because leftover jamu can be reboiled and sold again the following day. Shinta, who is eighty years old and has lived in Yogyakarta her whole life, said that she could make the same amount of money selling jamu as she could working as peasant labor in agriculture; "However, if the harvest fails because of being eaten by leafhoppers then I got nothing." For Shinta, becoming an entrepreneur was more low risk than working for an employer in the agriculture sector.

This attitude of minimizing risks is consistent with most previous literature which associates risk with monetary concerns and concludes that women are more risk-averse than men because of the caretaker role; women are careful not to put the family in a risky financial position (Maclean, 2013; Brush, 1992; Bock, 2004; Loscocco and Bird, 2012; Mahadea, 2001). Women jamu sellers seem to initially fit this description; selling jamu requires little start-up capital because tools, ingredients, and recipes are easy to acquire and not expensive. Regardless, risks were discussed by jamu sellers with regard to monetary concerns including the need for capital at start-up, customer debt, and times of economic inflation. Nonmonetary concerns are also present including psychological risks such as feelings of shame while selling and encountering sexual harassment while selling.

Some informants reported that they needed to access sufficient funds to start their jamu businesses. For example, Ayu (age forty-eight and married with one child who is deceased) took out a loan for 500,000 Rupiah to start her business. In addition, lately prices for fuel and ingredients to make jamu have been increasing in Indonesia. Many sellers that were interviewed mentioned that increasing prices have made their jamu businesses less lucrative and more risky than in the past.

Communities expect women jamu sellers to always care for customers, regardless if they can pay at the time of consumption. This can put sellers in an awkward position by accumulating debt from customers who do not pay. Taking on customer debt is risky behavior which jamu sellers are expected to engage in. Sellers fear that they will lose business if they do not comply with this expectation. More about customer debt will be explored in the management strategies section titled, “reputation management”.

Non-monetary Risks

Four out of thirty jamu sellers reported feeling shame while selling jamu during the start-up phase of their business. Shame can come from social rejection from having few customers. This could be a common occurrence for sellers who are completely new to a selling area, new to the jamu sector, and have little networks built up. One seller said she felt shameful because she started her jamu business in order to compensate for a loss of wealth and failure of another start up; selling jamu signified, to her friends and family, a step down in her status. Sellers reported that they overcame their shame by working hard to gain clients. Sellers who make it through their first few months of business, a period often marked by uncertainty, must maintain a strong mental focus in order to not let shame feelings overcome their resolve to sell jamu. Kartini, 36 years old and married with two young children, gave an example of this obstacle;

> “There is one of my friends from the neighborhood around here who want to sell jamu. I taught her to make *jamu* but she did not dare to sell *jamu* because she [was] ashamed. To be able to sell you must have a strong mentality. My friend can survive selling *jamu* only about 1 week, after that she was not selling anymore. I told her that she should not be ashamed to sell.”

Smith & McElwee (2011) note that shame is an under-researched concept in entrepreneurship theory and research. They describe shame as a unique emotion because it is a “moral and self-conscious emotion that is different from the basic emotions” (Smith & McElwee, 2011, p. 92) such as sadness and joy (Tracy & Robins, 2004). This means that shame can influence individuals to act according to cultural norms and values in order to avoid shame feelings from social stigma (Goffman, 1955; Tracy & Robins, 2004). Shame (in the case of appeasement by subordination to others) can also affect the motivations of would-be entrepreneurs, possibly causing individuals to avoid entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurial growth (Bloch, 2011; Doern & Goss, 2014; Ntseane, 2004). Within entrepreneurship discourse, discussions of shame are associated with masculinity and the study of men entrepreneurs; there is very little research available about shame feelings that women entrepreneurs experience (Smith & McElwee, 2011). Furthermore entrepreneurship literature has managed to ignore the notion of risks associated with psychological pain, focusing solely on financial risks (Green & Cohen, 1995).

Green and Cohen (1995) discuss shame and vulnerability during the business start-up phase for women entrepreneurs as a consideration of risk management; they noted that women entrepreneurs reported that one of the hardest parts of starting a business was feeling intense shame in the phase of rejection. With any business, there will be risk of emotional drain from such intense emotions. Other research has found shame to be associated with women’s business success (Bloch, 2011; Ntseane, 2004); for example, women entrepreneurs in post-Soviet Russia felt pushed to downplay their roles as breadwinners in their households in order to protect their unemployed husband’s pride (Bloch, 2011).

Another risk of selling jamu is sexual harassment; eleven jamu sellers reported being sexual harassed while selling jamu. Jamu gendong are associated with prostitution and sexual prowess, making sellers a target of attention. Sexual harassment may be a common risk for women entrepreneurs; Haupt & Fester (2012) found that women construction entrepreneurs in South Africa were sexually harassed by government employees who were supposed to be providing them with trainings and assistance. This topic needs more exploration in gender entrepreneurship research. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the management strategies section titled, “reputation management”.

Desire for Independence:

Six jamu sellers specifically mentioned that having independence was a motivation for engaging in selling jamu. Independence in this study was described by participants as the desire to work on their own, without an employer, and as not being dependent on another person’s income (such as a husband). Those that prefer self-employment often mentioned that by working on their own, they felt less pressure and stress, hinting that employers in the past had exploited and mistreated them. Three sellers spoke about working independently to avoid an employer’s oversight and pressure.

Prior research has found that entrepreneurs are motivated by independence because they associate independence with control over their own destiny (Aidis et al., 2007; Cromie, 1987; Fenwick, 2002b; Green & Cohen, 1995), and doing something exclusively for themselves (Aidis et al., 2007). Independence is also associated with having access to additional resources (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012) and having economic independence from a spouse or family members (Heemskerk, 2003). Elam (2008) argues that perceptions about independence depend on structural pressures related to gender inequality; for example, women who work for corporations are less likely to be in managerial positions and, therefore, have less control over their work environment, making them more likely to view self-employment as a way to claim control over their work environment (Devine, 1994; Winn, 2004).

Zuhra, a 30 year old married seller who has some college education and two young children says that she chose to sell jamu because; "If I work in factories there has to be a long period of time and pressure. I do not want to have pressure at work. My first job was selling *jamu* and my business has survived up until now… I want to work on my own, independently." Another seller, Adine, who is also married with three grown children says that she prefers to work alone because doesn't like to work with other people, especially "temperamental persons." Both Adine and Zhura feel less pressure and stress when they work for themselves instead of working for an employer but neither specify the types of pressure and stress that they experienced through employer oversight; instead, they hint at being mistreated or exploited in the work place. Research about gender and the workplace has revealed that women are often mistreated and exploited in factories, especially in developing countries (Harley, 2007; Soni-sinha, 2009). Adine's and Zhura's experiences support prior research findings which highlight that engaging in self-employment gives women more control of their work environment, including their operation procedures and daily activities, especially with regard to work and pay schedules (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Franck, 2012; Noritake, 2009; Strier, 2010) and a means to escape sexual abuse in their work environment (Strier, 2010).

Four sellers discussed their work selling jamu as a way to independently support their families. Gita, a 55 year old married seller with three adult children (the youngest of whom she was able to send to college to learn Japanese) also mentioned that she preferred self-employment. However, she also states that she wishes her family would help her more often;

> "Sometimes my daughter helps me on Sunday when she doesn't work. My husband never helps me... Even though he is a cab driver, he does not take me to my place of selling, I just walk myself. He does not want to take me, he thinks it is better to look for passengers so he can try to earn money himself."

Gita is the breadwinner of her household, she reported that if she only relies on her husband's income, she might not eat. As we see with Gita, working alone without help is not her wish; therefore, independence in her case is not empowering because she is still doing the majority of the work in the household and bears the financial responsibility of the family;

> "Women take responsibility of the household. My husband is a pedicab driver, and his income is uncertain. So women need to earn money too. If I rely on my husband on his uncertain income, I just can eat when he gets the income. But, when he doesn't get any income, I wouldn't have any meals to eat. All needs, tuition fees and social donation are my responsibility."

Thus, in Gita's case, working independently doesn't mean less stressful work. She must sell jamu in order to eat and take care of her family without guaranteed income from her husband. Working alone, therefore, becomes an added stress.

It is evident that those who are unhappy with their marriage or who have unreliable spouses are more likely to be motivated to make their own income in order to compensate for the lack of support that they receive. Hastinah wanted to be independent from her husband because, as is common for Muslim men in Indonesia to have multiple wives, he had, against her wishes, married a second wife; "The problem is that he had two wives, so he seldom gave to me because he gave everything to his new wife." Hastinah worked alone to support her six children. Eka, age 55 and divorced with two adult children, also valued her independence from others; "I am proud of myself because I can make my own money and raise my kids and send them to school. I don't need somebody else to live, and I am independent." Eka did not discuss her divorce but one can question whether this event was a determinant factor in her decision to become an entrepreneur. These examples show how women are facing social constraints related to hierarchical gender norms which motivate entrepreneurship activities.

Entrepreneurial motivations attributed to financial independence has been discussed in research findings (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2013; Noritake, 2009); for example, Al-Dajani and Marlow (2013) found that women who worked to bring in extra income to the family could establish greater power and control over financial expenditures in the household. On the contrary, my research reflects how financial autonomy does not necessarily provide empowerment, especially for women who have husbands who are not supportive. In the situation of some jamu entrepreneurs, financial autonomy is a push motivation because women feel that they have no other choice.

Need for income and financial expenditures

Jamu sellers emphasized their motivation to sell jamu for income to improve their own, their family, and their community's financial situation. At least six sellers use their earnings to pay back debts and at least four sellers put a portion of their earnings into savings. Savings are used to improve housing, transportation, and education. In addition jamu sellers make a habit out of donating a portion of their savings to their community (social contributions to nyumbang). A good and stable financial situation is important for sellers to maintain a good status within their communities; loans are usually taken from community organizations (such as arisans – see glossary for explanation), or family members and those who are financially stable can afford to put money into group savings on a consistent basis and pay back loans. In addition, savings can be useful for growing a business, improving business production (buying a blender), or improving business selling methods (such as investing in better transportation and selling with a motorbike, rather than strapping jamu to one's back).

Nisrina, age 49 and married with two adult children, tells her story about her decision to become a jamu seller so that she could pay back debt from a business deal that went sour;

> "I chose to sell jamu because I didn't have any choice at that time. I had a business in clothing, but I went bankrupt because I was fooled by my business partner at that time. I lost much money and I had to

> pay the wages of my employees. I was really stressed and ashamed.
>
> After several months I started to think and look for another job that can relieve my stress. I finally met with one of my relatives named Ibu [name removed for privacy] and started to learn how to make jamu."

She explains that selling jamu was a means to an end; to pay her debt. "Before, I never thought that I would become a jamu seller. I really had a will to do anything as long as I could pay my debt, and also relieve my stress." Nisrina now continues to sell because she "can contribute some money to [her] community, pay the electricity, pay back [her] debt, and have some savings." By paying back her debt and building up savings, she is ensuring that in times of need herself and her family will have options and access to money. Building savings, taking out loans, and maintaining the financial stability of the family is a central component of women's gender roles in Java (Ong & Peletz, 1995)[31]; selling jamu is a means to do so.

Javanese culture is community oriented[32] and many sellers use a portion of their earnings for social donations; giving to family or friends for special ceremonies such as circumcisions, weddings, or new born babies. Social donations can also be given to elderly relatives who need extra support to buy food, pay bills, or for other living costs. At least nine sellers reported that they used their earnings to donate to their communities including family they don’t live with (parents, siblings, cousins, and extended family), friends, customers, and neighbors. Many sellers also donate to their communities through arisans. Those who belong to jamu associations give money to their association[33]. At least eleven sellers are members or were past members of a jamu association. Some sellers will donate to communities in which they sell their jamu product and many will give free jamu to customers who cannot afford to buy it. Through such social donations, sellers maintain a good reputation and membership within communities where they live and sell; sellers who can afford to participate more in their communities, therefore, often will. Dewi, age 45 and married with two adult children, reported that she donates to her customers who are having special events;

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[31] Ong and Peletz (1995) are also quick to point out that the feminine role of financial manager is also associated with inferiority to men (see section 2.2.4 of thesis).

[32] The first two leaders of Indonesia after Independence from the Dutch and Japanese (following World War Two), Sukarno and Suharto, often referred to their country as a "Gotong Royong state"; a country with ideals of community welfare. Gotong Royong means "mutual assistance"(Ferzacca, 2001, p. 225).

> “When I have a buyer who is having a family event, I must contribute because… I associated with them every day and I know about them.”

Not all sellers contribute to the communities that they sell within but if a seller feels close to a buyer she/he is more likely to contribute in this way.

Four sellers reported that they sometimes give free drinks to people who are in need, such as mothers with children who cannot work, or people who must walk long distances. One seller who also sells food said that if she does not sell all of her food she will sometimes give it away. Nisrina gives away left over jamu that does not sell during the rainy season; “When the rain comes, not every bottle of jamu will sell out, there is usually one or two bottles leftover- In those situations when I come across scavengers, I will give the rest of jamu to him/her." Indah reports that she helps those who are perhaps mentally ill or unstable; "There are also crazy men who always ask for my *jamu*. I respond to them as usual and still serve them well because my intention is to help others."

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[33] Jamu associations are local groups of jamu sellers who come together each month or on a quarterly basis in order to discuss problems and come up with group solutions, learn recipes or other skills, access helpful government assistance, and partake in arisans for business loans or business savings. Often jamu sellers must pay a membership which is put towards purchasing lunch/refreshments for meetings and association administration costs.

Caring for others is an important part of female gender role identity in Java (Currie, 1994; Mulligan, 2005; O'Shaughnessy, 2009), and as mentioned in chapter five (context of jamu), producing and selling jamu is intrinsically linked to the caretaker role (Handayani et al., 2001). Social donations are considered important by other women entrepreneurs in other countries as well (Ntseane, 2004; Guerin, 2006; Turner, 2005). Aside from providing membership, social donations can also raise a person's social status and can serve as a type of social security; entrepreneurs who give a lot to their community know that they can count on others for support when they need it. Mutually beneficial public donations seem to be a trend for women who are operating microbusinesses in informal sectors within developing countries but as we see in the case of customer debt, sometimes this expectation can work against women business owners.

Another benefit of earning income and building savings is that sellers can afford to pay for their children's education; thirteen out of thirty sellers specifically mentioned education for their children as a motivation for selling jamu. Dewi, a seller with little education, sums it up best; "The most important tasks for parents are to send their children to school and hope that their child's work will be better than their parents." In other words, education is a path to more and better opportunities. Gita, age fifty-five and married with three adult children, was able to send her youngest to University by selling jamu; “Now she is working at the Museum… as a guide.” Gita’s daughter is proof that the dream of sending a child to school for a brighter future is possible.

Women entrepreneurs, in other studies, are also motivated to invest in children’s education (Blumberg, 2001; Eversole, 2004; Noritake, 2009). Blumberg (2001) found that women entrepreneurs often take a more active approach than men in investing their earnings toward children’s education and Noritake (2009) found child education to be one of the main reasons to become an entrepreneur. It is common for women entrepreneurs, more so than men, to invest their income in family and community needs rather than spend it on themselves or their business (Espinal & Grasmuck, 1997; Guerin, 2006; Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013; Ntseane, 2004; Sainz & Larin, 1994).

Having children can serve as a long term retirement plan. Many of the elderly sellers mentioned that their children support them in their old age. It is, therefore, in the best interest of parents to ensure that their children will have a good future with many opportunities. Other studies do not consider this, most likely because they focus on interviewing entrepreneurs in the earlier phases of their lives – during start-up activities. Perhaps more research conducted on retired entrepreneurs or entrepreneurs who have been in operation for 20 years or more, would have similar findings.

At least six sellers were able to build or buy a house as well as fix a house they already owned with their earnings from selling jamu. Ratih, sixty-five years old and married, told her story of living in a small space with her mother-in-law and her six children before using her jamu earnings to invest in a house. Indah, a 72 year old widower with 4 children stated that she was able to improve the house that she lived in; “the income from selling *jamu* was used to repair the house by installing electricity, buying a television, and home furnishings...” Improving a home with electricity or plumbing are helpful investments because they allow a jamu business to thrive (electricity enables the use of blenders and plumbing provides access to a closer source of water). Three sellers reported that they did not make enough income to afford to buy, build, or refurbish their home.

Selling route, transportation, and mobility

Jamu sellers need financial capital to invest in mobility (i.e. purchase bicycles, motorbikes, or stalls) in order to access markets with more clients, and transport their products without physical difficulty; improving transportation can allow for more time flexibility and access to more regions, and therefore a greater portion of the market. Selling routes depend on where the seller lives, where they can find customers, the mode of transportation that they have access to, and the time of day that they can go out and sell. Some sellers prefer to be mobile while others sell from a market stall. Maghfira, age fifty-two explains the difference between each type of operation;

> “Selling jamu by walking around is different than selling by staying in a stall; it depends on the way we reach our costumer. We have to choose which is more comfortable for us. Once I tried to sell jamu by walking around; I did it for two weeks but I gave up. I have a deformed leg and it made me get tired easily. So I decide to find a spot in the market that I could use to sit and sell jamu. I have tried to sell jamu by bicycle, but it was hard to get customers. Selling jamu by going around is different than having our own places. If we have a

> particular place to sell jamu, the buyer is the one who look for the jamu seller. If go around with cycling or by foot, the jamu seller is the one who look for the buyer."

Maghfira touches down on two important themes; (1) having a comfortable method of transportation and (2) finding or attracting customers. Many sellers prefer to sell from a stall because they don't have the strength to walk while carrying heavy bottles. If sellers have a bicycle or motorbike with a basket, they do not need to worry about carrying the weight on their back, but it still requires some strength, good eyesight, and (if using a motorbike) gas money. At least four sellers use cell phones for their business as well in order to take orders by text, sms, or calls.

At least two sellers were able to improve their transportation methods through their sales of jamu by purchasing motorcycles. Vina, a 57 year old married seller with 7 children stated that she previously only had a bike but through her jamu earnings, she was able to purchase six motorcycles; "selling *jamu* is a blessing for our family. For example, before, we only have a bike, but now we are able to buy motorcycles. Up to six, because every child [needs] one."

Mobile sellers must find their customers. Sellers with a stall must wait and allow buyers to find them. Maghfira explains; "Selling jamu in the traditional market does not make me have a connection with the same buyer every day, they just come and go. People who come to the traditional market - sometimes they buy jamu and other times they don't." She makes the point that it is harder to gain regular customers at crowded markets and if sellers find an affordable stall in an area where there are few buyers, they may not be able to sell enough jamu to pay the rent for the stall space. Stalls in heavily trafficked areas, with many potential buyers, have higher rent. Many sellers would like to invest in a stall because of the difficulty of caring jamu on their back, but it is an extra risk of failure, and requires a decent amount of capital.

Some sellers cannot sell any other way than by foot. Eka, age fifty-five, discusses the importance of accessing narrow and winding routes; "I'm still selling jamu by walking, and carrying it on my back, because the selling route is too narrow and winding, so it might be difficult to sell by bicycle or cart." Another seller, Gita also prefers to sell by foot because she has issues with her eyesight and fears falling off of a bike.

Methods of transport for sellers can make a difference in customers. Some routes can only be accessed by foot but having the strength to carry jamu on one's back each day can be difficult, especially for aging sellers. Sellers who must change their transport method (at least eight sellers reported that they wish to change their business to sell by having a stall) could potentially lose access to a particular route and, therefore, their entire market. Switching from selling jamu by foot to selling in a stall may be a difficult process that requires enough capital for the business to survive while building up a new clientele.

Entrepreneurship research finds that mobility is important to women and their businesses (Al-sadi et al., 2011; Gomez, Southiseng, Walsh, & Sapuay, 2011; Hasan et al., 2011; Heemskerk, 2003; Ntseane, 2004; Williamson et al., 2004). Women often have trouble accessing mobility because of structural gender inequality; women are expected to stay in the home (Gomez et al., 2011) or be accompanied by a man (or sometimes another woman) when they are outside the home (Al-sadi et al., 2011; Gomez et al., 2011; Hasan et al., 2011; Heemskerk, 2003; Ntseane, 2004;).

Lack of access to mobility can be damaging to business profit; Loscocco and Bird's (2012) research found that owners with home based businesses made less money than businesses which operated outside of the home at a separate location. Sometimes women’s personal and business reputations rely on their access to family or spouses who are willing to accompany them into spaces where business is conducted (Heemskerk, 2003). Women also often need to get permission from spouses and families before they can conduct business or leave the home (Hasan et al., 2011; Ntseane, 2004). Mobility also has to do with bureaucratic regulations, for example, regarding the cost of a permit or identification card to sell within specific regions (Bhimji, 2010), or a license to drive a vehicle (Al-sadi et al., 2011).

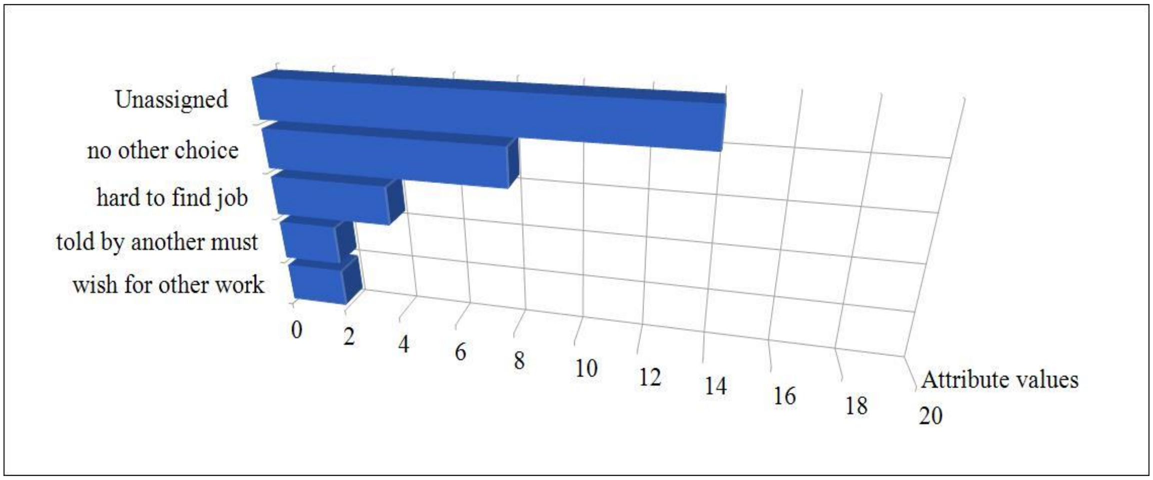
Existing gender norms in Yogyakarta allow women the freedom to walk alone outside and conduct business without needing a man’s company. However, some sellers reported that because of sexual harassment from men, they have sought male relatives or spouses to accompany them when traveling. Another seller reported that her husband did not want her to leave the house, so she only produces jamu while her husband and employees sell it. Jamu sellers in Yogyakarta do not need a permit to sell in any market areas, but in other regions, such as Jakarta, policies are in place that limit who can sell in particular market areas of the city (The Jakarta Post, 2013). Jamu sellers reported that their mobility constraints are mostly due to lacking access to financial capital in order to purchase the type of mobility that they prefer. Williamson et al. (2004) also found that the costs of transportation are high for women entrepreneurs in Ghana, and women often lack financial capital to deal with extra costs associated with mobility, such as purchasing gas, buying a bus pass, or obtaining a passport (for those who must travel to other neighboring countries) (Williamson et al., 2004; Aidis et al., 2007; Bloch, 2011; Bushell, 2008; Chamlee-wright, 2002).

Pushed vs Pulled Entrepreneurship:

Push entrepreneurship is common among women in developing countries because of poverty and gender inequality (Aidis et al., 2007; Allen et al., 2007; Kelley et al., 2010; Pines, Lerner, & Schwartz, 2010; Yetim, 2008). Sixteen jamu sellers in the sample reported feelings of being pushed into selling jamu out of necessity, feeling they have no other choice, often because of financial situations, difficulty in finding other forms of employment, and sometimes because of pressure from family members (such as husbands who do not want their wives working outside the home or mother-in-laws who want to pass on their business). Though selling jamu can be beneficial to sellers and their families, some can only hope to make enough money so that they and their children can have enough to eat. The pressure that these individuals feel to provide for their families puts them in an inauspicious position. As was mentioned in the section on independence, many of the married sellers cannot depend on their husbands for income and most of the jamu sellers, as we will see, contribute fifty percent or more of the family finances. Women in Indonesia work informally four times more than men as contributing family members (Klaveren et al., 2010). Javanese women are expected to put their families first and listen to their husbands, who sometimes have an aversion to their wives working outside of the home, or making more income than themselves (Ong & Peletz, 1995).

It is important to understand that, although many of the participants reported that they felt pushed or that they had a lack of choice to work, not all sellers who were originally pushed remain pushed entrepreneurs. Many prefer jamu selling over other forms of work and continue to sell for reasons other than an exclusive need for income. Other research has similarly found that pushed entrepreneurship is not static (Aidis et al., 2007; Eijdenberg & Masurel, 2013; Franck, 2012; Humbert & Drew, 2010; Kirkwood, 2009; Williams & Gurtoo, 2011b; Williams, 2009).

Figure 10: Reasons for feeling pushed



Almost a third of the participants reported that they continue to sell jamu because they have no other choice. For example Gita, age fifty-five and married with three adult children, reported that she is pushed to continue her work as a jamu seller because of her health. She has an eye disease, glaucoma, for which she takes medication from the doctor regularly; “I buy 170,000 rupiahs for the medicine (17 USD)[34]; 57,000 rupiahs for drops (5.70 USD), 50,000 rupiahs (5 USD) for medical registration. All of them must be purchased every month". A seller who makes 40,000-50,000 rupiah per day (about 5 USD) would lose their entire weeks earnings to pay for this medicine. Gita specified that she could make 45,000 – 75,000 Rp per day (4.50 – 7.50 USD)[35]. In order to afford her medication and fulfill her traditional familial gender role, to provide for her family's needs, she must continue to sell jamu. At the time of the interview, Gita was paying back loans she took out to fund her daughter's college education; "I just finished funding my daughter's college and I still have debt for paying for her graduation ceremony… Every month I pay back Rp 200,000 [20 USD]." Gita's situation exemplifies how the institution of gender influences the motivations of individuals to engage in entrepreneurship. Gita must continue to work hard every day to manage her illness and pay back loans; she has always prioritized her familial duties, to provide for her children, therefore saving money for her own business goals or self-care has not been possible. "I'd like to open a stall. Many students eat at stalls in their return home from school. That is my plan, but up until now it has not been realized. I need more capital to make it true…" If Gita could afford a stall, selling food or jamu would be easier because she would not need to carry her product on her back all day. However, she has put her daughter's education before her business goal, and in order to pay her debt and afford her eye medication, she must continue to work selling jamu by pick aback. If she fails to continually earn enough income from jamu sales in order to afford her medication, her illness will get worse; "If I do not take the medicine, my vision gets dark and I get a headache." Gita is continuously pushed to continue selling out of necessity, when perhaps she would prefer to rest because of her health condition.

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[34] All conversions provided are for the summer of 2013, when the conversion rate was 1 Indonesian rupiah = .0001 USD

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[35] Meaning that she can carry 15 small bottles of jamu on her back per day (3,000-5,000 Rp per bottle = .30 - .50 USD per bottle)

Another example of being pushed to sell jamu is represented by Dinda, a forty-three year old woman who is married with four children. She explains that she was pushed to sell jamu when she was fired from her job as a laundry worker; "My daughters said that they don't want to be jamu sellers, they said it is disgusting. However, it happened to me. I don't want to be a jamu seller. But God gave me another path. Before I became a jamu seller, I was a laundry labourer- it was very hard work. It was not easy… and the boss fired me." Dinda then entered the jamu micro sector; she has been selling since 2009 and has since had financial and social success as a seller; "I've gotten many things from selling jamu. I got a fortune from selling jamu and I got friends, some of them even give me a presents." When asked about her feelings of being a jamu seller now, Dinda replied; "Of course I'm very proud, because I can pay my children's school fees and I can feed them as well." Once again we see that the traditional gender role of caring for children, by paying for education and food, is a major motivation for continuing with a jamu business. These examples highlight that the motivations of women to become entrepreneurs are shaped by larger structural forces and existing gender roles in society.

In most regions of Indonesia, the social order allots men greater amounts of authority and women are expected to be subordinate (Patterson et al., 2012). As was mentioned in chapter 3: literature review, in the section titled "2.2.4: Gender views about work in Indonesia", popular local discourse shows that the ideal Indonesian Muslim woman is a devoted wife and mother who supports her family and serves her husband;

her career is inferior to her husband's, and she works only to support the family. Nurul did not choose her profession, she had no other choice than to sell jamu because it is what her husband decided for her; "The reason I sell *jamu* is because I want to work but my husband has forbidden me to work outside the house. My husband searched for those who can make *jamu* and he ordered me to study with these people [jamu sellers]." Nisrina's husband's aversion to having his wife work outside the home is not unique. Mernissi (1987) explains how "Islam uses space as a device for sexual control" (p. xvi) by looking at Moroccan society (most Moroccans are Muslim, much like Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim) where the law stipulates (in article 35) that wives have the right to visit their families, but any other reason for leaving the home must be negotiated with her husband. Sheikh Binbaz (1912-1999), a respected scholar and religious leader of Saudi Arabia, asserted that "taking the woman out" of the home meant to take her "out from her innate nature and character which God has moulded her into" (Sidani, 2005, p. 503). This idea extends to other religions and cultures as well; Yamamoto and Ran (2014) note that in Japan, individuals who value traditional gender-roles "tend to conform to the gendered division of labor of men working outside to financially support the family and women caring for the home and family" (p. 925).

Nisrina reported that she feels it is better for her to continue her business rather than take the risk of financial loss for starting a different type of enterprise of her own choosing;

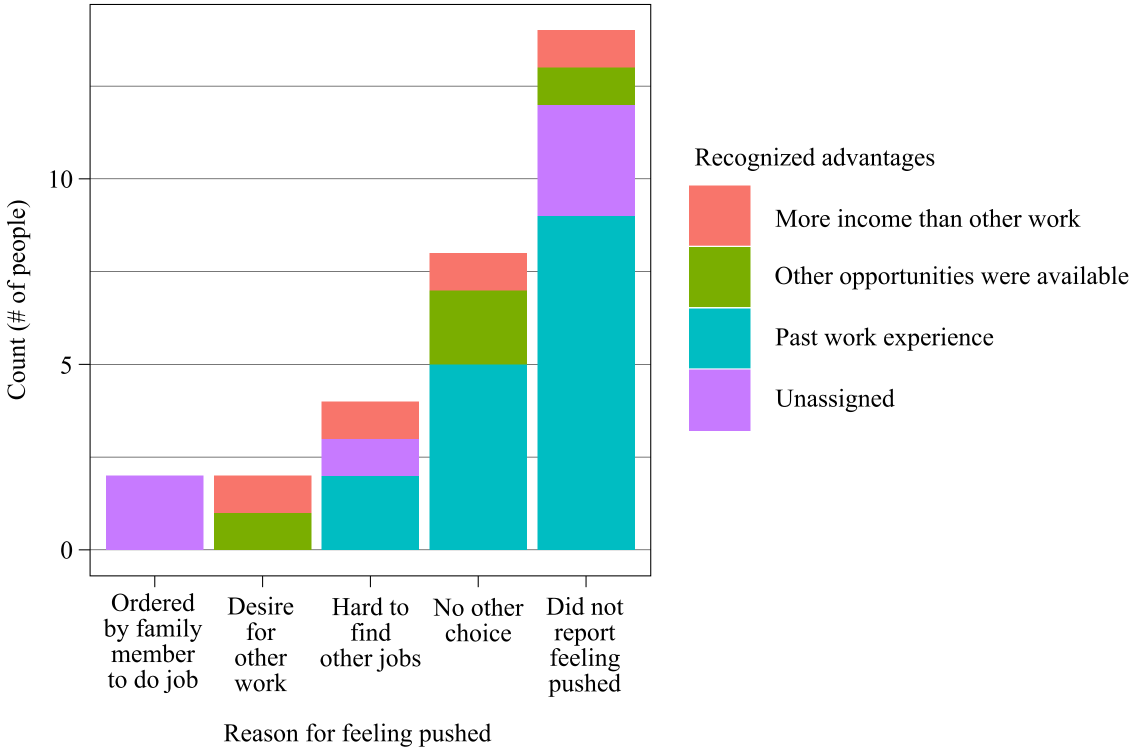
> "Now it is difficult if I want to start a different business. If I moved to another kind of business it would mean that I need more capital, and I must have the courage to take a risk again. I do not dare to take the

> loss again. Therefore, I stay with this *jamu* business that already exists."

One other woman also sells jamu because she feels she must be in accordance with her husband's wishes and another mentions that her mother-in-law decided for her. Many sellers feel that it is hard to find other work besides selling jamu and those who feel they have no other choice often discuss the difficulty in taking a financial risk or finding capital. For many, selling jamu is the best choice for maintaining their income and finances and respecting the wishes of their husband.

Many sellers reported that they had other work experiences and alternative opportunities other than jamu selling which shows that regardless if sellers identify as pushed entrepreneurs they still may have other (less attractive) opportunities besides selling jamu. Four sellers specified that they decided to sell jamu because it was more lucrative than other employment and twenty interviewees out of thirty reported that they worked in other jobs before becoming a jamu seller. Nine out of thirty also reported that they could have chosen to do another opportunity that was offered or available to them. Figure 9 shows that some pushed sellers reported that they had other opportunities, work experiences, or specified that selling jamu was the most lucrative work choice; this shows that some pushed sellers may have chosen to sell jamu over other less attractive options for making income.

Figure 11: Pushed sellers and other work options



Summary:

Jamu selling is an attractive option for work, because it requires low capital for start-up and there is a very low projection of loss; regardless, customer debt, feelings of shame, and sexual harassment are risks and jamu selling can be emotionally draining. Financial independence does not necessarily equate to empowerment. Jamu sellers are often pushed into selling, and are unable to rely on a husband's support to care for their household. Regardless, jamu sellers report that they are proud of their resourcefulness and accomplishments.

Entrepreneurship is not an isolated event, but exists within larger social contexts; entrepreneurial motivations are strongly influenced by cultural context and the economy.

Many women in Java must work to help support their families because of the effects of the Asian financial crisis. Some may be driven to sell jamu because it allows them to organize their time flexibly so that they can fulfill all their gender role responsibilities in the home and still make income. Sellers also feel more comfortable with the gender role identity of dedicated wives and mothers who are selling jamu to help their family, rather than business women or entrepreneurs. Legitimacy, or "culturally constructed moral boundaries for entrepreneurial activities" (Welter, 2011, p. 173), is earned by sellers who emphasize their gender role of caretaker, mother, and dedicated wife.

The motivations for client health, friendships, and time flexibility are noneconomic motivations, but jamu sellers link these motivations to accessing the market and more clients. For example, the noneconomic motivation for building friendships with customers is linked to a need for recognition, as well as a desire to have a consistent customer base, and therefore consistent income generation. In other words, the data shows that (what initially looks like) noneconomic motivations can be interconnected with resource generation, and sometimes financial motivations, showing that financial needs are an important driver of entrepreneurship for women jamu sellers in Yogyakarta.

Throughout different regions of the world, similar traditional gender roles and wide spread patriarchal gender inequality has contributed to create some reoccurring patterns regarding women's motivations to engage in entrepreneurship. Women jamu sellers reflect these patterns; as are most women entrepreneurs, they are motivated by flexible time management, achievement and recognition, low risk, independence, and income for family needs. Regardless of these shared similarities, jamu sellers also reported unique motivations.

Unique reasons for engaging in jamu micro-entrepreneurship include preservation of Javanese culture, providing people with a health promoting product, and making close friendships. We also find that sellers are considering topics that have previously not been discussed in relation to entrepreneurship; children's education and retirement, strategies to maintain flexible work time, profitability through social recognition and close friendships with buyers, economic and non-economic risks aside from start-up capital, and non-empowering independence. Some of these findings may be present in cases for women in other countries, and are worth reviewing.

6.3 Management Strategies:

This section will discuss the impact of gender on access to and management of resources and business strategizing. Important resources for jamu entrepreneurs include financial capital, human capital (knowledge, skills, and labor), and social capital (networks, relationships, and reputation). In other words, jamu sellers need money, friends or family labor, skills, jamu knowledge, and good social standing (good relationships with the people surrounding them and access to social networks) in order to establish and run their business. Exploring the effects of gender roles (i.e. mother, wife, and caretaker) on access to financial, human, and social capital is helpful for understanding the management strategies that jamu sellers adopt in order to run a business and tend to family responsibilities.

Management strategies for entrepreneurship help to describe and explain the behaviors of entrepreneurs; reflecting the behavior as well as the cognitive processes involved in entrepreneurial activities. The topic of management strategies compliments the topic of motivations; motivations reflect the reasoning for entrepreneurship, even after the behavior or event has happened, but management strategies reflect how entrepreneurship is actually done. For example, jamu sellers report that they are motivated to make close friendships in order to make more profit and to gain recognition– in terms of management strategies we learn how they do this through reputation management.

Other than reputation management, other management strategies include forming collaborative relationships, splitting the household labor among family members, engaging in knowledge sharing activities, and investing finances through informal institutions, large purchases (buying a house), or children's education. Some of the strategies of jamu sellers are similar to what other women entrepreneurs do in other regions, while some are unique considerations that could use more exploration in entrepreneurship literature.

6.3.1 Social Capital: Reputation Management and Collaborative Relationships

Social capital deals with the relationships that entrepreneurs have with other people and organizations, including access to social networks, which can largely depend on an entrepreneur's reputation or social legitimacy. Social capital is important to entrepreneurs because resources can be accessed from a variety of business, neighborhood, friend, or familial connections. For example, many jamu sellers reported that they were able to borrow materials from a friend or family member to start-up their jamu business – without this connection, perhaps they would have found that starting-up their business was more difficult.

Networks enable jamu entrepreneurs to expand their access to clients, materials, and training. In order to access more networks, jamu sellers work hard to build and maintain reputations that the community understands and respects, such as the gender role of dedicated wife and mother. This section will discuss the relationships between sellers and large scale producers (factories), as well as the way that jamu sellers perceive themselves – and how they connect with clients, impacting how they 'do' entrepreneurship.

Reputation management

An important part of building social capital (i.e. more friends, more respect, and more social legitimacy) is through building a reputation as a good, trustworthy person. Part of appearing trust-worthy is acting in accordance with societal gender norms (Butler, 1990, 2004). The majority of jamu sellers up-played their role as wives and mothers who were working to support their families and help their husbands; perhaps defaulting to their gender role, even while entrepreneuring, in order to appear legitimate in their business activities. Most women jamu sellers reported that they 'fit in' by selling jamu in their communities (thirteen sellers report that their business type is normal and five report that they are very proud of their work) but eight out of thirty jamu sellers (all women) reported that they felt they had to prove to others that they could be successful jamu sellers, before they were given recognition from family members and spouses as capable. As we shall see, push-back in the form of doubt, as well as disrespect, from families and communities may make it harder for women to build their reputation as a skilled and respected entrepreneur.

It is possible that, even for work associated with female gender roles, it can be harder for women to build their reputation as a skilled entrepreneur, because of push-back from families and communities which believe women belong at home. Aidis et al. (2007) had a similar finding in their research of Lithuanian and Ukrainian women entrepreneurs, who often had to prove themselves competent to men, especially those who were young and female since they deviated so dramatically from societal expectations that they should be married and at home with children. When others do not believe in women's entrepreneurial capabilities or respect them, it is reportedly frustrating (Bushell, 2008) and considered a barrier to success (Al-sadi et al., 2011). For example, Loscocco & Bird (2012) found that women more so than men reported that customers are more willing to buy a product from another vendor for more money because they do not perceive women entrepreneurs as capable to provide a worthy product.

Jamu sellers engage in daily reputation management activities by behaving politely towards customers, smiling, and looking energetic, which may be more important for women than men jamu sellers since Javanese masculinity is associated with spiritual potency and emotional control, meaning that smiling may be less expected of men[36]. At least seven informants discussed the importance of having polite behavior while selling jamu. Often they spoke about maintaining a friendly appearance, even if customers or community members are rude towards them. Gaining loyal customers, and therefore access to client networks, requires reputation management; friendly customer service and support, and providing a product with a consistent taste.

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[36] Arimbi (2011) shows that mass media and globalization has created an image of young women in Java as always beautiful and smiling, while mass media for young men is different, in that beauty is not a focus.

An important aspect of providing excellence in service for jamu sellers is having a healthy appearance, both physically and mentally. Product effectivity, as was discussed in the section about customer health, depends not only on the actual product but also on the buyer's perception of the product and the person who sells it. Many sellers explained that loyal customers care about the 'hand' that makes the jamu. If that hand is not well, then the jamu that the hand produces cannot be healthy either. Adine explains; "I will quit if I already feel tired. I sell the jamu to help the people to get healthy- then why do I not look healthy? [laughs]" The importance of looking healthy is also echoed by Shinta, age 80;

> "In my opinion, no matter the taste of my jamu, as long as I serve my customers in a friendly way, they will always buy jamu from me…
> Even if I have a very good tasting jamu, but I never smile to my customers, then they will never come back again because they would be afraid."

Having a tired or unfriendly appearance reflects negatively on one's product. Sellers must always be mindful of their physical appearance and behavior while interacting with the public. As one can imagine, it may be difficult to keep smiling, and not get grumpy, when carrying a heavy load on one's back for long periods of time, encountering harassers, encountering customers who will not pay back debts, and having less energy because of old age or sickness. There are some challenges in connecting with communities, in order to sell jamu, which may make reputation development difficult;

some customers or community members may disrespect jamu sellers because of hierarchical gender positioning. For example, sellers reported that sexual harassment was a risk associated with selling jamu, and many sellers also reported that customers felt entitled to their product, regardless if they could pay.

Customer debt

Researchers have found that women business owners often feel that they must allow customers to buy on credit, for fear that they will otherwise drive away business (Cornwall, 2007; Guerin, 2006; Heemskerk, 2003). Often, women entrepreneurs lack the power needed to enforce such credit to be paid back, and in the end it is they who suffer when customers refuse to pay (Heemskerk, 2003; Cornwall, 2007). Regardless, credit can be an effective system for entrepreneurs to attract new customers who would otherwise not have the means to buy their product, and if it works, they can charge higher prices to those who buy on credit (Cornwall, 2007).

Women entrepreneurs can also use debt as a source for their own financial security, calling on favors from those who are in debt to them, or asking for payment in times when they need it; "when attempting to understand entrepreneurial activities, therefore, debts and debt claims are an essential indicator of financial security, whereas income is almost meaningless." (Guerin, 2006, p. 555). Therefore, debt and credit can be a strategy for financial security for those who are savvy about who they conduct business with. However, taking on debt by allowing others to buy on credit can be detrimental to women business owners when they lack the power to enforce borrowers to repay them.

Seven sellers report that they provide jamu to customers on credit and one seller who also sells clothing will allow her customers to buy clothes on credit. Other research has also cited this behavior from women entrepreneurs (Bhimji, 2010; Cornwall, 2007; Guerin, 2006). Three of the seven jamu sellers reported that customer debts made business difficult (to be specific; customer debt took away seller's resources to continue buying ingredients to make more jamu). Sellers reported two coping mechanisms for dealing with in-debt customers; (1) remind customers of their debt (this is done only subtly), and (2) charge different prices to customers based on their wealth or willingness.

Women, due to their lower social status and positioning, can be taken advantage of, and go into debt, if they allow customers to buy on credit. The cultural gender expectation for women in Java is to be subordinate to the needs of the community and, as a jamu seller, women are expected to provide a social service. Three jamu sellers reported that they feel that they cannot refuse nonpaying customers, and this is detrimental to their business. Sellers reported they do not have authority to collect debt from customers. The only way Gita feels comfortable asking for her money is to be subtle, which is not effective;

> "The first few days of the month, I pass in front of their houses while offering them the *jamu*. I hope they finally realize that they have a debt, and they would repay it. There was one woman at a *kost* [a room within a home that one can rent to live in] that had not repaid me, and she moved so she is not there anymore. It's no problem. There is nothing I can do."

Due to customer credit, Gita must go into debt herself; “There were a lot of buyers who used to owe me, which means that I owe someone else, to buy the raw material.” Gita may feel uncomfortable with collecting customer debt because of Javanese cultural values which look down on personal monetary gain.

Jamu sellers can deal with customer debt by charging different prices depending on the customer; Dinda explains, “there will be price differences, between the one who becomes my daily customer and the one who just accidentally buys my jamu. About the latter, I will give them more expensive price than the first one. Sometimes my customers also give me more money than I require.” By charging different prices, Dinda can avoid debt – those who pay more will even out the losses from serving others. At least two other sellers also reported that they set different prices depending on the buyer.

For some, customer debt can be a good way of keeping some client’s business; two jamu sellers reported that providing their product on credit allows them to sell to customers whose business they would otherwise lose. Zuhra reports that she allows trusting clients to pay for their jamu once per week;

> “For the client who regularly buys, I always go to their house, and if they are not currently home, I usually pack their *jamu* in a plastic bag and put it on their fence. There was also the one who works at an office so I seldom meet them and they usually pay only when they meet me once a week. Usually when I come around, they have already left for work.”

In this case, Zuhra can keep customers who she would otherwise not have due to differences in schedules. Guerin (2006) also found that allowing customers to buy on credit to be an essential business practice to retain clients, sell perishable products, and stay competitive in the market. Customer debt can also be a form of social control or trade for other goods and services (Guerin, 2006).

Allowing customers to buy a product on credit is risky, because few have the resources to ensure that customers pay back the debt they owe. Women's gender role of care-taker may influence women business owners to view this practice as essential in order to maintain a reputation as a well-behaved woman who is worthy of customers, or perhaps this sentiment is more pronounced among women who operate in health-related sectors[37], as several studies confirm. For instance, Williamson et al. (2004) explain how women's caretaking roles influence business behaviors for Ghanaian women who are itinerant drug vendors; "Even though financial need was the primary factor that led them to begin work as an [Itinerant Drug Vendor], all identified themselves first and foremost as caregivers or providers. While understanding that they were business women, all agreed that if a person was sick and needed medicine, they would provide the medicine on credit and worry about repayment later" (p. 88). This behavior is still evident in women who have previously experienced business failure because of taking on too much unpaid customer debt; Cornwall (2007) reported that women would only sell on credit to those they trust because they want to help. Perhaps women entrepreneurs view themselves more as social workers than business women because of their gender and its associations with being a caretaker.

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[37] Women entrepreneurs who sell medicine or traditional medicine may be more expected than other women entrepreneurs to provide their product to anyone in need - lest they be seen as non-caring and cold (which is deviating from their gender role, and bad for business).

Customer debt is an important topic that needs more research. Women's work is often viewed as inconsequential (Carrigan & Duberley, 2013) and this could be a reason why customers are not repaying the debts they owe. Loscocco and Bird (2012) suggest that studies of customer bias are important; most studies of entrepreneurs look at business owners only and they suggest that studies should also look at customers to gain a better understanding of the problems that women entrepreneurs face with regard to public perspective towards women-owned business. Gaining a better understanding of the customers' perspective of buying on credit and paying the entrepreneurs back would be an interesting domain of enquiry within the field of gender entrepreneurship studies.

Dealing with sexual harassment

More than a third of the interviewed informants have been sexually harassed while working. Sexual harassment is defined as any unwanted sexual advances towards the seller. Twelve sellers reported that they had experienced some form of harassment while selling; all except for one of these twelve reported that they encountered sexual harassment. Seven sellers reported that they had never experienced any type of harassment. Other sellers did not comment about the issue. Sellers have developed several different types of coping mechanisms to deal with this difficulty while maintaining the image of 'halal' (which means 'good' in Arabic, and refers to behaving appropriately in Islamic culture).

Jamu gendong are sometimes associated with prostitution, and therefore, may be targeted more frequently than other women. Dinda explains; "Because some jamu sellers will sell jamu with plus-plus services [meaning sex related services], especially for the seller who start to sell from afternoon to night." One seller, Endang (age 41 and married with two children), was asked by men to act as a pimp; "There are also men who ask me to "look for" women, well... my immediate refuse it. I'm not like that." A Javanese female university student, who was interviewed as a key informant, explains that jamu gendong are considered sexy for their knowledge; "jamu gendong sellers are always considered to be very sexy; the knowledge of jamu and also anything related to traditional medication [is sexy]." Knowledge of jamu is sexy, so therefore, men associated jamu gendong with sexual temptation;

> "So men, tend to for example, like have a kind of temptation… Probably men will think that if I can do this, and that, to jamu gendong sellers then the sensation will be different. Rather than I do it to other women, who are not jamu gendong sellers."

Many of the interviewees described sexual harassment as a joke, which may mean that the behavior is widely accepted. Gita explains her experience; "Perhaps they are just kidding. Sometimes they attempted to persuade, and sometimes they also touch me. But that is only joke." A joke that is rarely challenged. If the seller challenges the behavior by getting visibly upset, they could risk losing potential buyers who do not see the inappropriate actions of a man, but only an unhappy seller. Dewi explains that if she remains calm, she has no further problems; "As long as I responded subtly and not do anything bad, then there would be no problem."

In Javanese culture, it is considered to be the woman's responsibility to protect men from their own sexual urges; women are expected to behave and dress appropriately in order to protect men. This may be why many sellers reported that they deal with harassment from men by ignoring the behavior, not responding, remaining polite, and mentioning they are married. Some sellers will ask for a companion to accompany them on their route, others will avoid certain areas where they have encountered harassers before, or they only walk in crowded streets where it would be harder for someone to victimize them. Sellers report that if they ignore harassment and continue to behave calmly and politely, then they will maintain a good reputation; understanding the harassment as just a joke, therefore, may enable sellers to brush off such advances without taking offense or getting too upset while on the job.

Some sellers will deal with unwanted attention by speaking directly with their harasser about their behavior. This strategy worked for Shinta when she was robbed;

> "Once I got a bad experience. Someone tried to rob my jamu while I sell it. I told him "how could you have a heart to rob an old woman like me. Give back my jamu!" Afterward, he gave back my jamu [and] then he left. Before he left, I was saying thank you to him and asked him to pray for the goodness of my business."

Eka, divorced and fifty-five, also talks back; "Well, if a man want to mess with me, I will say to them that I am trying to find income for me and my kid to eat, not to find some problem." Putri, thirty years old, tells sexual harassers that she is married; "sometimes they made a joke that harass me but I said that I already married and then they stop."

Dinda will change her route so that she does not pass by those who give her unwanted attention;

> "Sometimes they really disturbing me with their talk. For the next day, I decided not to use the same route that can pass them anymore. The

> most annoying are construction workers, [also] men at a kost [boarding house], also middle aged men."

Dinda also will avoid deserted streets and stays in busy areas to avoid being victimized; "I also choose to pass a crowded street, rather than deserted one. If any man following me, I will keep walking and silent." Eka avoids this situation by asking someone to accompany her on her route; "Sometimes I ask someone to accompany me. Luckily I always have someone to help me." Women business owners in Sub-Saharan Africa also looked to their community to get help in dealing with sexual harassment from men by forming support groups with other women entrepreneurs (Jiggins, 1989).

Kusuma, a middle aged seller, sells in a crowded market; "I never get an annoyance from men. The situation inside the market [is] very crowded. It makes people who come to [do their] shopping [want to] shop as fast as they can." Perhaps in less crowded markets it is easier for men to hang around one's stall. Endang explains that she has had this problem; "I feel uncomfortable if there are any men who buy my jamu but stay at my place for a long time. I become hesitant."

Sellers are often teased by men who ask for jamu that increases male sexual performance. While conducting field research, the author met a Javanese married couple,(not included in the sample) who were partners in making jamu and who only make jamu for male vitality on special order. They explained that the ingredients are expensive and so the buyer must be willing to pay a high price. Furthermore, these orders were taken and prepared by the husband. The wife did not take part in this side of the business. Most women do not wish to be associated with this type of jamu because it could attract unwanted attention, in the form of sexual harassment.

Other research has found that women entrepreneurs work hard to moralize their position as business women, because an independent woman is often viewed as a threat (Aidis et al., 2007; Hasan et al., 2011; Heemskerk, 2003; Ntseane, 2004). Women in the Arab world, were found to legitimize their positions as entrepreneurs, by calling their job “helping” rather than ‘entrepreneuring’ (Essers & Benschop, 2009) and Fenwick (2002) similarly found that women entrepreneurs were placing value on doing ‘ethical work,’ meaning that they worked hard to fulfill the desire of the community in order to fulfill their own desire for recognition. This is similar to the finding that jamu sellers are interested in behaving “halal” in their business practices, and that they are motivated to provide a community service.

Bad reputations can hurt many; when a sector inhabited by mostly women business owners is looked upon negatively it can be very damaging to individuals, families, and communities. Narendran (2011) reports that business owners who run beauty salons in India, see themselves as victims of bad publicity because unprofessionalism has been reported in newspapers about beauty salons offering sexual services and providing unhygienic services. Therefore, potential customers avoid the beauty salons because of this association, and entrepreneurs then also avoid opening businesses in this sector (Narendran, 2011). Some Javanese women who might otherwise start a jamu business may avoid doing so (and utilizing their specialized knowledge about traditional medicine to make income) because of the association of jamu gendong with prostitution.

The occurrence of sexual harassment for women entrepreneurs, and the tools and strategies that women have to combat it is a topic that could use more investigation within gender entrepreneurship literature as it is currently understudied. Other women who operate businesses, especially in the informal sector, may also encounter sexual harassment.

Relationships with Other Sellers and Corporations:

Jamu sellers tend to have collaborative relationships with other jamu sellers and large scale vendors. This means that they actively avoid competition with one another by coordinating their schedules to avoid selling in a region at the same time and they sometimes buy the products of other jamu sellers to sell to their own clients, making sure to give credit to that seller. They also buy food products from food vendors to sell along with their jamu. They are friendly towards one another, sometimes stopping to chat while passing one another on the road, and will even sometimes share recipes. Women entrepreneurs are often found to have collaborative and non-competitive relationships with other women business owners (or women interested in starting businesses), often because they recognize the constraints they face in their own businesses to be similar to those of all women –created by their shared inferior position in the cultural gender hierarchy (Bhimji, 2010; Harvey, 2005; Heemskerk, 2003; Ntseane, 2004; Williamson et al., 2004).

Large scale industry collaborates with some jamu sellers by offering them factory made jamu to sell to clients, as well as trainings (large scale industry has collaborated with the government to offer trainings to small micro-enterprise owners). Some sellers also join jamu organizations where they can meet once a month with other sellers (women); at these meetings, women jamu sellers provide and get support from one another by sharing recipes, donating to arisans, get training, take out loans, etc. Despite the general trend of mutual collaboration and respect, some sellers do discuss times when they feel that they are in competition with other jamu micro-enterprises.

Women vendors and entrepreneurs help one another in many different ways including sitting in on another vender's station or shop when they cannot be there, providing mentoring to less experienced women, and being careful not to compete with other women's businesses (such as marketing lower prices or enhancing product quality) (Bhimji, 2010; Harvey, 2005; Ntseane, 2004). Dewi, 45 years old and married with two adult children, explains the consideration that jamu sellers have for one another, especially in choosing a region in which to sell;

> "When I was looking for a selling region, I had to look for a region where there was no one who was already selling *jamu* there. If, for example, there are those who sell jamu in the region, I must look for another region. There could be one or two *jamu* sellers in a region and I could sell there with conditions; I can sell jamu at a different time than the others. I do not dare to sell *jamu* in a place at the same time with other sellers because I am afraid that I would take another seller's clients. Sellers are consider as brothers/sisters so I would feel uncomfortable if I was considered to be taking a buyer of other people."

Similarly, Botswana vendors specified that they reject the notion of competition with other women vendors. They specified that this was because they recognize that gender inequality already puts themselves and other women at a disadvantage, therefore, it makes more sense to help one another (Ntseane, 2004). Jamu sellers did not specify that they felt they should help one another because of gender inequalities. It is possible that they also form collaborative relationships because of the collectivist culture in Java.

Despite the general culture of collaboration and goodwill between jamu sellers, some must deal with competition; for example, Nurul's employees sometimes tell her about other sellers occupying their usual location; "I am not involved directly in selling but I often hear from my employees if there is someone who is in competition with my business and occupies the location of my cart." Dinda also shared that after taking time off to give birth to her last child, she found another seller occupying her usual spot.

Some jamu corporations recruit small-scale jamu entrepreneurs to sell their products to the public. Shinta had such an experience; "There was one factory who asks me to promote their products while I am selling my own jamu. No one from my customers wants to buy it. So I just gave back those instant jamu to the factory." Jamu sellers typically do not feel threatened by factory made jamu because their customers prefer jamu made fresh. Many stories also circulate about factory-made jamu containing unhealthy chemicals. Vina shares such a story;

> "I was afraid to sell *jamu* made by [a] factory because I have heard the story that there are people who live in Jakarta [who] experienced diarrhea due to drinking *jamu* from the factory. I do not want this incident [to] happen to my customers."

Zuhra feels comfortable with selling factory products as long as they have government permits; "I sell instant jamu from the Air Mancur factory or Payung Pusaka, the most important thing is that I only buy the ones with a permit from the Public Health Service [the Department of Health; BPOM or the Drug and Food Supervisory Agency]".

6.3.2 Access to Human Capital: Knowledge, Skills, and Labor

Whereas social capital deals with relationships and reputation management in order to ensure making and maintaining connections, human capital deals with the knowledge, skills, and labor of an entrepreneur and his/her organization. Most research finds that women, due to restrictive gender roles and expectations, lack knowledge and skills to grow their business (Aldrich, 1989; Boden & Nucci, 2000; Jamali, 2009), and often have little to no access to labor (Blumberg, 2001; Danes et al., 2013). In Indonesia, women tend to have better access to knowledge of jamu than men because of their gender role as caregiver. Girls are often taught how to make jamu recipes, so that they can fulfill their role as caretaker, or they are encouraged to consume jamu for health, feminine hygiene, and beauty. This section will explore how sellers acquire their knowledge of jamu, and their willingness to share their knowledge. Other skills that complement a jamu business will also be discussed, as well as the use of, paid and unpaid, labor.

Employees and Unpaid labor

One of the ways that jamu businesses can stay competitive is by having free or cheap labor in the form of unpaid family members and neighbors, employees, and forming business partnerships with individuals (sometimes family members); eighteen out of thirty jamu sellers reported that they had access to labor, and at least part of that labor came from a family member for seventeen sellers. Eleven sellers have received help from a son or daughter; daughters were mentioned more than sons. Seven sellers received help from a spouse, two have received help from a neighbor, one seller has employees (a total of seven), and one seller formed business partnerships with nonfamily members. These forms of low cost labor are helpful for selling and marketing jamu, making jamu, buying and gathering ingredients and other resources, washing pans and tools after the jamu is produced, caring for children, and sharing household duties. Some sellers can access more labor than others depending on the number and age of children they have, and their access to transportation and other resources (including finances).

Often, family will help with the household duties as well as preparing or selling the jamu. Wastuti's (age 52 and married with three adult children) husband helps her to make jamu; "He usually helps me with boiling the jamu and lighting the firewood." Other husbands will buy jamu ingredients, care for young children, clean the jamu ingredients, and pound ingredients. Vina, fifty-seven years old and with seven children, has one of her daughters assisting her; "Every day, one of my daughters assists me with selling *jamu*. She sells in the middle of the day, and I sell in the evening. My daughter only helps with selling it, I am the one who makes *jamu*." Tirta shares the household duties with both of his children (daughter and son); "If we work together everything can be easier." Sellers also get help from their neighbors. Kartini's neighbor looks after her children while she is out selling jamu.

Like jamu sellers, other micro-entrepreneurs can experience more success with the help from unpaid family members (Chamlee-wright, 2002; Mayoux, 1993; Ntseane, 2004), however, female micro-entrepreneurs in other regions are reportedly more likely to work alone (Al-sadi et al., 2011; Bock, 2004; Eversole, 2004), perhaps because familial labor is often harder for women to access than men, due to gender roles and expectations placing women in inferior positions to men in their households (Blumberg, 2001; Danes et al., 2013; Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003). As has been found in previous research regarding women entrepreneurs (Blumberg, 2001), jamu sellers get more help from children (more often daughters than sons) than spouses.

Three sellers described how jamu selling was only an option if they could find someone who was available to watch over their children. For example, Zuhra, age 30 and married with two young children (age one and seven), is able to coordinate her schedule with her husband; "I nurture alternately with my husband. If I am at work, my child is cared for by my husband." Gita, an older married seller (55 years old) whose three children are now adults, remembers back to a time when she could not sell jamu because her son was still too young to be left at home; "Before selling jamu, I used to sell *es campur* [a bevarage with slices of fruit mixed with ice] in the bus station. I sold it while carrying my child in my arm. After my son grew up, I had [a] desire to sell jamu…. Because I could leave my son at home." Mothers with young children depend on babysitters to care for their children while they are out selling their product; carrying jamu as well as a child is not possible.

As was previously mentioned, some of the elderly sellers talked about the difficulty of continuing to sell jamu because of heavy lifting and walking long distances. Some have built up capital and invested in stalls to avoid too much physical labor while others have strategized differently. Hastinah, age 67 with 6 children and widowed, does not have the capital to invest in a stall, so instead she has developed business partnerships with two people who sell the jamu that she produces in her home; "There are two people who sell my jamu. One person sells it in the morning and another person sells it in the afternoon at 1pm." Hastinah sells her jamu to these two people at "borongan," which means wholesale, and so she gets less money for her jamu because her sellers are taking on most of the risk; for example if the jamu does not sell out. Gomez, Southiseng, Walsh, and Sapuay (2011) similarly found that older Laos women entrepreneurs created business partnerships with intermediaries, paying them to do the majority of the traveling required for their businesses. At least four jamu sellers reported that they wish to establish new business partnerships in order to expand their jamu business.

Only one seller in the sample, Nurul, has a larger operation and employs eight men (including her husband) to sell her jamu;

> "All of my employees are men and have family. I provide free residence for all of them in the back of my houses. Many of them have been working a long time for me. There are some who have worked for 10 years and also those who have been working for over ten years for me."

Nurul has a competitive advantage to other sellers. With her hired labor, she does not need to worry about selling the jamu herself, she can focus on the production aspect and trust her workers to do the selling. As a part of the deal with her workers, she provides them with free rooms – other sellers may not be able to provide this and therefore cannot form such partnerships.

Knowledge and skills

Knowledge is a key resource for starting a jamu business. Jamu sellers acquire a variety of knowledge and skills throughout their lives. Jamu sellers share their knowledge about jamu and business management with family members, neighbors, other sellers, customers, and even large scale industry[38]. This section will explore the themes of knowledge transmission of jamu and business management strategies, specifically regarding recipes and traditional medicinal ecological knowledge, hygienic practices, and the process of setting up a jamu business. Knowledge transmission is the act of sharing information between individuals and groups. Sellers were asked questions about how they gained their knowledge about jamu and business, as well as their willingness to share this information with others.

Business management skills are developed through work experiences; sellers learned about making jamu as children helping their parents, and as apprentices of other jamu sellers. Many sellers also held previous jobs before becoming jamu sellers from which they gained valuable work experience. Previous work includes factory work, sewing, selling other commodities including food, peasant labor, housewife, childcare, pembatik (batik producer), beautician, salesgirl, laundry labor, bag maker, house cleaner, shop keeper, and farm worker.

There is little research of how gendered knowledge (knowledge that is associated and more accessible to one gender over another) can be useful for business opportunities (Leung, 2011) and jamu selling is a great example of how women's gender role can be inspiration for business creation. Jamu knowledge is intimately linked with female gender roles in Javanese society which includes caring for the family and staying beautiful and healthy for one's husband. Knowledge is traditionally communicated orally from mother to daughter (Handayani et al., 2001) and girls in Java are often taught how to make and consume jamu as a rite of passage into adulthood. All of the interviewees learned how to make jamu from another person, usually a female family member, neighbor, or friend; in fact, twenty-three participants specified that they learned from a female (seven did not specify the gender of the person who taught them about jamu). Women, therefore, tend to have more cultural legitimacy as jamu producers and sellers[39].

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[38] Krier (2011) explains that large scale jamu industry holds competitions for mbok jamu, as a way to gain knowledge of recipes, but claiming that the competition is a way to honor women who practice the age old knowledge of jamu production. Large scale industry also tries to tap into jamu seller's clients by offering them instant jamu to sell along with their fresh jamu (Krier, 2011).

Fourteen participants out of thirty reported that they learned how to make and sell jamu, and the processes of running a business, by assisting another jamu seller. Other women entrepreneurs in Indonesian (Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013) as well as women entrepreneurs in Botswana (Ntseane, 2004) have been found to also get much of their business knowledge from other women business owners who provide mentoring. Endang, a middle aged seller with a husband and two children explains that she worked for her mother-in-law during special events; "I learned it [how to produce jamu] when I used to help my mother-in-law. For example, when my mother-in-law went to Rewang [helping neighbours who hold an event], I was called to make jamu at her house."

The apprenticeship enables these sellers to gain the skills needed and the confidence to eventually start their own jamu microenterprises. Other research has also found personal mentors to be important to women's business self-efficacy (BarNir et al., 2011). Endang explained that after learning how to make jamu from her mother-in-law, she worked for her sister and then decided to start her own enterprise; “Previously, I joined my sister selling jamu at [a restaurant]. Then, I felt that I would make no progress if I kept working for her. While, if I open my own business I am progressing in my career.” Four interviewees started their own business after their employer died or could no longer work due to old age.

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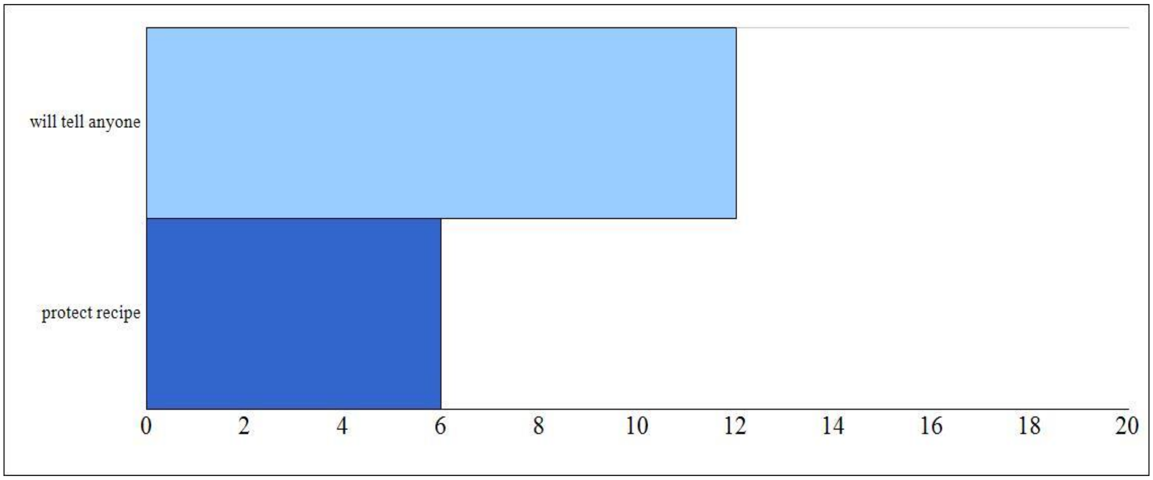
[39] There are statues, which were erected during the tumultuous time of revolution and independence, in Indonesia which depict female jamu sellers assisting Indonesian soldiers (Krier, 2011).

Eighteen sellers responded to the question; “is it necessary to protect your jamu recipes?” The majority of the eighteen who answered this question said that they would share their recipe with anyone. Others, however, felt that they should protect their recipes and only share them with family or close friends. Figure 10 (next page) shows that most jamu sellers are willing to share recipes (reported that they will tell anyone) but some would like to protect their recipes. Zuhra, for example, explained that she never shares recipe information with other sellers; “Jamu recipes are a personal matter and we jamu sellers never question one another about it… I never drink or taste the jamu of other sellers.”

The practice of selling a cultural craft often leads to split economies for cultural practices; this is when a cultural practice will be produced differently for different paying audiences (Aragon, 2011). Perhaps one person might like a more traditional jamu recipe, while another prefers the watered down, sugared version. “Split economy and split market productions in Southeast Asia present an intriguing contrast with some other “native” heritage economies because producers do not invariably seek cultural resource sequestration to protect cherished expressive forms” (Aragon, 2011, p. 65). This means that producers of cultural products do not tend to be concerned with protecting their craft or knowledge from other producers. Regardless, the jamu industry can be competitive and recipes are important for one's business success; some jamu sellers want to keep their recipe out of other's hands to avoid competition (Torri, 2012).

Figure 12: Willingness to share recipes



Some sellers will share some of the information but not all – that way, they can appear to be selfless and giving, but at the same time, protect their recipe and continue to provide a product that remains unique in the market. Regardless of the ingredients, many sellers also mentioned that the hand that makes the jamu is the most important aspect of product authenticity, and what customers care about the most. Therefore, many are not worried about sharing their recipes, especially if they have already built up a clientele that believes in the 'fit' of the product with their own body. Sellers with developed customer loyalty such as this will not feel threatened by other sellers because customers care so much about who makes the product that they consume. This is explained in more detail by Dewi;

> "People buy *jamu* from certain sellers, probably because of the compatibility reason. Buyers feel suitable with a specific *jamu* seller because of the warmth in the service of that seller. Buyers, have been

> able to feel and distinguish the *jamu* from one *jamu* seller to another and suitability makes buyers want to continue buying only one specific jamu seller's product. If the client buys from a different jamu seller, the jamu would have a different taste and different compatibility."

Dewi therefore is saying that the concept of suitability or compatibility, and the 'hand that makes the jamu' is affected by the demeanor of the jamu seller and the taste of jamu which depends on the ingredients included and the process of production. Ingredient amounts will vary, which could affect not only the taste, but also the thick or thinness of the drink. The source of the water that they use may also affect the taste. For example, a jamu made with water from a well may taste different from water that comes from city pipes. The use of a blender to make jamu, a fairly new practice in Yogyakarta, affects the taste as well. Traditionally, jamu is made by crushing (*dipipis*- means to crush in Sundanese*)* ingredients with stone or a *lumpang* (a mortar and pestle). Fitri, 80 years old and married with three children, explains; "[I]t tastes better if it is pounded. The consistency is steadier if we pound it. Buyers can also feel the difference." Several other sellers discussed the importance of using stone rather than a blender. Although the use of a blender can save time in the production process, sellers who use stone to pound their ingredients may have a competitive edge.

According to respondents, the quality of a product also depends on the knowledge that a seller has of hygienic practices. Government trainings have been very helpful in the dissemination of information about hygienic practices of jamu production. Eka, a divorced seller, shares her experience of attending a local government clinic training;

> "I really liked joining the medical trainings and since I joined the jamu association group lead by [name withheld I got information of several medical trainings held in puskesmas [government clinic] and the hotel Ros [a local hotel in Yogyakarta]. In these trainings, we got more useful information, such as how to make a hygienic jamu, how to manage finances, and how to market jamu and so on."

Health trainings provide information to sellers about the best health practices for producing jamu, such as boiling the water used for making jamu, and the use of glass bottles over plastic because glass can be more thoroughly cleaned and BPA in plastic can leach into jamu. Glass bottles are heavier and cost more than plastic, so trainings must thoroughly explain the benefits of these practices. Sellers value this information and often apply it to their business as much as possible.

Large industry gets involved in trainings for jamu sellers in order to create partnerships and market products. Ayu, age forty-eight, reports that she was invited to go to a three day training held by a Muslim women praying group which has partnered with a popular large-scale jamu corporation called Nyonya Meneer;

> "They are particularly helping jamu sellers. We were invited to their activity and we were given money for transportation costs to attend the training, they trained us for three days, and they gave us some stuff like bicycles, boiling pots, blenders, and baskets that we can put our bottles of jamu in. Those activities were held in a factory of Nyonya Meneer. At that place, I was only listening and studying.

> They taught us knowledge about making jamu. After all, they ask us to sell their products."

Trainings are available about plant ingredients which can be used in jamu. Dewi, age 45 and married with two children, explains;

> "Usually, if there is a training about *jamu*, we are told the "magic" of the ingredients. For example, we were informed that there was a leaf that can treat certain diseases and there were many of us who previously did not know."

Trainings about plant ingredients can be very helpful, as some jamu ingredients must be applied carefully, such as betel nuts and leaves which can have teratogenic effects on unborn babies and therefore should not be chewed by pregnant women (Meuninck, 2014).

As we can see, the government has taken an active role in making information about jamu ingredients readily available to sellers. In addition, the general public is also educated through government outreach. A key informant who was interviewed for this research explained that he was invited by the government to train people in local villages about the use of jamu in managing their own health;

> "I have been invited as a speaker. I have been invited by the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Industry and Trade Services… Recently, I contributed to a program by going to villages and giving advice about jamu recipes. My purpose is to influence them [people in villages] to use jamu to maintain their health."

Past research has found that training is often not accessible to women entrepreneurs (Al-sadi et al., 2011; Bushell, 2008), even though women often feel that training is important (Akhalwaya & Havenga, 2012; Thebaud, 2010). As Guerin (2006) points out; "the poorest entrepreneurs not only lack access to finance, but also to knowledge, information and markets. The mutual support available through horizontal networks can play an important role by providing access to information and through marketing" (p. 577). Women jamu sellers have a great deal of support for their work from government, and other women business owners.

Some sellers get their knowledge about jamu from books. Agung, a 45 year old male jamu seller who is married with three children reported; "I know this kind of knowledge, because I also used to read a book of Javanese Primbon Jamu (Buku Primbon Jamu Jawa) [translates to: Javanese horoscope jamu (herb horoscope book Java)]." Many of the jamu sellers interviewed for this research have a lot of knowledge about the use of medicinal plants towards healing particular ailments such as the common cold and coughs, muscle pain, problems with breast feeding and menstruation, etc. Such knowledge is important to making jamu products that are trusted by the community – sellers who are respected for their knowledge have a competitive edge. Indah, 72 years old and married with four children, reported that her jamu was considered very effective and others recommended it as a product that could be sold to a local doctor.

Keeping the knowledge alive is important to some sellers; five specified that they wished to pass their business on to their children. Dini reported that if her children did not wish to continue her business, she would like to give it to a customer to continue on with. Two sellers said that they do not plan to continue their business by passing it on to their children; Dinda explained that this was because her daughter thought selling jamu was disgusting. Another seller, Gita, felt that there was not enough profit that could be made from this job; “No, let me do it myself. Working with jamu is exhausting, but the profit is not that much.” Gita also mentioned that her daughter had another job and recently graduated from university.

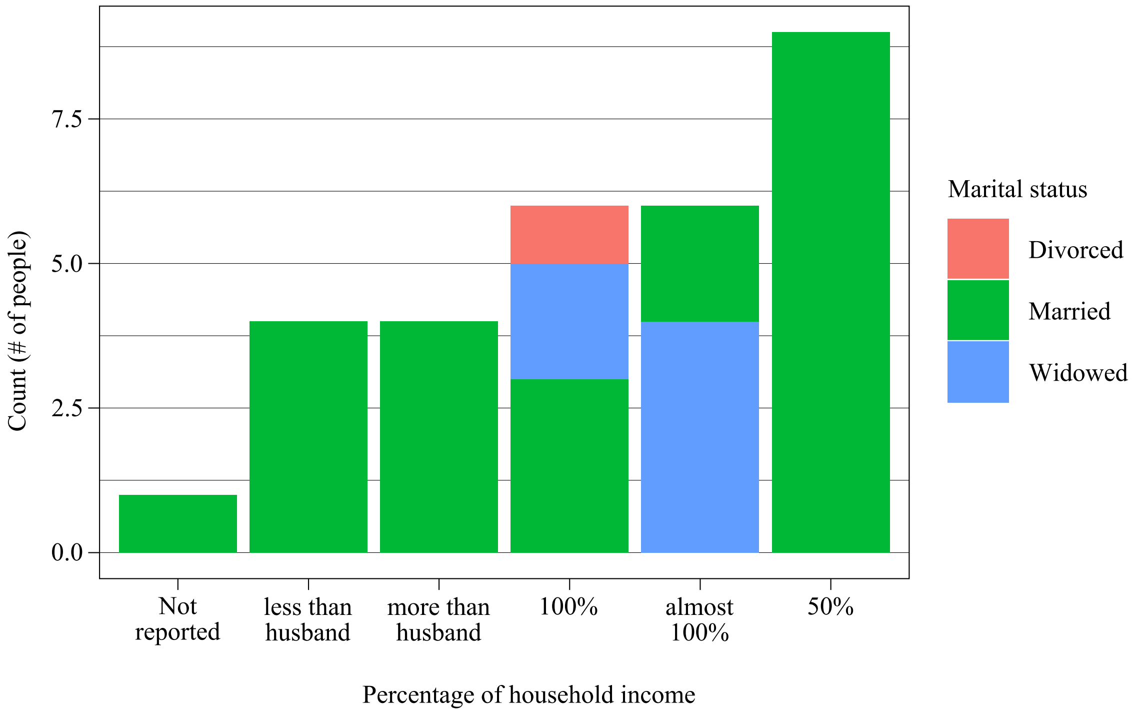
6.3.3 Access and Management of Financial Capital:

This section will discuss how jamu sellers make the most of their investments in the process of running a business and negotiating their cultural gender role as care taker. As mentioned before, jamu sellers need financial capital to develop their business, and complete long term goals such as buying a house, a motor vehicle, or funding a child’s education, as well as provide for the daily needs of their family. Jamu sellers are also dedicated to providing a portion of their income to their communities (donations to community funds, events, giving free jamu to the needy, and supporting relatives). In this section, jamu sellers discuss their household contributions, household financial decision making power, and access to credit, loans, and savings through institutions. Exploring these themes allows for some insights about how gender effects access to financial spending power and financial institutions, as well as the role of women’s businesses for household finances.

Contribution of Earnings to Household:

Jamu sellers were asked how much their earnings contribute to family finances, and whether or not they have authority over decisions on how their income is spent. As figure 11 shows, most jamu sellers contribute significantly to household earnings, providing half or the majority of income. Only four responders make less income than their husband and most female sellers are the financial managers of the household, making all decisions about how income is spent. Dewi, whose husband works fulltime at a factory, explains that women are traditionally financial managers in families; “We who are married, are always helping each other; I help my husband and my husband helps me. Living in a *kampung* [a neighborhood] there is still a tradition that we must fill also; I hold the role of financial manager and fulfill the needs of the family. My husband, usually, only wants the final result.” Some of the sellers reported that they always ask for their husband’s consent in spending matters and a minority of sellers reported that they feel they must comply with their husband’s wishes in all matters.

Figure 13: Marital status and household contributions



As was discussed in section 2.2.4 Gender views about work in Indonesia, it has increasingly become acceptable for women to work in paid employment outside the home. Entrepreneurship can be empowering for women, especially when there is also accessible financial credit for loans. Often, women who experience entrepreneurial financial success are allotted greater status for themselves and their families, but a "thatched ceiling" can limit women from fully realizing their potential (Ardrey et al., 2006).

Accessing finances through institutions

As mentioned, sellers who have savings or access to loans are able to work towards building their businesses (i.e. investing in a stall or a motorbike) or other goals such as buying a house. The use of formal financial institutions to build savings was reported by only two jamu sellers and one seller reported that she used a microfinance institution to take out a loan and keep savings. Most sellers access savings and credit from informal institutions such as arisans[40] through jamu associations or donations to the community (therefore, giving them more access to future community support if needed). It is estimated that only 25% of microenterprise owners in Indonesia have access to credit from formal financial lending institutions, and women are a minority in this number (ADB, 2006). This is partly because there has been little to no effort, by credit institutions, to appease the accessibility needs of women or small business owners (ADB, 2006).

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[40] A community money lending and savings group. See glossary for full definition.

The procedures of credit contracts in Indonesia have been imbalanced; women have been required to get their husband's assistance in applying for credit or in signing contracts[41]. Women also have the obstacle of obtaining collateral (ADB, 2006). The tax processes have also been imbalanced. Married women must use their husband's tax number, making it difficult for women to open their own checking accounts or file separate tax returns. Formal and separate business activities are thus blocked (ADB, 2006). Prior research on women micro-entrepreneurs report similar findings; there is less access to formal financial institutions (banks) for women (Guerin, 2006; Mayoux, 1995), especially poor women (Strier, 2010), including in Indonesia (ADB, 2002; Tambunan, 2011).

Dinda, a 43 year old seller who is married with children (one child, one teen, and one adult), shared her experiences with accessing capital through a microfinance institution (called BMT) that gives loans based on Sariah law. Through this institution, she was able to pay her mortgage and build up her savings;

> "I had to choose the scheme of mortgage: daily or weekly. I chose daily, because I could give a small amount of money every day. I feel comfortable with this system because, besides for paying the mortgage, I can also save my money through BMT [the microfinance

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[41] This is starting to change as notaries are more often drawing up contracts for women without their husbands (ADB, 2002).

> institution]. I'm not brave enough to lend some money from Bank Plecit [money lenders], because I won't have any savings at all."

Maghfira, 52 years old with no kids and widowed, has strategically planned to join a jamu association so that she can access loans to grow her business[42];

> "I am not a member of a jamu group yet. I want to be member but I have to wait after one round of the Arisan [regular social gathering where money is saved through the group]… I need funding to develop my business. If I get funding, I want to make more varieties of jamu and buy a bicycle."

Not all sellers wish to grow their business with this type of strategy. Indah, age seventy-two and widowed with five children, explains that she feels uncomfortable with group money management;

> "I think savings and loans shouldn't be managed by a group, because I'm afraid it is going to be hindered… The nature of each person is different, some of them are swift in the payment of the loan, and some of them are not. Some of them are mindful and some of them are not."

My interviewees did not say much about lack of access to formal institutions but did state their preference for dealing with informal institutions such as jamu associations, arisans, etc. The reason for this could be because of institutional gender inequality within Indonesian financial systems, such as banks (ADB, 2002, 2006)[43]. Other research has found that women generally prefer to get start-up capital and ongoing loans from informal sources such as family and friends (Aidis et al., 2007; Bloch, 2011; Bushell, 2008; Chamlee-wright, 2002), possibly because of similar issues with formal institutions such as banks.

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[42] Some jamu associations have group money management systems so that members can save money and take out loans.

Jamu entrepreneurs need finances in order to afford ingredients and equipment to make and sell jamu. Start-up funds, loans, and financial management systems often come from arisans in jamu associations or other community lending groups, as women jamu sellers may feel uncomfortable accessing loans or savings through banks because of constraints associated with policies that discriminate based on gender. Other types of aid that jamu sellers can access comes from a variety of different government offices including the sultan of Yogyakarta, the women empowerment office, and the ministry of social affairs. Aid also comes from Muslim women praying groups and large scale industry. Many sellers reported about different types of aid from government programs that they were able to access to improve their business[44]. As mentioned, some sellers also have received aid in the form of training where they are given knowledge as well as supplies and money.

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[43] For example, as mentioned in the findings chapter, there has been little effort by credit institutions to appease the accessibility needs of small business owners and women (ADB, 2006); credit contracts often require that women get their husband's signature (ADB, 2002) and tax processes often require women to use their husband's tax number, making it difficult for them to obtain their own separate checking accounts or file separate tax returns (ADB, 2006).

[44] Some of the jamu sellers reported that they received supplies such as aprons, masks, blenders, and bicycles.

Summary:

The management strategies of jamu sellers – in business and family life - are very much connected to, and affected by traditional gender roles and the ideal female image of dedicated wife and mother. Women's role as caretaker in Java, can have some benefits, such as more access to knowledge of traditional medicine and recipes, uses for medicinal plants, and knowledge about local plants. However, because of structural gender inequality[45], women jamu sellers have less access to other resources such as labor, financial capital (i.e. bank loans), and even entrepreneurial identities.

Regardless, small scale jamu producers are respected for producing an authentic, hygienic, and natural fresh jamu. Therefore although jamu sellers feel pressure from communities, to act within a certain realm of behavior, they also feel that they are appreciated more than their large scale counter parts within Central Java. Informal, small-scale jamu sellers are a cultural symbol of Java (Krier, 2011), and therefore are encouraged to continue their activities by customers and the local government, which does not regulate their production, but does provide financial support and resources such as bikes, and supplies for making jamu. Most sellers are proud of what they have accomplished and wish to see their work live on.

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[45] As reflected by institutional policies throughout Indonesia (ADB, 2006), and labor statistics which show that women do the majority of unpaid household work (Johnson, 2011).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Javanese jamu sellers live in a gender discriminating entrepreneurial climate; ongoing gender inequalities include dual work expectations for women, education gender gaps, and less access to labor and financial capital. Women in patriarchal societies tend to encounter more constraints due to gender inequality and discrimination. It is important (for policy makers, women who wish to start businesses and women currently operating businesses, and for relevant future research) to understand how women manage in the face of these constraints, such as the strategies that they develop to handle their environment and keep their business operating. Institutions, including cultural gender norms, are key to understanding motivations and management strategies of entrepreneurs; otherwise assumptions are made, including that women care less about business or that they do not have business skills, and individuals are blamed for issues beyond their control. Constraints that entrepreneurs face are associated with lack of access to resources, such as labor and finances, and in Indonesia, it is found that women entrepreneurs often have worse access than men, to most resources needed for entrepreneurial pursuits (ADB, 2006, 2011; Klaveren et al., 2010; Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013; Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003; Tambunan, 2009).

Women are considered responsible for the welfare of their family; they are expected to tend to the household, childcare, and help their husbands fulfill their role as breadwinner. This excessive burden of work for women is also seen elsewhere (Drew & Humbert, 2012; Kuada, 2009; Marlow & McAdam, 2013; Moore & Buttner, 1997), including in the West, where it is referred to as the “superwoman syndrome” (Shaevitz, 1984). Jamu sellers typically only wish to "help" their husbands to earn income – but most go above and beyond this reported goal and earn 50% or more of household income.

Failure to fulfill household and family responsibilities is not discussed as an option, by women jamu sellers, whom are chained to the role of wife and mother, and outfitted with few resources to fulfill their own goals and ambitions which reach beyond such roles. Even as entrepreneurs, women are firstly and mostly held responsible to their families – and must put their business second to the needs of the family. This is so ingrained in Javanese and Indonesian society, that Indonesian law forbids women from working in labor which impedes their roles as mothers and wives; "they may not be employed in any job that threatens their safety, health, or morality" (World Trade Press, 2010, p. 5).

This thesis research has revealed that, like many other women informal entrepreneurs (Allen et al., 2007), jamu sellers often feel that they are pushed into entrepreneurship. Many jamu sellers are motivated to work because of a need for income, and others are pushed by family members, and given little choice to pursue other forms of work. In many cases, selling jamu is preferred over other types of work that sellers can do, such as agricultural work, reportedly because it allows for flexible working times. Therefore, although interviewees feel pushed to work out of need for income, they do have agency and some choice in the type of work that they engage in. Furthermore, with regard to the postcolonial feminist perspective, the dual model of push and pull theory for motivation is much too simplistic to account for the variety and complexity of motives that jamu sellers have.

The data reveals other non-economic motivations, other than flexible work time, to sell jamu. One of the most unique findings is that some jamu sellers are motivated to sell jamu because they see it as a way to preserve Javanese culture. We also see that jamu sellers wish to provide good health and friendship to clients, which may be related to a need for recognition - which was not directly reported. From the stories, it is easy to see that women jamu sellers often do not get recognition for their hard work – as their work can be taken for granted by family and community, by men who harass sellers, clients who refuse to pay their debt, and husbands who expect results but are unwilling to help with housework or with the business. Other research has found that women's work is viewed as inconsequential (Carrigan & Duberley, 2013).

The focus on gender within this thesis, merits mentioning that it is important not to confuse Javanese collectivist values with the gender role of women. For example, when jamu sellers give portions of their income to neighborhood social funds, this is because of collectivist values, but cultural collectivism may also be wrapped up in different gender ideologies. For example, when jamu sellers view their entrepreneurial role as 'helping', this could be connected with gender as well as collectivist values for giving back to the community. Brush's (1992) theory of women being more community oriented in their business behavior is based on research of Western women, and doesn't take different cultural contexts into consideration. It would be fruitful to better understand how men and women entrepreneurs in collectivist cultures view the role of their businesses; are the viewpoints similar or different? And how? If women are more prone to see their role in line with their wife and motherly duties (including their role as caretaker)– as this study has found, collectivist values should not be conflated with this.

Collectivist and individualist cultural values may differently effect the perspectives of community roles of women's and men's businesses; more research is needed.

This research helped to reveal oppressive cultural gender institutions in Java, and their impact on jamu sellers; especially with regard to the cultural connection that jamu has to women's sexuality, and sexual prowess. Conversations with jamu sellers about sexual harassment prompted discussions about morality and 'halal' behavior. Research about sexual morality in Muslim and Javanese culture has revealed that women who behave sexually outside of the confines of a marriage, and in public are considered illegitimate. Javanese women are both sexually objectified, and sexually oppressed, as they are blamed for the sexual harassment that is done to them. Therefore, the identities that women have access to as entrepreneurs are limited.

7.1 Limitations of the research

Aside from the methodology limitations discussed in section 4.3 of the thesis, the research is also limited by sample size and content; the interviews were only conducted with jamu sellers meaning that other perspectives were not explored, such as the perspective of family members who help or do not help with the jamu business, as well as more interviews with clients of jamu sellers. Some of the interviewees were accompanied by a family member during their interview, but these family members were not interviewed on their own.

Interviewing family members would help to gain more perspectives on women jamu sellers; for example, how family members perceive jamu entrepreneur's roles in the home and business. Customers may also offer alternative perspectives, or help to enhance the perspectives offered by sellers. Sex workers whose businesses are associated with jamu could have also been interviewed to provide more understanding of how these two seemingly different work scenarios are intertwined. It may be that no women engage in both types of work, but if there are, the opinions of women who engage in both jamu selling and sex work are important to a full understanding of this connection.

7.2 Future research and policy recommendations

It is apparent that many jamu sellers wish to grow their business; gain more clients, hire employees, and sell in more locations/open stalls. Jamu sellers are deeply enmeshed in women's gender role identities of wife, mother, and caretaker; meaning that it may be difficult for small scale jamu sellers to create new business identities that transverse the boundaries of small scale seller who is only seeking to provide for her family. Jamu sellers who want to grow their business may feel push-back from their community by being expected to play out their entrepreneurial role as 'helping' rather than 'entrepreneuring', by donating more income to the community or family, rather than invest it in their business.

Government should be cognizant of these current social constructions of women's business roles in the community, and the constraints that limit sellers including limited access to financial capital. Local governments partnered with industry and jamu associations have provided Yogyakarta jamu sellers with many training opportunities, and continued support in the form of loans, trainings on marketing, and network connections would be helpful. Networks could be established to enable sellers who follow hygienic practices to sell jamu to doctors and hospital patients who wish to access traditional medicine. Training certificates may help sellers to feel more comfortable with using the term, expert, to describe themselves. These support mechanisms could be offered for free by the government.

A women's empowerment campaign for women entrepreneurs could enable jamu sellers to fight for better social status and positioning within communities where they sell; informal interviews with sellers may provide insight as to how this could be done, but some ideas include setting jamu price standards, providing sellers with marketing training, and helping sellers enforce credit policies. The needed infrastructure of jamu associations already exists, and could be carried out with the support of local government business associations. This could help sellers establish limits on what they can provide to communities in the form of donations and free jamu. This action could enable jamu sellers to establish functional boundaries (which serve their interests) between their businesses and their communities.

I recommend that future research focus on exploring the link between jamu selling and prostitution; how are women's sexualities objectified through a career in jamu? Another important topic which deserves more attention is how women jamu sellers may be encouraged to do less business with men, which limits their networking opportunities. Are male jamu sellers similarly limited? Judging from the experiences reported by the men jamu sellers in this sample, they are not limited in the same ways that women sellers are (i.e. they can make and sell jamu for male vitality without the worry of being targeted for sexual harassment). In addition, it would be interesting to compare the experiences of jamu sellers in different locations throughout Indonesia, to better understand how governments can provide continued support for local jamu vendors in all locations throughout the country.

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Appendix 1: Participant Questionnaire and notes about edits

Questions for Jamu Entrepreneurs:

Personal Information:

1. Age

2. Culture/ethnicity

3. Where are you from? Where have you lived throughout your life? Did you live somewhere else than Jogya? If yes, where? Why did you come to Jogya? (if she comes from another area)

4. Education level

5. Family status (married, single, separated, widow). If married, what is the occupation of your husband (or wife)?

6. Number and age of children

7. How many people do you live with? (i.e., nuclear or extended family)

Motivations

Choice

1. When did you start selling medicinal plants?

2. Tell me the story of how you came to be a jamu entrepreneur. Please explain how you found money to start your business (husband, relatives, bank, etc.).[46]

3. Why did you decide to have a business selling jamu? What other options did you choose this work over?

~~4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of being in this business?~~[47]

~~Spirituality~~

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[46] This question originally did not originally follow up with; “Please explain how you found money to start your business”.

[47] This question was eventually deleted and the second question in the section titled, “socio-economic impact of selling medicine plants” was updated, to cover positive and negative impacts.

1. ~~What role do you play in the lives of your customers? Does your influence on their health and well-being have far reaching effects? Can you make any examples?~~
2. ~~Are there any rituals connected with jamu (e.g., prayers before or after the preparation of jamu)?~~
3. ~~How does the healing process take place when you consume jamu? Is the only the therapeutic power of the plants or also their spiritual power?~~[48]

Roles and Identities

1. What roles or responsibilities do you have at home and how does that influence your business? Do you feel that being a jamu seller interferes in a substantive way with your domestic responsibilities/duties? How so? Can you make any examples?

2. Please describe your relationship with other people who sell jamu. (e.g., do you often meet them? Talk to them? Exchange any recipes on how to produce jamu?)

3. Do you connect jamu to your culture/ethnicity? If so, how does your culture or ethnicity influence your business? (in other (and more simple) words: Do you feel proud to be a jamu seller? Do you think that producing and selling jamu is an important aspect of the local culture and of being a Javanese?)

4. What do you call yourself? Do you consider yourself a seller? Entrepreneur? Worker? Herbalist? If not, what label would you give yourself as a person who sells jamu?

5. What role do you play in the lives of your customers? Does your influence on their health and well-being have far reaching effects? Can you provide any examples?

Management Strategies:

Knowledge and Training:

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[48] The idea of spirituality was eventually dropped from the questionnaire. One of the questions originally from the spirituality section was moved to the section on roles and identities (question 5 – "what role do you play in the lives of your customers?").

1. How did you learn to make jamu? Are your recipes unique? Have they changed over time? If yes, how have they changed?

2. Is it necessary to protect your jamu recipes? Why? If so how do you do this?

3. Do you plan to pass on your jamu recipes to somebody? Who?

4. Did you prepare jamu for yourself or your family before starting your business?

5. What jobs did you have in the past and did you learn any skills from that time that are helpful now?

Business Management:

1. Is this your principal job? (if not what are other economic activities carried out?) How often do you sell medicinal plants? (e.g. every day, once a week etc.) Is your husband or are other members of your family involved in your jamu business? If yes, please explain how.

2. How many clients do you have on average each day?

3. What are the products that you are selling the most?

4. What kind of clients are coming to your shop? (age, socio-economic background, gender)

5. Who has helped you with your business? (Local authorities? Jamu associations? Financial institutions?) What help has been the most valuable to you? (Knowledge acquisition, networks, childcare, etc.)

~~6. Please explain to me a typical day of work. What challenges might you face?~~[49]

7. What have been your greatest challenges (long term) in managing your business (e.g., lack of resources, lack of time, opposition from your family etc.)? How did you handle those challenges? Do you feel like you miss out on opportunities (e.g. can't or don't know how to get loans, can't improve product due to lack of time or other resources, cannot grow business due to issues with lack of resources?)? Please explain.

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[49] This question was eventually deleted because it was thought that question 7 in this section was very similar.

8. Have you been bothered by men or experienced harassment? If yes, how so? How did you or do you deal with it? Was it effective?[50]

9. Would you be interested in being a seller in the next 10 years? Why?

10. How would you like to see your business operate in the future? Do you have any plans to expand your commercial activity? How do you plan to make that happen? What are your main concerns about your business in the future?

11. What way do you sell your jamu? By jamu gendong, bicycle, mopad or in a stall? What type of selling method do you prefer? Why? What is good and bad about these selling methods? Is there another way of selling your jamu?[51]

12. Where do you get your jamu ingredients? Is it difficult to get them? (e.g., too expensive, not easily available in the local markets in Jogyakarta etc..)

Socio-economic impact of selling medicinal plants

1. Do you think that selling medicinal plants has improved your life? How?

2. What are the main positive outcomes of being a seller other than money? (e.g. being able to cure your family and your children, being able to give a better education for the children with the money earned, better interaction with other women, etc.)? What are negative outcomes?

3. How much product do you sell each month? Ask about how much money is charged for products.[52]

4. What percentage does the jamu business contribute to the household income?[53]

5. How is the money you earn spent? (e.g. better quality food, children education, improvement of your home, future investments etc..)?

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[50] This question was added after we heard from a few sellers about issues with sexual harassment while selling jamu.

[51] This question was an addition to the original questionnaire, when we realized that there was a variety of methods to sell jamu, depending on available resources and mobility.

[52] The wording of this question was originally; “What is the amount of money that you can earn on average every month by selling your products?” It was changed because sellers seemed to feel more comfortable giving information about how much product they sell (and prices of products), rather than the amount of money that they make.

[53] This question was added to the original questionnaire

6. Do you feel that your opinion regarding the ways to spend money is accepted by your family? Do you feel that since when you started selling medicinal plants you have a stronger say in the decisions that are made in your family and community, in particular regarding how the money is spent?

7. How do you think others see you? Do you think that they hold you in high esteem for your knowledge? Do you feel overall appreciated by the rest of the community and your family for the work you do?[54]

Impact on women and family health of selling medicinal plants and products

1. Do you consume jamu? If yes, how often? If yes, to cure/to prevent which diseases?[55]

~~2. How often do you use these products for yourself?~~[56]

3. Does your family consume jamu? Who consumes jamu the most in your family? (e.g. children, old people etc.)

4. What do you think of Western medicine[57]? Do you think that is it always effective? In which cases do you think Western medicine is not or less effective?

5. Do you consume any Western medicine together with jamu?

6. Are you aware of any risks in consuming jamu with Western medicine?

Instant Jamu[58]

1. What do you think about instant jamu? How do you feel instant jamu will affect fresh jamu sellers? Is it an interesting innovation or is it interfering or undermining the essence of traditional jamu?

2. What is the healing effectiveness of instant jamu? Is instant jamu as good as fresh jamu? What you do think people will think about the effectiveness of instant jamu?

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[54] This question was originally in the section titled, "Roles and Identities"

[55] This question was originally worded as; "Do you consume natural products? If yes, to cure/to prevent which diseases?"

[56] This was in the original questionnaire, but later deleted, because jamu sellers usually touched down on this, when answering Question 4 in the section on knowledge and training.

[57] Western medicine was translated in the Bahasa version as medicine from the doctor.

[58] These questions were added after it was discovered that some jamu sellers make and sell instant jamu.

3. Are you interested in producing instant jamu in the future? Why?

Glossary

Javanese, Indonesian, and English words

Aduh, biyung!	Ouch mother! This is a common saying for when someone gets hurt
Ampeg-ampeg	means feels a bit nauseated
Arisan	A savings and loans group in which members can give daily, weekly, or monthly allotments of their income (to save or pay back a loan). The amount that they save is given back to them after a specific amount of time.
Bank Plecit	money lenders
BMT (Baitul Maal wa Tamwil)	A micro-finance institution which gives loans based on Syria law
Borongan	Wholesale
Bu jamu	Female jamu seller

Capcay	Popular stir fry vegetable dish in Indonesia
dipipis	To crush; used to describe the process of crushing ingredients to make jamu
Dukun	Javanese shaman
Gotong royong	Mutual assistance
Ibu-ibu	Mothers
Instant jamu	Powdered jamu sold in a packet with instructions for consumption, such as; add powder to boiling water and lemon.
Jamu gendong	Selling jamu while carrying it on ones back. This is also a name for a jamu seller who carries jamu on her back.
Jamu phagar,	Fence medicine (jamu ingredients grown in one’s own garden)

Javanese Primbon Jamu	Javanese book with horoscope information and jamu recipes
Kampung	Neighborhood
Kasar	Uncivilized or coarse in nature, rough personality
Keputihan	An infection of the genitals. Also called flour albus.
Lumpang	Traditional stone tool (like a mortar and pestle)
Mbak jamu	Name for a female jamu seller, also spelled as mbok jamu
Nyumbang	Monetary contributions made by members of a community towards a community fund that is used for events, celebrations, and the welfare of the community
Obat asli	Traditional medicine
Obat modern	Chemically derived medicines, or Western medicine

Pahit	Bitter
Pak jamu	Male jamu seller
Puskesmas	Government clinic
Rewang	Attending and helping with an event of a family member, friend, or neighbor
Selendang	A strong shawl, often used to tie basket of jamu to one’s back
Tempe	Fermented tofu, served alone or within Indonesian dishes
Tukang jamu	Craftsman of jamu
Wiraswasta	Entrepreneur
Yu	Short for Mbakyu, which means elder sister in Javanese

Jamu ingredients

Asem	Tamarind
Asin	Salt
Beras	Powdererd raw rice
Cabe puyang	Java chili pepper, also called long pepper
Duan sirih	Betle nut leaf. Also called piper betle. The nuts of the plant are also used in jamu.
Duan papaya	Leaves of papaya tree
Gula	Sugar
Gula jawa	Coconut sugar from the areca palm
Kapulaga	Cardamom

Kedawung	Forest tree (typically the seeds and the bark of the tree are used as ingredients in jamu
Kencur	Type of ginger
Kunir	Turmeric
Lempuyang	Type of ginger
Luntas	Common hedge (the leaves are used in jamu)
Sunthi	rhizome similar to ginger

Specific types of jamu

Beras Kencur	Mixture of rice, the root of the resurrection lily, tamarind, red sugar, and water. It is consumed by men and women and is useful for an energy boost and for treating coughs and the common cold

Galian Putri	Also called Galian Singset. A type of jamu for women which provides a slimming and refreshing effect on the body
Gula Asam	Translates to sugar acid, it is a jamu made from: sugar mixed with tamarind or ginger, usually produced to have a slimming effect and to keep the skin tight and smooth.
Jamu Pabrik	Factory produced powdered jamu, also called “jamu bubuk” and “jamu serbuk”
Jamu Racikan	Jamu that is made with a variety of plant ingredients according to a customer’s specific needs (mixed in front of customer and then served)
Kunyit Asam	Mixture of turmeric, tamarind, palm sugar, and water. It is used for regulating women’s menstrual cycle (keeping it on a regular schedule).

Pahitan	Also spelled paitan. Jamu made from a bitter herb and used to treat headaches, body odor, pimples, abdominal bloating, and cholesterol
Sido Muncul	Factory brand jamu
Uyup Uyup	Also spelled uyub uyub. Jamu for increasing breastmilk production, made from the root of the resurrection lilly, common ginger, purple ginger, round turmeric, katuk leaves (leaves from a tropical shrub, also known as star gooseberry), shepherd turmeric, sugar and salt.

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

2012 – 2015	M.A. Sociology, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB, Canada Thesis: “”Aduh, Biyung!” (“Ouch mother!”): The Impacts of Gender Roles on Motivations and Management Strategies of Jamu Entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia”
2010 – 2011	The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 18 units fulfilled towards Master of Social Work. 4.0 GPA
2002 – 2007	B.A. Cum Laude and with Honors, Geography, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio Area of concentration: Urban and Regional Studies

AWARDS

2015	SSHRC Funded Jamu Project RA Scholarship, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB
2012 – 2014	Merit Award, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB
2010	YWCA Employee Award, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
2008	AmeriCorps Education Award Recipient, YWCA, Columbus, Ohio

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2012 – 2015	Graduate Research Assistant for Professor Maria Costanza Torri in “Exploring the interlinkages between gender entrepreneurship economy, local knowledge systems in traditional medicine, and urban development,” at University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB
2013	Graduate Research Assistant for Professor Dale Ballucci at University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB, transcribe data from digital recordings to text and edit paper

CONFERENCE/SYMPOSIUM PRESENTATIONS

2015	Sexualities in the Social World: 110th Annual ASA Meeting, Chicago IL Paper titled, ““I will just keep walking and be silent”: Women Jamu Entrepreneur’s Experiences of Sexual Harassment” Travel awards: UNB School of Grad Studies, 300CAD, UNB Sociology Department, 300CAD

2015	Seminar Internasional: Cerita di Balik Jamu (International Seminar: The Stories Behind Jamu), Yogyakarta, Indonesia Report titled, “Jamu Sellers in Jogja: Motivations and Management Strategies” Travel award: SSHRC project funds from Dr. Torri
2015	AMADES 2015 Symposium - Ce que guerir veut dire: experiences, significations, politiques et technologies de la guerison, Ottawa, Canada Co-written paper titled, “”My customers put trust in me”: gender roles, traditional medicine, and healing processes in Indonesia” Travel award: SSHRC project funds from Dr. Torri
2014	Chi Nor Zom Bu Ling – One Earth for All: Regenerating Biocultural Ecosystem Resilience, International Society of Ethnobotany, Bumthang, Bhutan Poster titled, “Constructs of Gender and Work in Indonesia: Linking Plant Biodiversity and the Commercial Trade of Traditional Medicine with the Gendered Work of “Jamu Gendong” Entrepreneurs” Co-presented paper titled, “Mapuche ancestral medicine: between “modernity” and tradition” Travel award: SSHRC project funds from Dr. Torri
2014	Congress 2014 of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Borders without Boundaries, Brock University, Saint Catharines, ON, Canada Paper titled, “Applying Ahl’s Post-Structural Feminism to Gender Entrepreneurship Research in Java” Paper titled, “”I have two jobs”: Motivations for selling traditional medicine (jamu) and managing multiple gender roles in business and the home” Travel awards: UNB School of Grad Studies, 300CAD, UNB Sociology Department, 300CAD
2013	Inscribing Context: Fact, Fiction, and the Politics of Social Inquiry, Concordia University, Montreal, QB, Canada Paper titled, “Female Jamu Entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Motivations, Management Strategies, and Gender Relations” Travel award: UNB Sociology Department, 300CAD
2013	University of New Brunswick Student Association Conference, Fredericton, NB, Canada Paper titled, “Female Jamu Entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Motivations, Management Strategies, and Gender Relations”

PAPERS TO BE SUBMITTED FOR JOURNAL PUBLICATION

2015	“The influence of gender roles on motivations to engage in (and continue with) informal jamu micro-entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta, Indonesia”

	Paper in progress
2015	"Business behavior of jamu sellers in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: the impact of gender roles on resource accessibility and management strategies" Paper in progress

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2012 – 2014	University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB Teaching Assistant – for Professor Dale Ballucci in "Sociological Perspectives", "Sociology of Deviance", and "Delinquency"
2013	University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB Guest Speaker – for Professor Maria Costanza Torri in "Health Care in International Context" Presented research project to students
2009 – 2011	YWCA, Columbus, Ohio Employment Resource Coordinator - Developed and delivered workshops in job readiness and computer skills, presented to employers, clients, and partners at job fairs and meetings

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

2013 – 2014	VP Academic, Graduate Student Association, University of New Brunswick Graduate Student Senator, Committee member of GSA executive committee, school of grad studies executive committee, nominating committee, and inter-organization selection committee
2012 – 2013	Councillor, Sociology, Graduate Student Association, University of New Brunswick

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND MEMBERSHIPS

2015	American Sociology Association
2015	AMADES (Anthropologie medicale appliquee au developpement et a la sante)
2014	Canadian Sociology Association
2014	International Society of Ethnobiology
2012 – 2015	Union of Graduate Student Workers, PSAC Local 60550

REFERENCES

Available upon request