



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

Lund University Master of Science in
International Development and Management
June 2019

The Young Creatives
A Value-Based Approach to Cultural Entrepreneurship
in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Author: **Aldyn M. Brudie**

Supervisor: **Tobias Axelsson**

“... culture is the fountain of our creativity and progress... Once we shift our attention from the purely instrumental view of culture and accept its constructive and creative role, we have to see development in terms that include cultural development as well.”

- Amartya Sen (1996)

Abstract

The creative economy (CE) has recently been at the forefront of Indonesia's development agenda. By harnessing human creativity and cultural resources, there is considerable potential for CE and the creative and cultural industries to contribute to economic growth and generate employment opportunities for the country's expanding working-age population. However, the virtues of CE have largely been expressed in terms of economic value. This research seeks to understand why Indonesia's youth are harnessing the potentials of CE by engaging in cultural entrepreneurship, and how this behavior can be understood in qualitative terms. Employing Klamer's (2017) value-based approach, this study uses a case study method to understand the values that are inherent in youth cultural entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Using data based on 30 semi-structured interviews, this thesis finds that values not only have a significant influence on this type of entrepreneurial behavior, but that the ultimate values realized in the process are often expressed by the participants beyond their material significance. A struggle for authenticity of cultural production is reflected in its increased commodification and the need for relevant institutional support for creative business development. In order for the current generation to advance CE, it is seen to require innovative and creative reproductions of culture as opposed to its mere preservation.

Key Words

Creative economy; creative and cultural industries; cultural entrepreneurship; Indonesia; value-based approach; youth

Word Count

14,990

Acknowledgements

There are any number of determinants that influence the possibility of something. While it is difficult to say with certainty what would or would not have made this thesis possible, I feel an immense sense of gratitude for the many factors that combined to result in this finished product.

First and foremost, thank you to everyone in Yogyakarta who agreed to speak with me, and for sharing your stories, your time, and your tea. I sincerely wish you all the best in your businesses, your art, and your lives. *Terima kasih banyak!*

The research for this thesis was funded through a Minor Field Studies (MFS) grant, generously financed through the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida). The MFS program funds thesis fieldwork every year in all corners of the globe, and the world of research is all the richer for it.

Thank you to Ibu Moe, Mbak Nana, and my UNESCO Jakarta colleagues, for your valued mentorship, and for introducing me to the exciting nexus of culture and development.

To Andeta, Veronica, and Nurman, valued field assistants and interpreters, who truly made this research enjoyable. Thank you for offering insights and assistance I didn't even know to ask for.

To my LUMID group of peers, I have appreciated your inspiring dedication and heart, as well as your companionship in the occasional pit of despair. And to my thesis supervisor, Tobias, thank you for your constructive and positive insight, not letting me wallow for too long in said pit.

To Julius, for keeping me fed, and also for everything.

And to Mom and Dad. You made me brave.

List of Acronyms & Abbreviations

BEKRAF	<i>Badan Ekonomi Kreatif</i> (Indonesian Creative Economy Agency)
BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i> (Indonesian Central Statistics Agency)
CCI	Creative and cultural industries
CE	Creative economy
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
DI Yogyakarta	<i>Daerah Istimewah Yogyakarta</i> (Special Region of Yogyakarta)
GDP	Gross domestic product
HDI	Human development index
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
ISI	<i>Institut Seni Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Institute of the Arts)
MSMEs	Micro, small, and medium enterprises
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USD	United States Dollar
VBA	Value-based approach
Yogya	City of Yogyakarta

Glossary of Terms

<i>Batik</i>	Dyed fabric patterned with wax
<i>Gamelan</i>	Traditional ensemble music
<i>Haram</i>	That which is forbidden, or sinful, in Islam
<i>Jumputan</i>	Dyed fabric patterned with stitching and ties
<i>Njawani</i>	Of Java; Javanese
<i>Pemerintahan</i>	Government
<i>Tenun</i>	Woven fabric
<i>Wayang</i>	Traditional shadow puppets

Author's Note

This thesis uses pseudonyms to reference the participants of the study in order to ensure anonymity while maintaining the narrative essence of the paper.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction and Background	1
1.1. Study Aim and Research Questions	2
1.2. Thesis Structure	3
2. Manifestations of Creativity and Culture	3
2.1. The Creative Economy: Making the Case for Culture’s Contribution	3
2.1.1. <i>The Significance of Place</i>	5
2.1.2. <i>Heritage Products and the Creative Economy</i>	7
2.2. Cultural Entrepreneurship.....	8
2.3. Relevance and Originality of Study.....	10
3. Theoretical Framework: A Value-Based Approach to Cultural Entrepreneurship	11
3.1. Valorization: Realizing What’s Important.....	11
3.2. Cultural Entrepreneurship: A Path to Valorization	12
3.3. Goods and Sources are the Means for Valorization	12
3.4. Spheres of Value Formation.....	13
3.5. Operationalizing the VBA: Cultivating a Tree of Life	13
4. Methodology	14
4.1. Situating the Case.....	14
4.2. Research Design.....	16
4.3. The Fieldwork.....	17
4.3.1. <i>Sampling</i>	17
4.3.2. <i>Interviewing, Interpretation and Assistance</i>	18
4.4. Data Analysis: “Seek Complexity and Order It”	18
4.5. Limitations and Ethical Considerations.....	19
5. Analysis of Findings	20

5.1.	The Formation of Values	21
5.1.1.	<i>Culture</i>	21
5.1.2.	<i>Oikos</i>	22
5.1.3.	<i>Social</i>	23
5.1.4.	<i>Market</i>	24
5.1.5.	<i>Governance</i>	25
5.2.	Sources	26
5.2.1.	<i>Essential Sources</i>	27
5.2.2.	<i>Material Sources</i>	27
5.2.3.	<i>Social Sources</i>	28
5.2.4.	<i>Intellectual, Artistic and Cultural Sources</i>	29
5.2.5.	<i>Societal or Common Sources</i>	31
5.3.	Valorization: What’s Important?.....	33
5.3.1.	<i>Personal Values</i>	33
5.3.2.	<i>Social Values</i>	35
5.3.3.	<i>Societal Values</i>	36
5.3.4.	<i>Transcendental Values</i>	37
6.	Conclusions and Avenues for Further Inquiry	39
	References	42
	Appendix A: List of Interview Participants	47
	Appendix B: Interview Materials	48

Table of Figures

Figure 1: A Value-Based Approach to Cultural Entrepreneurship.....	14
Figure 2: Location of Yogyakarta in Indonesia.....	16
Figure 3: Youth Cultural Entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta.....	20

1. Introduction and Background

It is difficult to explicitly state the value of culture in our lives. Cultural values shape us as we simultaneously shape culture, yet its intrinsic importance makes it a challenging concept to assign real value to. It is not merely instrumental, it is essential. Culture's contribution to both economic and human development has been widely discussed since the latter half of the twentieth century (eg. Williams 1963; Bourdieu 1977; Throsby 1999) and support for the inclusion of culture in development agendas has also taken root in recent decades, although communicating the universal importance of such a nebulous and contextually-dependent concept has proved a challenge for those who wish to see it take on a more central role in sustainable development frameworks (De Beukelaer 2015). One way the culture sector's advocates have managed to demonstrate its value is through the creative economy (CE). CE, with the creative and cultural industries (CCI) as its building blocks, offer increased opportunities for "making money off ideas" (Howkins 2001). Furthermore, in developing countries, CE is a plausible engine for a post-agricultural economy based on ideas and services (Throsby 2015). However, there remains considerable room to explore culture's value beyond its marketability.

Indonesia, the world's fourth-most populous country, has been positioning itself as a global example for CE development in recent years, with the understanding that it will offer new opportunities for its rapidly-growing economy¹. Furthermore, Indonesia is in the midst of a demographic dividend, with its working-age population set to surpass the young and elderly population through the year 2050. Gainful employment opportunities for the current generation coming of age will be critical for maintaining the country's trajectory towards establishing itself as one of the world's ten largest economies (UNFPA 2015). CE is a way to make use of the country's abundance of people power while simultaneously moving away from a dependence on natural resources and has recently been at the forefront of Indonesia's sustainable development agenda (UNESCO 2017; BEKRAF 2018).

¹ Since the 1970s, Indonesia has transformed from an agriculturally-based economy to one based on manufacturing and services, firmly cementing its status as a lower-middle income country (Rothenberg et al. 2016; World Bank n.d.). Poverty rates have rapidly decreased, with March 2018 seeing the national poverty rate fall to 9.82 percent – its first time ever in the single digits (BPS 2018b).

Entrepreneurship is also widely considered to be an important engine for economic growth and job creation. There is a “relentless optimism” that the disruption and innovation inherent in entrepreneurship will be central to seeking creative solutions to problems both globally and locally (Naudin 2018). Cultural entrepreneurship seeks to harness the potentials of cultural resources and human creativity to contribute to CE development. In Indonesia, micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) are the primary drivers of CE, and empowering MSMEs is thought to contribute not only to the country’s economic development, but also to reducing poverty, expanding employment opportunities, and enabling a more equal income distribution. It has thus become a primary policy focus (Papilaya, Soisa & Akib 2015; Kuhlke, Shcramme & Kooyman 2015; OECD 2018).

1.1. Study Aim and Research Questions

Indonesia’s young population will be a considerable boon to its development if there are gainful opportunities as they reach working age. Furthermore, national policy is increasingly oriented towards supporting MSMEs, as well as building up the creative economy. It then remains to be seen how cultural entrepreneurship might contribute to these developments. Additionally, entrepreneurs are prominent actors in CE and MSME development and are accordingly appropriate subjects of study (Oliva Abarca 2018). There remains considerable room to link CCIs and human development², although research and policy has tended to focus mostly on the economic impacts of CE (De Beukelaer 2015). Furthermore, there is a general lack of empirical data on the lived experience of cultural entrepreneurs, who are the drivers of these industries (Naudin 2018). Less still has been applied in the context of developing countries, or with a specific focus on youth.

From this point of departure, this research seeks to understand how Indonesia’s youth are harnessing the potentials of CCI, and why this young “creative class” (Florida 2002) engages in such entrepreneurial pursuits. In order to understand what drives youth cultural entrepreneurship in Indonesia, this study will employ Klamer’s (2017) value-based approach (VBA) to identify the values inherent in CCI entrepreneurship. Using the city of Yogyakarta as a case study, the following research questions will be explored:

² This thesis uses the definition of human development as defined by Alkire (2011) as “the expansion of peoples’ freedoms to live long, healthy and creative lives; to advance other goals they have reason to value; and to engage actively in shaping development suitably and sustainably on a shared planet”.

- *Why are youth engaging in the creative economy through cultural entrepreneurship?*
- *How do values drive these behaviors, and how are these values formed?*

In its wider scope, this thesis builds upon a discussion of how culture, creativity, and youth entrepreneurship play a role in human development in Indonesia by exploring the experiences of individuals and the values that drive – and are realized – through cultural entrepreneurship. In doing so, this thesis aims to contribute to the “ragged field of research” on CCIs and cultural entrepreneurship (Schulte-Holthaus 2018:100) and seeks to establish a more tangible understanding of the true importance of culture and cultural work beyond quantifiable value.

1.2. Thesis Structure

Section 2 presents the primary themes of this paper and the discussions surrounding CE and cultural entrepreneurship, both globally and in Indonesia, in order to establish a firm grounding for the relevance of this study. Section 3 discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the VBA and outlines the framework that guides the analysis. Section 4 addresses the methods for data collection and interpretation, while section 5 presents the main findings, analyzed through the VBA framework. The conclusion summarizes the research and offers direction for future studies.

2. Manifestations of Creativity and Culture

On an opening note, it should be stated that while culture has many definitions³, the aim of this thesis is not to crystallize one single understanding of it, particularly as this research reflects cultures of which I am not a part. Rather, culture is engaged with insofar as it reflects meaning, values and identity for the participants of this study.

2.1. The Creative Economy: Making the Case for Culture’s Contribution

Linking culture and human development has long been an abstract anthropological contemplation rather than a basis for policy. However, recent decades have seen CE development become an attractive ‘fast policy’ brand (UNCTAD 2010; De Beukelaer 2015; De

³ In broad terms, this thesis understands culture as “features of a society or social group” (UNESCO 2002:4); values of a “collective experience” (O’Connor 2016:57); a social process that constructs various ways of life (Williams 1977 in Limkriengkrai 2010); and “an organism, not a mechanism” in an elaborate ecosystem (Holden 2015:2).

Beukelaer & O'Connor 2016). Since 2008, periodic reports⁴ published by UNESCO and UNCTAD have been influential in defining CE's role in development, promoting the potentials of creativity and cultural assets to generate employment and economic growth in the developing world, in addition to their diffuse "non-monetized social benefits" (UNCTAD 2010; UNESCO 2013; Throsby 2015:371). This is based on the assumption that all countries readily possess an abundance of diverse cultures, creativity, and human capital (Hesmondhalgh 2008; De Beukelaer 2015; BEKRAF 2018; Pechlaner, Innerhofer & Borin 2018).

Although a universally-agreed upon definition of CE is elusive, it can generally be described as the production, distribution, and transactions of goods and services that are cultural, creative, or artistic in nature. It is made up of the creative and cultural industries (CCI) and while their classification in policy and practice is contextually dependent, they can generally be understood as industries that: (i) involve inputs that require some degree of human creativity; (ii) serve a symbolic purpose beyond a simply functional one; and (iii) create outputs considered to be a form of intellectual property with the potential for profit generation (Throsby 2015:371). This typically includes the visual arts, handicrafts, literature, films, festivals, music, dance, and television (UNCTAD 2010; UNESCO 2013).

The global market for creative goods and services has shown sustained growth in the past decade⁵, and some data suggests that CE makes up between two to three percent of national GDP in most countries (Throsby 2015; UNCTAD 2015). The worldwide growth of CE was also maintained through the global financial crisis in 2008, which has further supported the belief that it is a reliable driver in uncertain economic times (UNCTAD 2015; Long & Morpeth 2016). While it does not singlehandedly act as an engine for economic growth, promoting CE in developing countries is often tied to broader national agendas such as poverty alleviation, tourism development, and heritage protection (UNESCO 2013; OECD 2014; Fahmi, McCann & Koster 2017). However, much CE policy and examples of best practice are based on knowledge produced in highly developed countries, most notably the United Kingdom and Australia. Cultural policy must be contextually adapted, and there has been a lack of critical

⁴ See the series of *Creative Economy Reports* from UNCTAD (2010) and UNESCO (2013) for an understanding of the global significance of CE, and DeBeukelaer (2014) for a critical examination of them.

⁵ Valued at \$547 billion USD in 2015, the global market increased from \$302 billion USD in 2003 (UNCTAD 2015).

examination as to how these solutions are best implemented locally in the developing world (De Beukelaer 2015; De Beukelaer & O'Connor 2016; Goldberg-Miller & Kooyman 2018).

The creative and cultural industries are the foundations of CE, although situating them within an 'industrial' discourse has been problematic for those who have argued for an intrinsic view of culture's significance, as opposed to pushing for a more hardline, economic standpoint from which to assess their values (O'Connor 2004; Long & Morpeth 2016; Romão 2017). Romão (2017:46) problematizes this "double process" of cultural commodification, whereby culture is increasingly produced in a market-oriented manner, while the production of commodities increasingly integrates cultural meaning. The legitimacy of cultural meaning must be examined as questions of the authenticity of cultural production subsequently arise.

2.1.1. The Significance of Place

The localities of cultural production contribute to its legitimacy. Much of the literature points to the spatial geography of creative 'clusters' and the place-based advantages that they offer for CE (eg. Florida 2002; O'Connor 2004; Romão 2017; Lange 2018). In much of this century, policy for cultural industry development has been targeted towards the local level, and cultural industries have mainly been characterized by their tacit, locally embedded knowledge (O'Connor 2004). These spatial 'agglomerations' are self-reinforcing: cultural and creative production often reflect the ideals and traditions of their locality, while the creative authenticity and reputation of the place is upheld by the goods and services produced there (O'Connor 2004; Romão 2017; Pechlaner, Innerhofer & Borin 2018). Additionally, the cultural capital and locational factors contribute to the resilience of CCI clustering and provide for increased knowledge-sharing and networking⁶.

Lange (2018) refers to these agglomerations as 'scenes', where place, culture, and identity all intersect. The cultural entrepreneurs themselves can be seen as both "sense-makers and sense-givers" within these scenes, further reinforcing the legitimacy of the place (Lounsbury, Gehman & Glynn 2018:6). Holden (2015) sees cultural context as an ecology, as opposed to an economy, asserting that culture must be seen holistically in its environment. People create culture with their ideas, skills, and creativity. Their opportunities to do so are also enabled by

⁶ These place-based advantages often display urban bias as they tend to be clustered around urban centers (Limkriengkrai 2010).

physical things, such as monetary resources or built infrastructures. Furthermore, these opportunities are influenced by policies and politics. Culture is “an organism, not a mechanism” (ibid.:2).

In order to understand how young entrepreneurs navigate this cultural ‘organism’, it becomes necessary to situate this study firmly within its local context, as cities and regions are often the most important actors for establishing and overseeing CE policy (UNESCO 2013). This is also true in Indonesia as it has undergone a period of rapid decentralization⁷ and it is increasingly the responsibility of cities and regions to adopt and implement strategies for place-based development (Fahmi, McCann & Koster 2017; Sutarman, Herawan & Herdian 2017).

In Indonesia, CE has increasingly been mainstreamed into the national agenda, as evidenced by the formation of the national Creative Economy Agency (BEKRAF) in 2015, which is tasked with designing, coordinating and implementing policies and programs supporting national CE growth. President Joko Widodo’s administration asserts that, due to Indonesia’s current development trajectory, as well as its abundance of human and cultural resources, CE can become “the backbone of the national economy” (BEKRAF n.d.). As a country of 264 million people and an impressive array of diverse cultures spread across more than 17,000 islands, Indonesia possesses a wealth of cultural and creative potentials. As Indonesia is poised to become one of the world’s ten largest economies by 2030, the hope is that it will also be able to establish itself as a CE powerhouse (BEKRAF 2018).

Indonesia’s creative economy is divided into 16 diverse sub-sectors⁸. The largest three industries are culinary, craft, and fashion, and together account for roughly 76 percent of Indonesia’s creative economy GDP (BEKRAF 2018:13). In 2016, CE accounted for nearly 7.5 percent of the country’s total GDP and the CE workforce is continuing to grow (BEKRAF

⁷ Law 22/1999, one of the most sweeping laws of Indonesia’s reformation period, called for the transfer of significant power to sub-national levels, and gave regencies and municipalities unprecedented power (Nasution 2016; OECD 2018).

⁸ The Indonesian Creative Economy is classified in sixteen subsectors: architecture; interior design; visual design; product design; film, animation and video; photography; craft; culinary; music; fashion; app and game development; publishing; advertising; television and radio; performing arts; and fine arts (BEKRAF 2018).

2018:14; UNESCO 2017). Additionally, one out of every five CE workers is between the ages of 20 to 24 years old, illustrating its potential for absorbing young labor (BEKRAF 2018).

Although the terms *creative* and *cultural* are used synonymously, the two can take on some contextual differentiation (Sardana 2015). Some cities in Indonesia have focused more on the creative industries, as activities requiring improved external conditions for which creativity can flourish on its own – generally pertaining to ‘new’ sectors such as film, design, or publishing. In other contexts, the focus has been on more cultural industries, perceived as something to be preserved through top-down subsidies (Fahmi, McCann & Koster 2017). In Yogyakarta, the city in which the present study is situated, the latter approach has generally been taken, and policy has been formulated towards industries based on traditional cultural heritage (ibid.).

2.1.2. Heritage Products and the Creative Economy

Cultural heritage is an important source of meaning, identity, and authenticity (Artico & Tamma 2018). In developing countries, the cultural industries have primarily been based on the knowledge and skills of cultural heritage, particularly in the craft industry, and are often focal areas of cultural policy or development cooperation (Reijonen 2010; Throsby 2015). Handicraft production in particular has long been an important industry through its contributions to livelihood diversification and the development of non-farm rural economies (Limkriengkrai 2010). Additionally, craft micro-enterprises have been a successful means of equipping young people with important skills for integration in the job market (Abisunga-Oyekunle & Filis 2017). Kapur and Mittar (2014) argue that traditional craft plays a catalyzing role in inspiring thought and innovation in a given society. Craft requires considerable artistry and skill, and as the role of the craftsman has changed over time, they have taken a more established and respected role in society (Jakob 2012).

In Indonesia, the craft industry is a major contributor to CE, both in terms of overall GDP contribution⁹ and the total number of people who participate in it (Fahmi & Koster 2017; BEKRAF 2018). Heritage-based entrepreneurship is indisputably important for CE development in Indonesia, particularly as these industries are more accessible to a broader

⁹ Craft accounts for over 15 percent of the creative economy’s GDP contribution (BEKRAF 2018: 48).

populous, typically requiring fewer initial inputs and maintaining lower entry barriers (Fahmi, Koster & van Dijk 2016).

2.2. Cultural Entrepreneurship

Cultural entrepreneurship is a relatively new field of entrepreneurship studies, which was itself only in its nascent stages as an academic discipline in the early 1980s (Steyaert & Hjorth 2003). The last decade and a half has seen a significant increase in its scholarly application (Kuhlke, Shcramme & Kooyman 2015; Toghraee & Monjezi 2017; Schulte-Holthaus 2018). In the literature, cultural entrepreneurship is broadly understood to be shaped by two predominant features: the individual and the environment.

The individual has long been at the center of entrepreneurship studies. A Schumpeterian view of the entrepreneur as the great disruptor, sees them as ultimate drivers of innovation and economic change (Schumpeter 1911 in Becker & Knudsen 2009). This idea of a “maverick entrepreneur” (Naudin 2015:39) has also been dominant in concepts of modern entrepreneurial processes, arguing that cultural entrepreneurs are important economic drivers in a post-industrial economy based on ideas and services (Kuhlke, Shcramme & Kooyman 2015; Togharee & Monjezi 2017). In this view, the success of entrepreneurs is highly dependent on their own personalities and skills, and their ability to convince others of the importance of their pursuits. Powers of persuasion define the essence of an entrepreneur (Klamer 2011).

Studies of cultural entrepreneurs have shown that they tend to be driven by passions, and by doing what they love (Sardana 2015; Luckman 2018). Their interest in activities that make use of the resources they have on hand, and their creative lifestyle ambitions are the foundations of their work. In contrast from the narrative of the born entrepreneur which points to an innate drive for economic independence, some literature on cultural entrepreneurship has offered the explanation that oftentimes, cultural entrepreneurs don't necessarily embrace the title of 'entrepreneur' or exhibit desires to run their own company. Rather, they become entrepreneurs because it allows them to be self-sufficient and to support their values of being a maker and creator (Luckman 2018). Naudin (2015) finds that social and personal values seem to be just as important for cultural entrepreneurs as their commercial goals.

The contributions of cultural entrepreneurs are not only understood in terms of economic outputs, but also in creating symbolic value (Schulte-Holthaus 2018). This symbolic value is woven through storytelling processes which are central to value-making in CCI (Lounsbury & Glynn 2001; Borghoff 2018). The story of the individual and their personal qualities is important, as is the story the entrepreneur is able to weave from their actions. This is an iterative process which also legitimizes the products of their entrepreneurial pursuits (Lounsbury & Glynn 2001; Klamer 2011). Entrepreneurship in itself is a creative process, and the cultural goods that are produced derive much of their value from being 'common property' in the sense that they will form part of a cultural or artistic commons (Klamer 2011; Sardana 2015).

Although individuals are understood to be the prominent actors in entrepreneurship, a more recent paradigm also asserts that entrepreneurial behavior comes from the entrepreneur's deep embeddedness in economic, social and cultural contexts. Context provides a deeper understanding of the basis of these processes (Sardana 2015; Lounsbury, Gehman & Glynn 2018; Naudin 2018). This becomes evident as cultural entrepreneurs are influenced and inspired by popular culture and societal relations in the pursuit of creating outputs with some form of intrinsic cultural meaning. In this respect, they "harness cultural resources in the pursuit of firm goals" (Lounsbury, Gehman & Glynn 2018:18). The entrepreneurs are engaged in a simultaneous process of conforming to existing cultural norms and creating new ones, constantly navigating their cultural milieus. Entrepreneurship is a process, not a fixed identity (Naudin 2018).

The environments to which people are bound pose barriers, both institutional and informal (Khoury & Prasad 2016). Thus, a proper contextualization of cultural entrepreneurship processes requires an examination of constraining and enabling factors that influence them (Lounsbury & Gehman 2001; Oliva Abarca 2018). Cultural entrepreneurship, as well as cultural labor, is generally found to be insecure, unstable and infrequent, while cultural workers themselves are prone to over-exertion and self-exploitation (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011). Furthermore, gender imbalances are common, and due to the heavy reliance on social networks and the importance of 'who you know, not what you know', many inequalities are inherent within the sector (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011; Lee 2011; Banks 2018). Some take these inequalities as evidence of the wider structures of neo-liberalism at play, from which even 'culturpreneurs' are not exempt (Loaker 2013).

As entrepreneurship studies have moved away from the characteristics of individual entrepreneurs and begun to explore entrepreneurship within its context, there is an understanding that both the individual and the environment are inseparable. Cultural entrepreneurship is formed by the “interplay between agency and structures”, where the individual and the environment are both of importance, and each has the power to shape the other (Naudin 2015:45).

2.3. Relevance and Originality of Study

Throughout this thesis, I seek to understand the values inherent to entrepreneurship in CCI beyond the quantitative measures of material inputs and outputs. Indeed, there are any number of entrepreneurial pursuits that may result in economic gains, but is there something more to CCI than that? And if so, how can we understand the value? The intangible and intrinsic nature of these questions may seem a slippery foothold upon which to base this research, but there is a grounding to be made from fields such as entrepreneurship studies (eg. Steyaert & Hjorth 2003; Naudin 2018), cultural anthropology and sociology (eg. Williams 1963; Geertz 1973; Bourdieu 1977), and cultural economics (eg. Throsby 1999; Hesmondhalgh 2008; O’Connor 2016).

Reviewing the literature highlights a general consensus that entrepreneurship is a key part of economic development, and that there is potentially unlimited space for CCI to take part in generating new markets, employment, and profits. Furthermore, entrepreneurship studies have recently engaged in an exploration of cultural entrepreneurship and its role in CE development. Generally, there is limited research on the experiences and motivations of cultural entrepreneurs themselves, and beyond that, few applications of these concepts to youth or to a developing country context.

Studies on CE, CCIs and MSMEs in Indonesia have primarily focused on the economic and market potentials (eg. Zuhdi 2012; Fahmi & Koster 2017; Hidayat & Asmara 2017; Ngatindriatun et al. 2018), implementation and implications of CE policies (eg. Papilaya, Soisa & Akib 2015; Fahmi, McCann & Koster 2017; Suhendra 2017), or with a focus on quantifiable data and questionnaires (eg. Brata 2011; Meutia & Ismail 2012). There remains space to explore the experiences of the individual entrepreneurs and how their values shape their work. The following section outlines a way for this research to do just that.

3. Theoretical Framework: A Value-Based Approach to Cultural Entrepreneurship

The underpinnings that support this analysis are structured upon Klamer's (2017) value-based approach (VBA), which seeks to understand economic behavior in relation to human values. In his recent book *Doing the Right Thing: A Value-Based Economy*, cultural economist Arjo Klamer develops a framework to argue that the economy is embedded in culture, and that the true nature of economics is "the realization of values by people, organizations, and nations" (2017:XIV). Drawing from theoretical groundings such as Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and classifications of capitals, as well as Sen's (1985) capabilities approach and the idea of a life of value, he crystalizes a framework to illustrate a value-driven economy. He posits that *valorization*, or the realization of values (realization both as acknowledgement and of making real), provides a more accurate portrayal of what drives economic behavior than classical rational choice economics or the instrumental values of goods and services. Instead, people engage in the market because of the nature of the cultural environment in which they are embedded – and the values that are inherent in them. This is particularly evident when examining those working in CCI, as their creativity is a constitution of culture.

3.1. Valorization: Realizing What's Important

Klamer identifies four domains of valorization, representing the values that are important to people, namely personal; social; societal; and transcendental, or cultural, values. Personal values are those that individuals value in themselves, such as craftsmanship or work ethic. Social values are those which one values with others, such as friendship or togetherness. Societal values pertain to the broader society, for example, sustainability or equality. Finally, transcendental or cultural values describe ideals that transcend the other domains, such as moral, religious, or spiritual values. Values are both inter- and intrapersonal; they are constructed by individuals, but are social in the sense that their significance comes from their shared understanding (ibid.). By making such values explicit, Klamer attempts to bring the concept of economics beyond that which is merely instrumental. A value-based economy is a departure from utilitarian *needs*, and instead facilitates an inquiry into the question: what is *important*? Identifying values inherent in peoples' behaviors is a way to answer this question (ibid.).

3.2. Cultural Entrepreneurship: A Path to Valorization

This process of valorization, or realizing values, is referred to as *phronesis*. It is inherently nonlinear and characterized by uncertainties, particularly when applied to the complexities of entrepreneurship. Despite its unpredictability, it illustrates how people engage with their values and actively strive towards the goods that are important to them. It begins by defining ideals, or a mission, and identifying the skills or knowledge needed to attain these goals. It requires sensible reflection but is not rational or calculative in the economic sense. Through *phronesis*, valorization comes about through a continuous engagement with recognizing values, planning, and acting to realize the values. Furthermore, values are not static or constant – through living, and the process of *phronesis*, they are constantly being rediscovered and reshaped.

A second important aspect of valorization departs from the behavior of the individual and stresses the importance of social and cultural processes. Valorization requires that others are convinced that what you do is worthy. Klammer refers to participating in such social process as “contributions”, or a “willingness to pay” (2017:88). Although this does not exclusively refer to profits, it means convincing others to somehow buy in. Inherent to the nature of entrepreneurship, there must be an output or a product that is of value to others.

3.3. Goods and Sources are the Means for Valorization

In addition to economic contributions, other resources are needed for realizing values. In VBA, these are referred to as *sources*, which are “a stock of something, nuts, knowledge or skills that enables someone to realize certain values directly or indirectly by way of certain goods” (2017:130). The essential sources include *oikos* (the home), health, and basic skills. Social sources include social capital and social networks, and cultural sources refer to things like cultural capital and heritage. Societal sources, which are the related systems in place such as education, public institutions, and infrastructure. Finally, there are material or financial sources, in line with the idea of economic capital. Taking stock of sources may also shed light on a negative space, or absence of sources, which can also affect valorization.

Understanding cultural entrepreneurship requires looking at how entrepreneurs develop their pursuits. Businesses often begin organically, through a utilization of sources entrepreneurs already possess, including those derived from their own skillsets (Sardana 2015). For achieving or attaining what is most important, monetary aspects are merely seen as

instrumental means to bring about valorization. The ultimate ‘goods’ attained are not material, but rather can be understood as “the means of life and well-being of men” (Aristotle & Ross 1995 in Klamer 2017:78). Money only is important insofar as it can be ‘transferred’ to attain the goods which in turn help realize values.

3.4. Spheres of Value Formation

The above discussion provides a conceptualization of economic behavior as a reflection of values and establishes that various sources provide for the realization of said values. Additionally, as this thesis requires an exploration of the embeddedness of cultural entrepreneurship in its socio-cultural milieu, it is also necessary to understand where values originate. According to Klamer, standard economics has discussed only two spheres of value formation: governance (based on rules, regulations and governmental logic) and market (the sphere for commodity exchange and commercialization). However, this does not reflect reality in a value-based economy. Thus, he offers three additional spheres in which values are formed: *oikos* (or the values of the home), social (based on networks and relationships), and finally, culture, in which the previous four are embedded. A model with all five spheres gives a better picture of how we “realize the goods that are most important to us” (2017:156). The VBA establishes the intrinsic embeddedness of the economy in culture, which in turn influences the motivations, actions, and outputs of individuals.

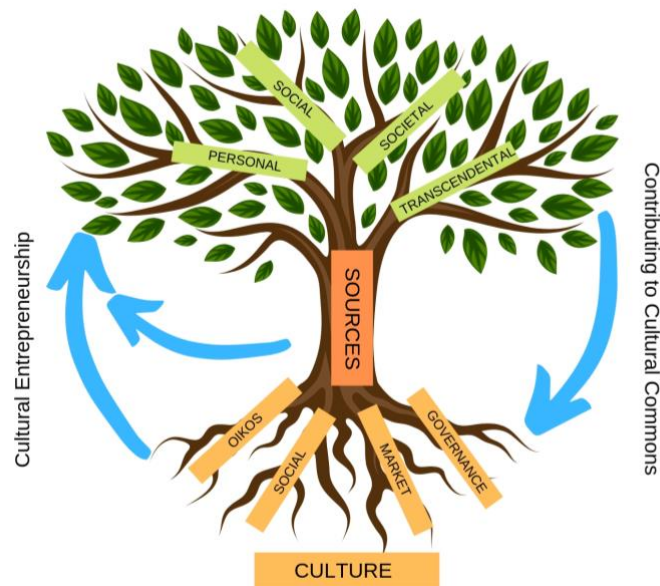
3.5. Operationalizing the VBA: Cultivating a Tree of Life

In this research, the VBA understands cultural entrepreneurship as *phronesis*. It also aids in defining the sources that impact the process, as well as the values that are ultimately realized. Furthermore, it provides a basis for understanding how values are formed and why people might become entrepreneurs in CCI. As an iterative process, it also shows how cultural entrepreneurs are not only drawing from cultural inspiration, but are also recontributing to a cultural and creative commons. The framework will be operationalized in order to understand not only which values and sources support entrepreneurship in CCIs, but to also explore *how* they may contribute to valorization.

In order to conceptualize the VBA, Klamer develops a “Tree of Life”, which in this research has been adapted to reflect cultural entrepreneurship. Figure 1 reflects the processes that support the value-driven behavior of cultural entrepreneurship, while valorization ultimately feeds back into culture and the formation of values. The roots of the tree are the spheres of

value formation, embedded in culture. The trunk represents the sources that support the realization of values, while the branches are the four domains of valorization.

Figure 1. A Value-Based Approach to Cultural Entrepreneurship



(Source: author, adapted from Klammer 2017)

By engaging in a discussion with young cultural entrepreneurs about why they pursue businesses in the creative economy, I intend to contribute to an understanding of how values support cultural entrepreneurship – and vice versa.

4. Methodology

As discussed in the section above, the values that drive cultural entrepreneurship are deeply embedded in their socio-cultural context and are expressed through the individual. Thus, this research uses qualitative, case study methods to understand the values that contribute to, and are reinforced by, the process of cultural entrepreneurship.

4.1. Situating the Case

Again, cultural entrepreneurship and the dynamics of CCI are best understood in their specific localities, particularly in Indonesia, whereby rapid decentralization has led to policy being increasingly implemented at the local and regional levels (Fahmi, McCann & Koster

2017). The city of Yogyakarta, and the Special Region of Yogyakarta¹⁰ (hereafter DI Yogyakarta), are widely celebrated as a center of Javanese culture and identity, with a wealth of traditions and heritage, particularly *batik*¹¹, *wayang* puppetry, *gamelan* music and dance. (Ferguson, Dahles & Prabawa 2017). Its unique blend of traditional cultural expressions is a reflection of the various periods of prehistoric, Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu, and Dutch colonial influences (Wijayanti & Damanik 2019).

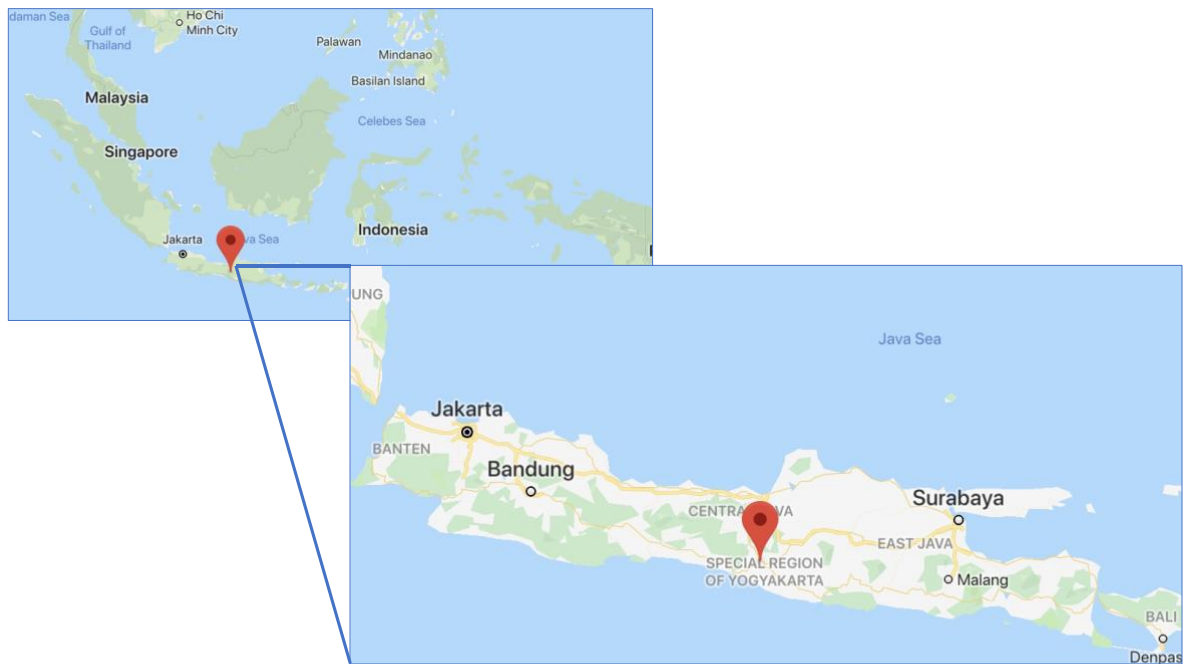
Furthermore, the city is known to have a vibrant young population, thanks to its numerous higher education institutions and its longstanding tradition as a city of knowledge and philosophy (Fahmi, McCann & Koster 2017). In terms of human development, the city of Yogyakarta ranks relatively high, with its HDI at 85.49 compared to the national average of 70.81 (BPS 2018a). DI Yogyakarta is also the province with the largest share of CE contribution to GDP, at over 16 percent (BEKRAF 2018:18). CCI policy in Yogyakarta has generally been geared towards cultural, heritage-based industries. Thus, the focus of this study is on handicraft, as well as traditional textiles, such as batik and other woven fabrics¹², which represent a significant number of Yogyakarta's CCI enterprises. Yogyakarta attracts people from all over Indonesia due in part to such place-based advantages and is thus an appropriate backdrop for this study.

¹⁰ The Special Region of Yogyakarta is a province in south-central Java, and Yogyakarta is its primary city.

¹¹ Indonesian *Batik* is a hand-dyed fabric, often silk or cotton, which has been a centerpiece of Indonesian culture for centuries, its existence pre-dating written records. It is an intricate and delicate process, done by hand-drawing or stamping hot wax on the fabric to form a pattern and submerging the fabric in dye. This dyeing process is often repeated dozens of times for a single piece of cloth, until the desired color and pattern is achieved (UNESCO 2009).

¹² It is important to note that the fabrics are technically included under the 'fashion' subsector in BEKRAF's classification. Thus, this thesis does not focus solely on the 'handicraft' industry as per BEKRAF's categorization, but rather a broader concept of 'heritage products'.

Figure 2. Location of Yogyakarta in Indonesia



(Google Maps 2019)

4.2. Research Design

Qualitative methods allow for an exploration of social phenomena in order to glean a holistic understanding of processes, experiences, and contextual interrelationships of the research topic and its subjects (see Yin 2003; Flyvbjerg 2005; Creswell 2007; Stewart-Withers et al. 2014). Aside from being the methods that are best-suited to my own strengths as a researcher, qualitative, inductive approaches are also appropriate for advancing the academic field of entrepreneurship studies, seeking to understand the wide array of entrepreneurial processes (Fayolle 2003). As this thesis seeks to understand young peoples' engagement in cultural entrepreneurship and the values inherent in their activities, the stories, impressions, and perceptions of the individuals are central to the research.

I was wary of pursuing a research plan that would force findings into a pre-constructed paradigm before even stepping foot in the field. Thus, the research was planned as an inductive, emergent design. In setting up a research design that walks the line between rigor and rigidity, this study was greatly informed by a grounded theory approach. While it has not produced a theory of its own, this "theoretical agnosticism" has served to shape my approach to the project (Charmaz & Belgrave 2015:2). The VBA was adopted for this study

only after a thorough literature review following the fieldwork, the scope of which was determined by the themes that emerged from the data.

4.3. The Fieldwork

The empirical data is comprised of in-person interviews¹³ conducted throughout the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, during January and February 2019. A total of 22 semi-structured interviews and two focus-group interviews were conducted. I spoke with a total of 24 young entrepreneurs, as well as three key informants and three experts, for a total of 30 participants¹⁴.

4.3.1. Sampling

Three main sampling criteria were defined in order to firmly establish the focus of the research and ensure scientific coherency, as well as to provide guidelines for relevant snowball sampling (Fayolle 2003; Creswell 2007). First, the entrepreneurs in question were to be between the ages¹⁵ of 18 and 35. The businesses were to be primarily based in traditional, cultural products, either in art, textiles or handicrafts¹⁶. Interviewees were to be the primary owners of businesses they themselves had established, or else have central responsibilities in running their family's business. In the end, the sample of young entrepreneurs was comprised of seven females and 17 males, of which over half were between 24 and 29 years of age. Two experts were purposively identified, while the third expert and relevant key informants were identified as the research progressed.

Initial purposive sampling was done by identifying members of the target group through the project of an international agency that I was previously involved with. I was, however, wary of depending solely on these, so other channels were explored for making contacts in the field. Facebook and Instagram were valuable tools for finding gatekeepers, as well as for identifying and recruiting interviewees. In fact, the target group being millennials, social media proved to be a central part of trust-building between myself and the participants. It fostered a place of mutual sharing – allowing them to see a part of my life, as well as giving me a glimpse into theirs. In addition to social media, I took a more traditional approach, visiting workshops,

¹³ The list of interview participants can be found in Appendix A.

¹⁴ The terms *participants*, *interviewees*, and *respondents* are used interchangeably.

¹⁵ Indonesian law stipulates that youth are between 16-30 years of age (Rahmatiah, Wirotto & Taan 2017). However, to expand my sample and avoid ethical issues, the minimum age was set at 18 and the maximum age extended to 35.

¹⁶ A few exceptions were made, although all businesses were arts or crafts based.

handicraft cooperatives, and an MSME incubator, directly. I also recruited gatekeepers to help establish contact with potential participants.

4.3.2. *Interviewing, Interpretation and Assistance*

An informal tone was established at most interviews to ensure conversational flow that loosely followed the interview guide¹⁷. However, some questions remained central to all conversations with the entrepreneurs. They were asked, above all, *why* they engage in the work they do. They were also asked to reflect on the challenges and opportunities they perceive with their businesses and the industry in general, as well as which structures (such as government initiatives, education, or various funding sources) may contribute to, or limit, their success.

As I am not a speaker of Bahasa Indonesia¹⁸, I was compelled to hire an interpreter. The interviews were carried out with interpretive assistance from two primary field assistants, as well as another gatekeeper who assisted with other aspects of fieldwork logistics. I transcribed all interviews conducted in English, and assistants provided translated transcriptions of the others. Although they interpreted in real time during interviews, this was to ensure that I also had word-for-word translations of my participants' responses to ensure an understanding as close to the words of the interviewees as possible. However, the quotes presented in the analysis have been edited for clarity.

4.4. Data Analysis: "Seek Complexity and Order It"¹⁹

The interview transcriptions were uploaded and coded using NVivo software. Initial coding resulted in nearly sixty codes and were organized into relevant themes as the theoretical groundings took shape. Despite the grounded theory methods applied in the fieldwork, it became evident that the findings fit well within the VBA. Furthermore, some critiques of entrepreneurship studies have pointed to the abundance of novel and explorative research in the field of entrepreneurship studies, while few have sought to engage with pre-existing theories. Researchers have tended to pursue novelty instead of basing their research on the

¹⁷ The complete semi-structured interview guide can be found in Appendix B.

¹⁸ Bahasa Indonesia, literally translated to "Indonesian language", is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia and is used for business, administration, education and the media. However, hundreds of local languages are spoken across the archipelago. Javanese, widely spoken in Yogyakarta and Central Java is the most common local language and was the mother tongue of many participants.

¹⁹ Whitehead (n.d.) in Geertz (1973)

groundings of others (Welsch & Liao 2003). Thus, I felt it important it to structure the analysis based on an established framework (albeit recently so) for exploring youth cultural entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta.

4.5. Limitations and Ethical Considerations

Despite my intentions to be theoretically neutral and not adopt a dominant theoretical lens prior to commencing the fieldwork, I experienced initial frustration during the sampling and interview process, when the participants I envisioned did not end up matching reality. Starting with narrow criteria for interviewees made it easier to communicate to assistants and gatekeepers (as well as to visualize for myself what I was looking for), but it may have lead me to speculate about the sample. Although I was aware that I would have to be flexible with this sampling strategy as the research developed, I ended up idealizing the respondents and almost making assumptions about the stories I would hear. While I tried to avoid fitting my participants into boxes, I realized that I was guilty of this whether or not I had constructed my fieldwork to fit a pre-established framework. However, due to the wide network of helpers to recruit participants, I feel comfortable that I was able to engage an appropriate cross-section of the target group.

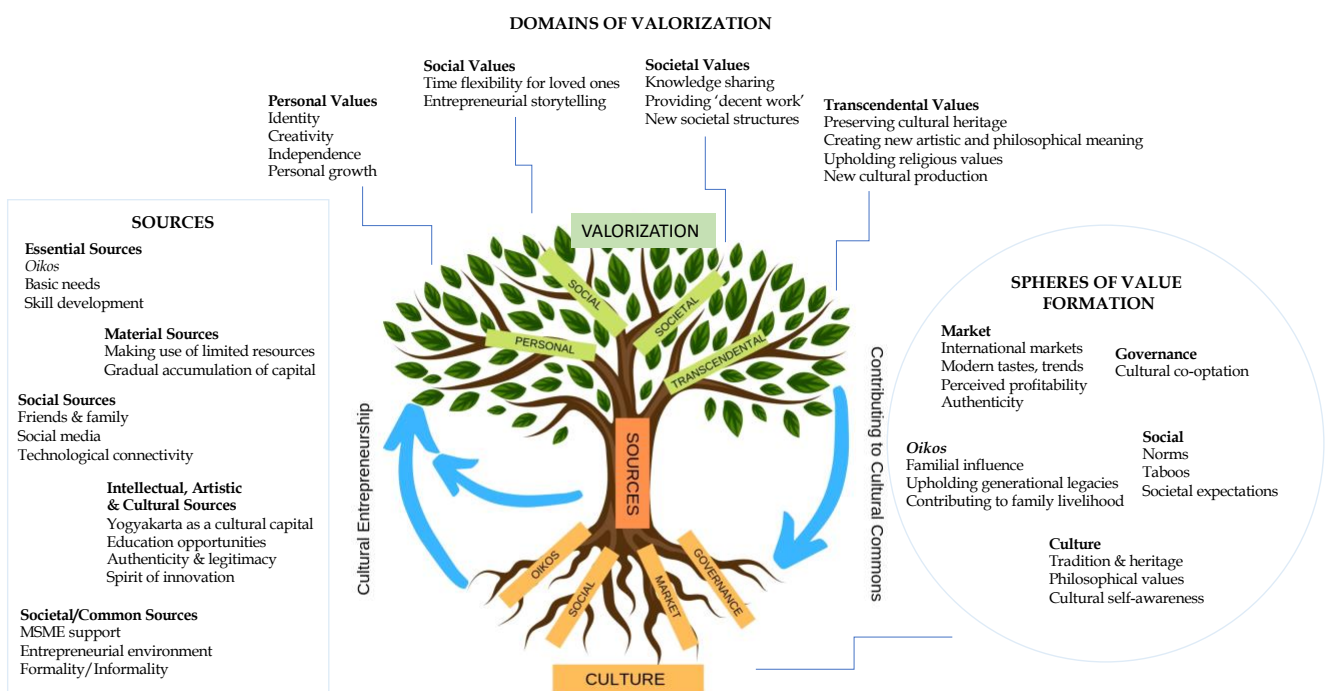
At times, it felt difficult to assess the true motives of entrepreneurial behavior. When given a platform to speak about their businesses, it was sometimes challenging to gauge if the respondent was reflecting on their true personal values or giving a polished version of a business ethos. This “self-mythologizing” is recognized to be a central aspect of the way entrepreneurs shape their identities and weave their entrepreneurial stories (Forkert 2013 in Naudin 2015:165). While it was not my place as a researcher to question the validity of how people chose to express themselves, I stressed the anonymity of their responses and of their businesses to avoid tendencies towards self-promotion. This was also important to dispel false hopes about the outcomes of their participation.

While in Yogyakarta, I wished to dive into the case study and the social world of my participants through both time and space (Prowse 2010). Nonetheless, I felt my time and interactions there to be limited, but arguably would have felt so not matter how much time was spent, or how many interviews conducted. Perhaps the language barrier prevented me from engaging with the respondents differently or uncovering another layer of pertinent knowledge. The anxiety that comes with the desire to follow each and every thread is both

disconcerting and counterproductive to the necessarily narrow scope of a master’s thesis. It is only through trusting in the process that I have been able to proceed with cautious optimism, full knowing that there remains much to explore beyond my own myopic understandings of this topic. At the risk of sounding completely self-involved, struggling to overcome the awareness of my shortcomings and, admittedly at times, outright ignorance, was perhaps the most difficult obstacle to navigate throughout this experience.

5. Analysis of Findings

Figure 3. Youth Cultural Entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta



(Source: author, adapted from Klamer 2017)

The main findings of this research are built upon the tree of life (figure 3, above) as presented in section 3, in reverse order. We start with the roots, which represent the core formation of values. Next are the sources, which represent resources and mechanisms that facilitate or inhibit valorization. Finally, the four domains of valorization are discussed, highlighting the main values that cultural entrepreneurship serves to realize.

5.1. The Formation of Values

The following section explores the significance of these spheres in establishing the creative, cultural, and entrepreneurial tendencies amongst the participants²⁰.

5.1.1. Culture

Again, the objective of this thesis is not to provide any one definition of culture, but to engage with the many aspects of culture as they shape peoples' worldviews, including their sense of self or purpose. Thus, there are many different concepts and *cultures* to be engaged with. As the VBA argues, not only is the entire process of valorization embedded within a cultural context, but so are the spheres of value formation. Many young entrepreneurs were inspired by culture as it reflected their Indonesian or Javanese heritage.

I like Javanese culture and tradition. More or less, that influenced my style in designing and making products.
(Aldi, 26)

[I had] a friend who saw batik and *tenun* (woven fabrics) as traditional and old. My purpose is to make young people proud to use [traditional] products.
(Dian, 20)

There was a sense of purpose and responsibility for promoting heritage products. Additionally, a key informant who has been in the craft and design industry for over two decades expressed,

Contemporary art, contemporary video [...] everybody wanted to do that. Why did I do craft? Because [of] the philosophy, values, [and] tradition. When I studied [contemporary art], I felt [...] an emptiness in [it].
(Mas Budi, furniture designer and crafts dealer)

Many entrepreneurs set out to do their work in part because of a connection they feel to the cultural traditions, and the values they perceive to be associated with the products they create. This illustrates culture's direct role in driving entrepreneurial behaviors in CCI.

Sometimes, seeing one's own culture in relation to another serves to form values, as was the case for a ceramicist who studied pottery in Japan. He saw that while design and technology were more "modern" in Japan, the materials and craftsmanship were similar to those in his

²⁰ The young entrepreneurs are referenced by their pseudonym and age. Experts and key informants referenced by pseudonym and profession. After the first citation they are all simply referred to by name.

village. Furthermore, he was able to see how traditional processes and tools at home were unique and he understood their potentials in a new light. This cultural self-awareness also serves to solidify and articulate the cultural values that are already deeply rooted.

5.1.2. *Oikos*

The *oikos* is where young entrepreneurs first form the values that they in turn work to realize. Many of the participants spoke about the influence of their parents and expressed being encouraged by their families to follow certain paths, either within the arts or entrepreneurship. Oftentimes, this influence was expressed through their families' encouragement, insistence, or even dreams, of them pursuing cultural work.

My father is a self-taught artist [...] just like that. I was told to be better than my father, to surpass him.

(Rio, 25)

Because [...] a lot of parents don't encourage their children to make something [of themselves], or about the path they are [following]. For me, we already know what the path is.

(Aulia, 23)

[My work in textile] began from my parents' dreams. My mother dreamed [it]. At first, I never knew that batik was going to be my job, but through my mother's dream, it led me to learning about it.

(Ilham, 22)

The *oikos* is embedded in culture and formed by the context. Where cultural work or handicrafts are perceived to have status, decent remuneration, and gainful opportunities, many parents may in turn encourage their children to carry on the trade. In cases where parents were craftspeople themselves, many expressed a sense of wanting to carry on the family business, and in many cases, bring even more success. As a young woman said about managing her father's wooden handicraft business:

This is my father's life, I want to help him. Because my father, [he started] from zero. He made it by himself and sold it by himself [...] It was a long process. I don't want to disappoint him. He expects one of his children to [carry on the business].

(Ade, 25)

This was a common response amongst those continuing to run their family business. Some of the young entrepreneurs also expressed a hope to someday pass on their own businesses to their children. Pak Arif, a second-generation leather craftsman, in turn lamented the fact that his own son had chosen another path.

I was pretty disappointed. I thought, rather than working here and there for other people, why not just follow in my footsteps? Turns out it just wasn't what he wanted. Maybe my younger [son] still has a chance.

(Pak Arif, leather craftsman)

It may still be worth noting, however, that his son had chosen to work in the film industry, under the umbrella of CE. Here, I infer that that the values formed in this *oikos* nonetheless encouraged his son to pursue CCI. To this effect, although some of the young entrepreneurs expressed that they had “rebelled” against their parents’ initial wishes by pursuing different mediums of cultural production, or that they had not fully completed their education, they were still heavily influenced by their families’ expectations – and needs. A batik artist whose father’s ceramics workshop was badly damaged by an earthquake in 2006 explained:

After that, my family’s financial condition collapsed, so I stopped going to college and tried to start a business to help provide for the family.

(Farhan, 28)

Notably, he did so in a way that reflected how his own father had provided for him. Cultural entrepreneurs enter the market because of what happens in the sphere of the *oikos* – not only to support their families, but also to realize the values, or to uphold the legacies, created there. The values of the home have a considerable impact on the values that young entrepreneurs ultimately seek to realize.

5.1.3. Social

The various spheres of values also act to incite, regulate, or even discipline certain behaviors. According to the VBA, this sphere is perhaps most pervasive when it comes to mechanisms that affect behaviors in daily life, including through social control and hierarchies. Here, it is telling to look at the social values, or norms, that encourage or reinforce cultural entrepreneurship.

While people may become cultural entrepreneurs in pursuit of adhering to certain expectations, some participants exposed a different side of this coin. Rio, a sculptor and painter, expressed that his rebellious nature and physical appearance made it difficult to fit into society. He felt that traditional employment was not an option for him.

When you look like me, with piercings and tattoos, [you] cannot work in *pemerintahan* (government). In Indonesia, a person like this is hard to be trusted. I often applied for jobs and couldn't get [them], so I made [them]. I have [a] rebel soul... I [want] freedom.

(Rio)

This brings up two important aspects of social values in this context. First, government jobs are seen by many people to be the ultimate career path in Indonesia. The competition for such jobs and the status they bring reflects the values of Indonesian society. Secondly, it hits upon a very evident cultural taboo: tattoos, which are considered *haram* in Islam. In a society where over 80 percent of the population is Muslim, social values are highly influenced by their cultural and religious context. Such values can be a constraining factor for people who disavow norms and social expectations. Thus, sometimes the best option is to forge your own path, and entrepreneurship is one such way to do this.

5.1.4. Market

Values are also formed in the sphere of the market, and many entrepreneurs were informed by these market values. This was particularly evident when discussing international markets, which some saw as the pinnacle of market opportunities. Indeed, even a brief walk down the touristy main drag of Malioboro street in Yogyakarta is evidence that the local market for heritage products is saturated with low-quality, mass-produced souvenirs. In some cases, international markets are seen to provide new opportunities and a higher level of profitability and are accordingly the focus of many national policies to enhance foreign exchange. However, it is often difficult for MSMEs to navigate these markets. While those who were running second-generation businesses were often more export-oriented, others expressed difficulties, particularly when it came to meeting trends and tastes of overseas fashion. Additionally, the market demand for their products may be limited. This could be because in the popular opinion of international buyers, the production quality or environmental impacts have left much to be desired for the exacting standards of today's consumers.

For many, the way their products were valued in the markets, and their perceived business opportunities influenced the way they saw the value of their products, and how they in turn engaged in the market.

The challenge is how I can make a unique or special design that the consumers or market like, and still prioritize the value of the products that I make. But the main value is to promote the culture and heritage in Yogya²¹.

(Aldi)

²¹ Yogyakarta (pronounced *JOKE-juh-KAR-ta*) is colloquially referred to as "Yogya" or "Jogja" (pronounced *JOKE-juh*).

How we brand the batik, how we sell it, how we introduce it, depends on the business actors. It is proven that now there are a lot of batik business actors appearing because they see an opportunity there.

(Ridho)

Some expressed concern that, due to the present popularity of some industries (particularly in batik or leather goods), as well as the ubiquity of social media, it was easy to become a cultural entrepreneur, and a bubble was set to burst. Batik in particular has seen a considerable rise in popularity, particularly on the international market, and many attributed this to the fact that it had been inscribed as an element of intangible cultural heritage²² by UNESCO in 2009. However, some felt that a growing abundance of such businesses, in addition to creating competition, may lead to a crisis of authenticity for their industries, undermining the legitimacy of their cultural value.

Now [the price is good], there are many new batik artists appearing. Regardless [of whether] they understand the techniques or not. But... these new actors have to go through natural selection. When they are tempted but don't have persistence, they will be pushed out. Most of them are just like... "the trend is batik," so...

(Ridho)

As Klamer affirms, peoples' intentions become suspect when they see culture merely as an "instrument" for profit as opposed to their "mission" for valorization (2011:154). A major challenge of the cultural entrepreneur is to maintain the authenticity of their entrepreneurial stories as well as their chosen industries, while being fully aware that they are operating in a sphere whose success is dependent on the commodification of such expressions.

5.1.5. Governance

The VBA asserts that rules, regulations and requirements are the "logic of [...] governance" (Klamer 2017:152) and affect the formation of values. A key informant discussion led to an interesting revelation about the interrelationship of governance and values in light of Indonesia's political history, particularly with the perceived role of craftspeople during President Suharto's 31-year rule²³. The interviewee claimed that traditionally, handicrafts were done for higher powers – kings or gods – and that such cultural and religious structures

²² Since the inscription, batik's popularity has risen, both internationally and in Indonesia. Since 2009, batik has been semi-compulsory office-wear on Fridays and National Batik Day is now celebrated every October.

²³ The Suharto years, or the New Order, lasted from 1966 to 1998. They were characterized by strong militarism and strict anti-communism.

were co-opted in service of the regime. During Suharto's time in power, there were clearly enforced social structures based on hierarchies, particularly in rural areas at the village level (Bowen 1986). As he explained, this demarcation of social roles was also applied to craftspeople, maintaining their low status, because "Suharto didn't want to make [people] clever in [the] village".

Although societal structures have shifted in the two decades since the regime, some cultural values are still deeply entrenched. When asked about what attracted him to handicrafts as opposed to more modern art forms, Budi mentioned the philosophy of *gotong royong*, working together as a collective group, as something that he appreciated most about handicrafts. He then laughed, pointing out that *gotong royong*, closely translated as "mutual assistance", had long been a propaganda slogan, also used in the Suharto regime to incite national unity and a duty to serve the greater good, beyond one's sense of self.

What this anecdote serves to highlight is a general understanding about the co-optation of culture and tradition that has transpired in Indonesia through the arm of the government. Culture is a powerful tool, and its virtue is certainly not always inherent when it comes to shaping values. While many of the interviewees came of age after the regime, these roles were nonetheless formative in their *oikos* and the societal structures in which they were brought up. This may be a reason some are more interested in the entrepreneurial side of the business, as opposed to the craftsmanship.

5.2. Sources

The significance of place is reinforced in an examination of sources, which takes into account the interactions of various factors to support or inhibit cultural entrepreneurship. Many recognize the immense potential of human creativity and its subsequent contributions for developing the creative economy through cultural entrepreneurship. However, this transformative potential is not intrinsic; it is only possible under the conditions of their contexts - social, cultural, political, or otherwise (Duxbury, Kangas & De Beukelaer 2017). This underlines the importance of the sources that people are able to mobilize for their entrepreneurial pursuits, and subsequently, valorization. These circumstances are discussed in the following section as the sources that the participants possess and utilize in their entrepreneurial endeavors.

5.2.1. Essential Sources

Essential sources are often inherited and nonnegotiable by the individual, but still highly influential in how they are able to navigate the world. Many of the participants in this study were born into families belonging to Indonesia's growing middle class, whose parents own established businesses, or are employed as civil servants. Most had the opportunity to pursue education beyond the high school level, or vocational training. Despite the fluctuating predictability of CCIs and cultural work, it was observed from their situations had theirs – and their families' – most basic needs were accounted for. This perhaps allows for a greater focus on honing skill and talent, which are important essential sources for cultural entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta. As told by a key informant:

In Yogya, the skill [level] is very high, if compared to young people in other cities. Education levels, too, of course. In Yogya, the society really cares about that. You must have skill, talent.... But the money is not really important.

(Mas Budi)

However, as the VBA asserts a departure from material needs and instead assesses what is *important* to the individual, it may only be truly applicable in cases where such basic needs are satisfied. Only then can the material aspects be secondary, instrumental means for valorization.

5.2.2. Material Sources

The low barriers of entry that often characterize CCI entrepreneurship were reflected when discussing the origin stories of some participants²⁴. Many mobilized the few physical resources they had at the time, starting small and gradually building up their experiences into other forms of capital.

When I started making batik, I only had 50 centimeters [of cloth], because I ran out of canvas. I didn't have the tools to do sculpture. All I had was batik, so that's what I explored.

(Farhan)

My parents didn't have money to pay for my tuition fee. My mother was a tailor, so she had some spare white fabric at home. I turned them into Koko shirts (Muslim attire), and [...] in a month, I made enough to pay for tuition and had more profit for pocket money.

²⁴ In 2012, Yogyakarta had some of the lowest costs associated with opening a business in all of Indonesia (OECD 2018).

(Ilham)

This last quote in particular shows how these minimal material sources were accumulated through their businesses were converted into other forms of capital – in many cases, invested in education. While I do not assert that creative entrepreneurs are altruistic and altogether unmotivated by profits, we understand through the VBA that financial capital is often a mechanism for valorization and not an end in itself.

5.2.3. *Social Sources*

Many of the businesses in Yogyakarta began organically – with a talented individual and a product. However, there is more to cultural entrepreneurship than the skills of the individual. It is an inherently social process and its success is contingent upon how entrepreneurs engage others in the process. In Indonesia, as elsewhere, networks are of critical importance for young entrepreneurs (Rahmatia, Woroto & Taan 2017). In their nascent stages, many of these businesses have been supported by a network of friends or family, or now just as often, through extended social media networks. These connections often serve as the first markets that are established.

I just created it. I offered it to a friend, she wanted it, and gave me about IDR 250,000 (USD \$17) to make one product, and I sold [it] for IDR 500,000 (USD \$32). That was the start. I tried to [invest] the capital, even the fabric was bought by my girlfriend [*laughs*].

(Ridho)

In the beginning, I only asked for a piece of fabric, 50 by 50 centimeters, and I made [it] into a handkerchief. One of my father's visitors liked it, and from that moment I had a small [amount of] money to fund myself.

(Farhan)

Once people are cognizant of their values, they must work to produce, interact, and socialize in order to make their values real (Klamer 2017). Viewing social sources as networks or as social capital allows for an examination of the ways people engage others in their entrepreneurship processes, making use of modest materials and relying on their immediate social circles. This may be an advantage in a collectivist culture, where social relationships are of great importance. However, such relationships can also be uneven, particularly in cultural work. Much depends on *who* you know, and what sources your connections (with people, government, or organizations) possess – in addition to how well you adhere to the social values. This was observed in some cases, particularly where participants had contacts with local or regional governments and were privy to the various opportunities offered.

My mom (a civil servant) is always informed about [business opportunities and government initiatives], and my dad, too. We have a family that is always sharing this information, so that's a good thing.

(Aulia)

This also reflects how values formed in the *oikos* affect essential sources. Improved technology and increased connectivity have greatly leveled the playing field when it comes to market access and business promotion. It is now common for buyers to deal directly with producers, and the rise of social media marketing and online marketplaces have made it easier for small businesses to gain visibility. Many young participants see this as an opportunity for cementing their unique roles in the future of the creative economy.

In the market, the entrepreneurs in the leather industry are usually old. This gives us an opportunity [as] young entrepreneurs... who understand more about internet and marketing.

(Rizky, 25)

5.2.4. *Intellectual, Artistic and Cultural Sources*

Yogyakarta has long been heralded as a cultural capital of Indonesia. Some participants even attributed the decision to pursue a particular industry to the presence of 'maestros', or established craftspeople, and the subsequent depth of knowledge that is accessible in Yogyakarta. Furthermore, a large concentration of higher education institutions, including the first art institute in Indonesia (ISI) form part of the city's intellectual sources. A young batik artist recalled advice he received when making the decision to go to art school, "'if you don't study at ISI, you might as well not go to school at all'" (Farhan).

However, a cultural expert and professor at a local university expressed some reservations about the city's management of these resources, lamenting that too much focus has been put on building large-scale tourism infrastructure²⁵ or promoting big business, and not enough has been done to support the artists or cultural entrepreneurs themselves – the ones that make the place culturally 'authentic':

After the 80s or 90s, Yogya is not really [providing] a good environment for the artists, as they try to [make it] a more economic city, business city... I see this as a problem. The artists also warn the government, Yogya is not to be sold. Yogya is not

²⁵ The past few decades have seen considerable investment and development in Yogyakarta's tourism industry and today it is one of Indonesia's most important tourism destinations. More than 80 percent of the tourists are domestic (Ferguson, Dahles & Prabawa 2017).

for sale. [But] the government accommodates too many tourist infrastructures, hotels, [and] malls.

(Pak Agus, professor and heritage expert)

Yogyakarta's reputation as a cultural city has indeed been a benefit to local artisans and entrepreneurs and has served to support the tourism industry and related businesses, but creative clusters are not self-sustaining systems. Urban development and subsequent gentrification has pushed many artisans to the peripheries of the city. Yogyakarta is promoted based on its creative and cultural sources, but there must be institutional support to maintain this. As he continued,

Yogyakarta has too many tag lines: Yogya as a cultural city, as a tolerant city, as a creative city... there are many identities, but actually we have no face at all. We don't have identity at all. We (the governor's heritage advisory board) try to make the artist go back to the center of Yogyakarta, to create and to work and to... actually to fill the place with art. That will make Yogya a cultural city again.

(ibid.)

If artisans are not supported in their crafts, they will contribute less to the cultural commons, which is the primary feedback mechanism for value formation. He stressed, though, that many of these conflicting policies come from the mayor rather than the governor²⁶. While there is a lot of potential for CCI growth in Yogyakarta, he worries that if development does not stay true to, or incorporate cultural heritage, the city will simply become an industrial metropolitan area like any other, sacrificing its authenticity and creative edge.

The importance of innovating upon available cultural sources was also commonly cited by participants. It is crucial for identifying and creating markets.

The process can be very traditional, but we modernize [the product]. We follow the trend, [and] we make the trend.

(Rama, 35)

Particularly when based on traditional modes of production, there is a sense that in order to modernize or improve, products must be innovated upon. Innovating on styles, production techniques, or creating new mediums, serves to bring cultural production in line with current tastes, increase the price point, and to set one's work apart from others in an increasingly

²⁶ DI Yogyakarta is the only province in Indonesia governed by a sultanate. The sultan has an arguable interest in maintaining the cultural significance of the region, and a relatively high amount of public funds are put towards cultural developments - mostly in traditional heritage industries.

crowded and competitive pool of heritage products. Here, there is considerable potential for current generations to tap into.

5.2.5. Societal or Common Sources

Societal or common sources include the formal, institutional structures in place that may help or hinder cultural entrepreneurship. While this thesis is not intended to be an exhaustive examination of cultural policy or all relevant economic structures, suffice it to say that MSME development has been made a policy priority at all levels of government²⁷, and the macroeconomic conditions for MSMEs is generally favorable (OECD 2018). However, MSME regulation and support is also characterized by uneven, overcomplicated, and overlapping initiatives, due in part to a 2014 law²⁸ which made a clear demarcation of government responsibilities for enterprise development, assigning various scales of businesses to different levels of government. Furthermore, while there are some government initiatives targeted specifically towards youth entrepreneurship, they tend to be relatively small-scale (ibid.). This was also noted by two key informants, who pointed to the often fragmented and disjointed efforts by various ministries, municipal offices, private foundations, and non-governmental organizations. Furthermore, simply having access to this information is not a given.

The government already has a lot of things for people, but the information is not clear. So, a lot of people don't know the programs, or the CSR [initiatives].

(Aulia)

From my inquiry into this topic, two primary strategies associated with support for entrepreneurship and MSME development, particularly in creative industries, came to light: trade shows and competitions. Many of the respondents got initial seed money by participating in competitions, where they were sometimes also awarded mentorships to help navigate the world of entrepreneurship. Additionally, many pointed to the importance of trade shows or exhibitions to display their products and meet with buyers. These add to the depth of social sources for entrepreneurs. However, there were varied responses from participants as to how beneficial such initiatives were in supporting their enterprises. It was

²⁷ Law 20/2008 is oriented towards encouraging the role of MSMEs in generating employment, accelerating economic growth, and reducing poverty. It maintains that MSME policy should be implemented across a wide range of initiatives nationwide (Papilaya, Soisa & Akib 2015).

²⁸ As prescribed by Law 23/2014, the city or regency level is responsible for micro-enterprises, the province for small enterprises, and medium-sized enterprises are overseen on the national level (OECD 2018).

evident that there were many scales of businesses, targeting diverse markets and production strategies. It was thus not possible to draw any one conclusion about the exact support needs of these businesses, or to generalize about the relevance of such initiatives in meeting those needs.

Regardless, it is important to have an environment where entrepreneurship can flourish, and where people are able to master necessary skills, not only in craftsmanship, but also for running businesses.

It's very rare for young people to get into batik. Some chose to work for other people instead. I myself had to work up my courage to try and start my own business.
(Farhan)

Entrepreneurship certainly requires a considerable level of risk-taking. Many participants saw these risks to be navigable as they offered a better alternative than traditional employment. Furthermore, as previously discussed, barriers for opening a CCI business tend to be quite low, requiring little initial technological or economic capital.

Many businesses had begun organically and had not yet come into the folds of the formal economy. Indeed, informality is a dominant characteristic of MSMEs in Indonesia, with an estimated 96 percent of micro enterprises and 93 percent of small enterprises operating outside of the formal tax system (Rothenburg et al. 2016). While some of the young entrepreneurs had registered to pay an MSME tax excised at the local level, others had not. While the MSME tax rate is set at just 0.5 percent and is “not something to be afraid of” (Ahmad, 27) as one participant put it, most cited the amount of red tape that was involved in formally registering their businesses and decided it was not worth navigating. Those who were registered, however, pointed out that being able to participate in trade shows at the invitation of the municipal or regency governments was conditional upon their formality, as did those who had established contracts with local offices to provide uniforms or other products for employees.

To conclude the discussion of sources, it should be noted that the environment to which cultural entrepreneurs are responding with their actions is not static. Institutional structures change, as do markets, social norms and relationships. The entrepreneurs are not passive ‘recipients’ of these changes and are involved in shaping these processes, iteratively consuming and reproducing culture.

5.3. Valorization: What's Important?

Examining the values that are realized through cultural entrepreneurship facilitates a return to the research questions of this thesis. Valorization gets to the heart of *why* young people are engaging in the creative economy, and how basing their work in the sphere of culture allows them to live a life of value. If economic pursuits are ultimately meant to reflect what people value as a 'good life', these values become clear in the realm of valorization. The following section touches upon some of these values.

5.3.1. Personal Values

The most common personal values that participants realized through cultural entrepreneurship was staying true to their identities, while fostering their creativity, independence, and personal growth.

Although it would be inaccurate to state a dichotomous divide between artists and entrepreneurs, there was nevertheless a sense that some enthusiastically took on the label of "entrepreneur", while others seemed embarrassed by it, prioritizing the identity of artist. Indeed, the entrepreneurial identity did not fit all participants. As one insisted, he was "an artist, not a businessman" (Fadhlan); they valued their entrepreneurship insofar as it allowed them to express their creativity and craftsmanship. This divide may be because the identity of a true artist or craftsman in popular imagination is one that extracts themselves from the neo-liberal label of "businessperson", fearing that engaging too heavily with the market values may affect the authenticity of their art.

Generally, those who helped to run family businesses seemed more comfortable with the label of entrepreneur, as one told that helping her mom to sell woven fabrics in her shop inspired her "dream to become a businesswoman" (Rama), and others expressed a desire to grow their families' businesses. Many recognized the increased opportunities available to their generation and were convinced that they could develop the businesses further. This may be due to coming from an *oikos* that valued such growth.

Cultural entrepreneurship formed participants' cultural identities as well, further supporting the idea that values are embedded in culture. This fosters a sense of pride and satisfaction in their work, particularly when they see themselves as promoting cultural preservation.

Your way of thinking and lifestyle have to align. People say that I'm *njawani* (of Java; Javanese) [...] I like things that are cultural and have a character of inheritance. My behavior must also reflect that Javanese people are like this.

(Aldi)

What makes me very proud is that I'm young, and I like these traditional things, because it's one of my ways to preserve the culture. [Some] people my age don't [even want to] know about batik. But I've traveled to several countries and I'm proud of wearing my products, and of batik. I can tell people, this is batik, it means something.

(Rama)

Despite the challenges associated with running a business, many saw the personal growth that came from finding creative solutions to overcoming obstacles as some of the most rewarding aspects of their work. This fits in with the idea of an entrepreneur as a natural problem-solver. However, not everyone enjoyed the administrative tasks that came with it.

If I was given options, I don't want to do business... It's complicated, and it's a lot of hassle. If this business succeeds in the future, there will be a person who's in charge of running the business. I just [make the pottery] and have fun. That's what I want.

(Fadhlan)

Not only is creative innovation important for the sources that support successful cultural entrepreneurship, but it is also central to the values of the entrepreneurs themselves, which are rooted in the spheres of value formation. Innovation allows them to explore limits, create new products, improve on existing practices, and ultimately express their own creativity. A batik artist revealed frustration with his current situation, whereby a small group of employees was working to replicate only a few of his designs, while he did not have the time to create new ones.

In the creative industries, if there is no development [or] creativity, then it is going nowhere. Maybe I am experiencing that now. I am focused on selling, but on the other hand, even though [my] work is selling well, and people are waiting for months [for the product] ... my personal satisfaction is non-existent.

(Ridho, 26)

As a result, he had temporarily closed down his workshop in order to reassess his business model. This sentiment sheds light on the importance of innovation – not only for CE as a whole, but for the well-being, or immaterial goods, of artists themselves. In some cases, cultural entrepreneurs value their creativity and artistry above material gains.

The freedom of self-employment and creative work were also common responses from participants when asked about their reasons for engaging in their enterprises. Not only were people able to be flexible with their use of time, but also in using their creative capacities to

create new products – and ultimately new cultural meaning. Creative expression is at the core of the human condition and being independent in working and creating is a primary value that cultural entrepreneurs realize through their work. This is of paramount importance for feeding back to the cultural commons and reshaping the culture in which all values are embedded.

5.3.2. *Social Values*

The flexibility that many valued for themselves was also of great importance for the way it allowed them more time to be with family, including taking care of children.

After having a child, I wanted to have my own business, a job that still allows me to take care of my child. The time is [more flexible].

(Dina, 35)

At home, I can be really flexible to do everything at once, like work until midnight but also take care of my child. In art, we can explore it by ourselves. But in an office, your hands are tied.

(Putri, 35)

Family dynamics were important to many of the participants, particularly to mothers of young children. Despite the sometimes ‘feast or famine’ nature of their trades, they valued that their time was their own, and it allowed freedom to navigate the time spent on cultivating their relationships, particularly those of the *oikos*. Through the VBA, we understand that the financial aspects of work are the means to support social relationships, and therein lies a central value of cultural entrepreneurship.

As previously discussed, cultural entrepreneurship is an inherently social process, which centers upon involving others in the belief that what you are doing has value – and in turn convincing them to contribute to this value. Often, this is also done through entrepreneurial storytelling, whereby legitimacy of cultural enterprises is built upon how entrepreneurs are able to weave their stories for others (Lounsbury & Glynn 2001). This was conveyed by some as they reflected upon their desires to tell a story of their culture, and of their products, to other people. A designer pondered the importance of stories:

How to convince people that *jumputan*²⁹ is something worth wearing? [...] People believe in the story telling. Every fabric [...] tells a story. It's not just [about] selling the fabric [...] I want to put the story in there. I want people to be proud to wear fabrics from me.

(Rama)

5.3.3. Societal Values

Many entrepreneurs also discussed their commitment to contribute to society through their work. Some expressed their intent to be educators, to pass on their knowledge of business, or of their craft, and help others share in the same successes. For others, the satisfaction they got from their work was in the way they were able to teach people about the products, and the importance of preserving the heritage. This can be seen to come from a deep connection to how value formation is informed by culture.

Others talked about their desires of being a good employer, to create jobs and to provide 'decent work'. While some had direct employees, many of the participants were not involved in the actual manufacturing of their products, and commissioned materials and labor from larger workshops. There was nonetheless a sense amongst most of the participants that they valued being able to support a satisfactory living standard for laborers. Doing good unto others is a central societal value, firmly rooted in the sociocultural context in which values are formed.

A lot of craftsmen in Yogya are usually older craftsmen who are not in the productive age but still have to support their family. Therefore, I wanted to support them [by creating jobs].

(Karina, 26)

Things that satisfy me are simple... my employees develop... my employees become prosperous... yeah... simple.

(Ridho)

Due to the irregularity of income at times, some mentioned the difficulties in being able to provide a steady source of income for workers and faced challenges in retaining regular labor. Conversely, some encountered this frustration when business was running well, as their employees would understand the potentials of the business and leave in an attempt to start one of their own - often with the skills and training they had received from their employer.

²⁹ *Jumputan*, like batik, is a traditional dyed fabric, popular in Central Java. While batik uses wax to make motifs, *jumputan* uses stitching and ties to keep parts of the fabric free of dye. It is a similar process to what many know as tie-dye.

This may be a reflection of the low barriers of entry in CCI as well as the increased opportunities that are perceived in CE, supported in part by increased connectivity to networks and markets.

Many perceived that younger generations were engaging less in handicraft and other traditional modes of production than younger generations. This reflects global trends, as changing livelihood strategies; increased urbanization and globalization; and shifting labor patterns lessen the prominence of handicraft and other heritage-based industries (Yang et al. 2018). Some recognized that societal structures were indeed shifting.

In my era, workers couldn't do anything, only the crafting. Now people want to work in supermarkets, hotels... in that time, the young people [in the villages] did all [the handiwork]. They didn't have the choice to do the other work, because they are low skilled workers. But now they can [do] other things. There are more jobs available - and more education.

(Budi)

These observations also point to wider societal changes taking place in Indonesia. Industrialization is rapidly expanding, as is the service economy and access to education. There are different livelihood opportunities available to young people than there were for their parents. The availability of skilled labor in CCI, particularly in heritage products, is dwindling. However, the above key informant seemed somewhat troubled by this. He voiced concern that by leaving the familial workshops behind, where people live and work in a close environment, young people are now finding themselves in situations where they don't have the same structures of social control, with more freedom to do as they please - including engaging in drinking or "free sex". As economic structures change, so do societal ones, and not everyone values such change equally.

5.3.4. Transcendental Values

Cultural entrepreneurship can ultimately be a way to realize transcendental values such as art, religion, philosophy, or traditional heritage. Here we can look at contributions to a "cultural commons", in which values are simultaneously co-created and shared, and are an output of realizing values. Art is one example, whereby it is seen not as a product for consumption, but rather as a process, a conversation, or a reflection of co-production (Klamer 2017). It was evident that some participants ultimately valued their work because of their perceived contributions to these "commons", and by advancing an understanding of art and

culture through their work. Additionally, many expressed the importance of having a message or a philosophy associated with their work.

The problem now is that art and religion are seen as two different paths... even though they are supposed to coexist. This becomes a challenge for me to continue this legacy, to unite art and religion. This is my journey, to find Allah through Indonesian clothing.

(Ilham)

This quote illustrates the intersection of many transcendental values, and reflects a mission to contribute to the commons, in addition to pursuing an individual “journey”.

As youth were the focus of this study, conversations ultimately touched upon the role of the younger generations in upholding such values. As discussed in the previous section, economic and societal structures are shifting. In some cases, youth are also moving away from traditional forms of labor or production, which can in turn pose a challenge for maintaining such industries and preserving heritage in general.

Some local communities are concerned about regeneration, especially for those who already have successful workshops. Batik [groups are] concerned that their children prefer to work as GoJek (ride share application) drivers or are going to the city and [...] maybe working in a store.

(Annisa, program coordinator at an international agency)

There are only a few young people that produce ceramics. And most of the [village] locals, they go somewhere else to [...] become workers, in factories. According to them, making ceramics has an average salary, just the same as their parents. So, they choose to have jobs that can earn a better salary.

(Fadhlan)

[Fewer] young people want to work in a batik company. Maybe now it's cooler to work [...] in a big company.

(Ade)

Many perceived new opportunities to be leading current generations away from traditional labor and production patterns. While this may reflect the situation when it comes to labor in CCI, those in this study who have been able to develop and innovate in heritage industries through entrepreneurial pursuits, may be bucking this trend. While the participants agreed that heritage preservation was a challenge, they were optimistic when asked to reflect upon the future of their industries.

I feel like there's a change in the young generation's way of thinking or paradigm where culture is assumed to be ancient or left behind. I [want to] show that with culture I am able to exist, or that I am able to show its existence.

(Aldi)

If we don't do it, then who else? Today, there are still batik makers in their 50s. But in the next 10 or 20 years, if there is no one that conserves it, it will [become] extinct. The presence or absence of batik in the next 5 to 10 years depends on how we appreciate it.

(Ridho)

This is one of the ways to preserve our culture, by working in craft. But how to present our intangible cultural heritage [through] products that are interesting for the current generation?

(Annisa)

People nowadays want more instantaneous things. Batik takes patience, so that might be the reason why the tradition is fading. But I believe that if we manage it well, it can become more popular. History is not only written in temples and caves, but also on fabric. I want this to be passed on by [future] generations.

(Ilham)

Indeed, much depends on how the young entrepreneurs themselves are able to maintain or advance these industries. This is perhaps best realized through innovative and creative reproduction of culture, as opposed to merely preserving it. While culture and its inherent values may limit what people can and cannot do, creativity is limitless. In an era when the current generation has more opportunities than ever before, they still choose to work in industries that are inspired by culture and tradition, and in some cases, still engaging in the craftsmanship themselves. By viewing these behaviors through the lens of the VBA, it becomes apparent that the culturally-rooted values that inspire cultural entrepreneurship are in turn realized through their work and are central drivers of cultural work. While standard economics sees culture's role as secondary and instrumental, focusing on the values that shape economic behaviors reveals the essential role that culture plays in entrepreneurship in CCIs and may result in the subsequent bolstering of Indonesia's creative economy.

6. Conclusions and Avenues for Further Inquiry

Culture is an essential element of our identities and the very basis of what it means to be human. Furthermore, cultural resources are increasingly becoming an attractive avenue for economic development through the engine of the creative economy and its related industries. With a growing working-age population and a wealth of cultures and creative potential, Indonesia has recently prioritized CE development. While there is ample evidence of culture's contribution to economic growth, evidence on its value for human development and other non-monetized benefits remains opaque.

In this thesis, I have posed the question: why do young people engage in the creative economy through cultural entrepreneurship? Adapting Klamer's (2017) value-based approach to examine youth cultural entrepreneurship has allowed for an exploration into the values inherent in entrepreneurial behavior, and furthermore, where and how such values are formed. This qualitative case study employed an inductive approach and empirical data was grounded upon semi-structured and group interviews with 24 young entrepreneurs, as well as six experts and key informants over a period of several weeks in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

The findings were organized into three major domains: the formation of values, the sources that are utilized for cultural entrepreneurship, and the ultimate realization of values. The values formed in the home were major influences of peoples' work as cultural entrepreneurs, as were markets. However, there is a fine line between market-driven cultural commodification and a crisis of authenticity in cultural production. Regardless of size or scope of businesses, social relationships and access to markets and information were often expressed to be the sources of most immediate concern to the entrepreneurs, notably more so than economic capital. Here, authenticity once again became a topic of discussion when it came to the place-based advantages of Yogyakarta, as there was a worry that a lack of institutional support for artists and creatives would undermine the city's reputation as Indonesia's cultural capital. For value realization, it became clear that cultural entrepreneurship was largely driven by values such as personal independence and creativity; storytelling and knowledge sharing; and upholding transcendental values such as religion and heritage preservation. While the entrepreneurs are consuming and participating in culture, the value they place on their contributions to culture are seen to be far more valuable. Culture is simultaneously contributing to valorization and being re-formed through the process. This ultimately changes the fabric of the culture in which the roots of value formation are embedded.

This study highlighted many potential avenues for future study. First, Indonesia's population is incredibly heterogenous and there is a clear spatial dimension to the distribution of resources across the archipelago. Java is dominant in wealth, population size, power, and the pervasiveness of its culture, and these inequalities are further reinforced by the increased power demarcated to local levels of government. Similar studies should be carried out in more remote or resource-scarce provinces of Indonesia. This may be especially pertinent in assessing and identifying the sources that are needed to better support CE development across the entire country and to ensure a more even distribution of its impacts.

While this study focuses on entrepreneurship, the fieldwork revealed interesting aspects of cultural labor including gender dynamics, livelihood contributions, and an increasing scarcity of skilled craftspeople due to shifting labor patterns. In an age of expanding employment and education opportunities, a study of cultural workers may bring further insight to the values associated with CCI labor, particularly in how they may contribute to “good work”, and further support the importance of culture beyond its economic impacts.

References

- Abisuga-Oyekunle, O. and Fillis, I. (2016). The role of handicraft micro-enterprises as a catalyst for youth employment. *Creative Industries Journal*, 10(1), pp.59-74.
- Alkire, S. (2011). *The Capability Approach and Human Development*. [online] Available at: <https://ophi.org.uk/introduction-to-the-capability-approach-2/>.
- Artico, C. I. and Tamma, M. (2018). Culture-Based Products: Integrating Cultural and Commercial Strategies. In: E. Innerhofer, H. Pechlaner and E. Borin, ed., *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative Industries: Perspectives from Companies and Regions*. Cham: Springer, pp.11-24.
- Banks, M. (2018). Creative economies of tomorrow? Limits to growth and the uncertain future. *Cultural Trends*, 27(5), pp.367-380.
- Becker, M. C. and Knudsen, T. (2009). Schumpeter and the Organization of Entrepreneurship. In: P. Adler, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Sociology and Organization Studies: Classical Foundations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.307-327.
- BEKRAF (n.d.). *BEKRAF: Indonesian Creative Economy Agency*. [online] Available at: <http://www.bekraf.go.id/profil> [Accessed 10 Apr. 2019].
- BEKRAF (2018). *Opus - Creative Economy Outlook 2019*. Jakarta: Badan Ekonomi Kreatif Indonesia. [online] Available at: <http://www.bekraf.go.id/pustaka/page/84/opus-creative-economy-outlook-2019-english-version> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2019].
- Borghoff, B. (2018). Entrepreneurial Storytelling as Narrative Practice in Project and Organizational Development. In: E. Innerhofer, H. Pechlaner and E. Borin, ed., *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative Industries: Perspectives from Companies and Regions*. Cham: Springer, pp.11-24.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowen, J. (1986). On the Political Construction of Tradition: *Gotong Royong* in Indonesia. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 45(3), pp.545-561.
- BPS (2018a). *HDI by Regency/Municipality*. [online] Available at: <https://www.bps.go.id/dynamic/table/2018/04/16/1297/indeks-pembangunan-manusiamenurut-kabupaten-kota-2017-metode-baru-.html> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2019].
- BPS (2018b). *Number of Poor People, Percentage of Poor People and The Poverty Line, 1970-2017*. [online] Available at: <https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/01/30/1494/jumlah-penduduk-miskin-persentase-penduduk-miskin-dan-garis-kemiskinan-1970-2017.html>. [Accessed 9 Apr. 2019].
- Brata, A. (2011). Social networks and innovation (Handicraft industry in Bantul, Yogyakarta). *Economics, Management, and Financial Markets*, 6(2), pp.106-121.
- Charmaz, K. and Belgrave, L. (2015). Grounded Theory. In: *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. John Wiley & Sons, pp.1-6.
- Creswell, J. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- De Beukelaer, C. (2014). The UNESCO/UNDP 2013 Creative Economy Report: Perks and Perils of an Evolving Agenda. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 44(2), pp.90-100.
- De Beukelaer, C. (2015). *Developing Cultural Industries: Learning from the Palimpsest of Practice*. Amsterdam: European Cultural Foundation.
- De Beukelaer, C. and O'Connor, J. (2016). Creative Economy and the Development Agenda: The Use and Abuse of "Fast Policy". In: P. Stupples and K. Teaiwa, ed., *Contemporary Perspectives on Art and International Development*. London: Routledge, pp.27-47.

- Duxbury, N., Kangas, A. and De Beukelaer, C. (2017). Cultural policies for sustainable development: four strategic paths. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23(2), pp.214-230.
- Fahmi, F. Z. & Koster, S. (2017). Creative Industries and Regional Productivity Growth in the Developing Economy: Evidence from Indonesia. *Growth and Change*, 48(4), pp. 805-830.
- Fahmi, F. Z., Koster, S. & van Dijk, J. (2016). The location of creative industries in a developing country: The case of Indonesia. *Cities*, Volume 59, pp. 66-79.
- Fahmi, F. Z., McCann, P. and Koster, S. (2017). Creative economy policy in developing countries: The case of Indonesia. *Urban Studies*, 54(6), pp.1367-1384.
- Fayolle, A. (2003). Research and researchers at the heart of entrepreneurial situations. In: C. Steyaert and D. Hjorth, ed., *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.3-19.
- Ferguson, J., Dahles, H. and Prabawa, T. (2017). The Indonesian tourism industry under crisis: a Bourdieuan perspective on social boundaries among small-scale business owners. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 23(2), pp.171-191.
- Florida R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 12(2), pp.219-245.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Google Maps (2019). Yogyakarta 7°47'53.3"S 110°22'07.8"E. [online] Available at: <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Yogyakarta> [Accessed 15 May 2019].
- Goldberg-Miller, S. B. D. and Kooyman, R. (2018). From Edge to Engine. In: E. Innerhofer, H. Pechlaner and E. Borin, ed., *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative Industries: Perspectives from Companies and Regions*. Cham: Springer, pp.183-196.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2008). Cultural and Creative Industries. In: T. Bennett and J. Frow, ed., *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, pp.552-570.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2011). *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries*. London: Routledge.
- Hidayat, A. and Asmara, A. (2017). Creative industry in supporting economy growth in Indonesia: Perspective of regional innovation system. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 70, pp.1-10.
- Holden, J. (2015). *The Ecology of Culture*. Cultural Value Project. [online] Wiltshire: Arts and Humanities Research Council, pp.1-41. Available at: <https://ahrc.ukri.org/documents/project-reports-and-reviews/the-ecology-of-culture/> [Accessed 10 Apr. 2019].
- Howkins, J. (2001). *The Creative Economy*. London: Allen Lane.
- Jakob, D. (2012). Crafting your way out of the recession? New craft entrepreneurs and the global economic downturn. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 6(1), pp.127-140.
- Kapur, H. and Mittar, S. (2014). Design intervention & craft revival. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 4(10), pp.1-5.
- Khoury, T. A. and Prasad, A. (2016). Entrepreneurship amid concurrent institutional constraints in less developed countries, *Business & Society*, 55(7), pp.934-969.
- Klamer, A. (2011). Cultural entrepreneurship. *The Review of Austrian Economics*, 24(2), pp.141-156.
- Klamer, A. (2017). *Doing the Right Thing: A Value Based Economy*. London: Ubiquity Press.
- Kuhlke, O., Schramme, A. and Kooyman, R. (2015). Cultural Entrepreneurship as an Academic Discipline and Professional Practice: Embracing New Theories, exploring New Pedagogies and Fostering New Skills. In: O. Kuhlke, A. Schramme and R.

- Kooyman, ed., *Creating Cultural Capital: Cultural Entrepreneurship in Theory, Pedagogy and Practice*. pp.5-21.
- Lange, B. (2018). The Paradox Between Individual Professionalization and Dependence on Social Contexts and Professional Scenes. In: E. Innerhofer, H. Pechlaner and E. Borin, ed., *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative Industries: Perspectives from Companies and Regions*. Cham: Springer, pp.1-10.
- Lee, D. J. (2011). Networks, cultural capital and creative labor in the British independent television industry. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(4), pp.549-566.
- Limkriengkrai, J. (2010). *Paper, Pottery and Prosperity: Handicrafts and Rural Development in Thailand*. PhD. Durham University.
- Loaker, B. (2013). Becoming 'culturpreneur': How the 'neoliberal regime of truth' affects and redefines artistic positions. *Culture and Organization*, 19(12), pp.124-145.
- Long, P. and Morpeth, N. (2016). Introduction. In: P. Long and N. Morpeth, ed., *Tourism and the Creative Industries: Theories, Policies, and Practice*. Oxon: Routledge, pp.1-30.
- Lounsbury, M. and Glynn, M. (2001). Cultural entrepreneurship: stories, legitimacy, and the acquisition of resources. *Strategic Management Journal*, 22(6-7), pp.545-564.
- Lounsbury, M., Gehman, J. and Ann Glynn, M. (2018). Beyond *Homo Entrepreneurus*: Judgment and the Theory of Cultural Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Management Studies*, pp.1-23.
- Luckman, S. (2018). Craft entrepreneurialism and sustainable scale: resistance to and disavowal of the creative industries as champions of capitalist growth. *Cultural Trends*, 27(5), pp.313-326.
- Meutia and Ismail, T. (2012). The Development of Entrepreneurial Social Competence and Business Network to Improve Competitive Advantage and Business Performance of Small Medium Sized Enterprises: A Case Study of Batik Industry in Indonesia. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 65, pp.46-51.
- Nasution, A. (2016). *Government Decentralization Program in Indonesia*. ADBI Working Paper Series No. 601. [online] Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, pp.1-27. Available at: <https://www.adb.org/publications/government-decentralization-program-indonesia> [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].
- Naudin, A. (2015). *Cultural entrepreneurship: identity and personal agency in the cultural worker's experience of entrepreneurship*. PhD. University of Warwick.
- Naudin, A. (2018). *Cultural Entrepreneurship: The Cultural Worker's Experience of Entrepreneurship*. New York: Routledge.
- Ngatindriatun, N., Saraswati, L. A., Hardyansya and Aries (2018). Improving the competitiveness of the small and medium enterprises (SME) of Troso weaving craft in Jepara Regency using capital intellectual analysis. *Social Economics and Ecology International Journal (SEEIJ)*, 2(1), pp.35-46.
- O'Connor, J. (2004). 'A Special Kind of City Knowledge': Innovative Clusters, Tacit Knowledge and the 'Creative City'. *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy*, 112(1), pp.131-149.
- O'Connor, J. (2016). *After the Creative Industries: Why we need a cultural economy*. Platform Papers Vol. 47, pp. 1-60.
- OECD (2014). *Tourism and the Creative Economy*. OECD Studies on Tourism. Paris: OECD Publishing, pp.1-91.
- OECD (2018). *SME and Entrepreneurship Policy in Indonesia 2018*. OECD Studies on SMEs and Entrepreneurship. Paris: OECD Publishing, pp.1-195.
- Oliva Abarca, J. (2018). The cultural entrepreneur: Constitution, organization and ways of operating. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Knowledge*, 6(1), pp.5-15.
- Papilaya, J., Soisa, T. R. and Akib, H. (2015). The influence of implementing the strategic policy in creating business climate, business environment and providing support

- facilities towards business empowerment on small medium craft enterprises in Ambon, Indonesia. *International Review of Management and Marketing*, 5(2), pp.85-93.
- Pechlaner, H., Innerhofer, E. and Borin, E. (2018). Cultural and Creative Entrepreneurship as Drivers for Change and Development. In: E. Innerhofer, H. Pechlaner and E. Borin, ed., *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative Industries: Perspectives from Companies and Regions*. Cham: Springer, pp.1-10.
- Prowse, M. (2010). Integrating Reflexivity in Livelihoods Research. *Progress in Development Studies*, 10(3), pp.211-231.
- Rahmatiah, R., Wiroto, D. and Taan, H. (2017). A Conceptual Framework in the Formation of Young Entrepreneurs in Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 21(2), p.102.
- Reijonen, E. K. (2010). *Enhancing the capabilities of small producers in developing countries to meet global challenges: an investigation into the contribution of international craft development initiatives*. PhD. The Robert Gordon University.
- Romão, J. (2017). Are creative cities good places for creative people? Notes on the social conditions for cultural production in contemporary economy. *Quality Innovation Prosperity*, 21(1), pp. 45-56.
- Rothenberg, A., Gaduh, A., Burger, N., Chazali, C., Tjandraningsih, I., Radikun, R., Sutera, C. and Weiland, S. (2016). Rethinking Indonesia's informal sector. *World Development*, 80, pp.96-113.
- Sardana, D. (2015). What facilitates cultural entrepreneurship? - A study of Indian cultural entrepreneurs. *The Journal of Creative Behavior*, 52(1), pp.35-51.
- Schulte-Holthaus, S. (2018). Entrepreneurship in the Creative Industries. In: E. Innerhofer, H. Pechlaner and E. Borin, ed., *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative Industries: Perspectives from Companies and Regions*. Cham: Springer, pp.99-156.
- Sen, A. (1985). *Commodities and Capabilities*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers.
- Sen, A. (1996). A Matter of Choice. *UNESCO Courier*, 49(9).
- Steyaert, C. and Hjorth, D. (2003). Creative movements of entrepreneurship. In: C. Steyaert and D. Hjorth, ed., *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.3-19.
- Stewart-Withers, R., Banks, G., McGregor, A. and Meo-Sebawu, L. (2014). Qualitative Research. In: R. Scheyvens, ed., *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Suhendra, A. (2017). Strategic Review on Indonesia Development Plan for Creative Economy. *Developing Country Studies*, 7(5), pp.56-61.
- Sutarman, Herawan, H. E. and Herdian, Y. (2017). Creative economy as supporting national development accelerating growth rate. *International Journal of Business and Management Invention*, 6(4), pp.36-41.
- Throsby, D. (1999). Cultural Capital. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23, pp.3-12.
- Throsby, D. (2015). Development Strategies for Pacific Island Economies: Is There a Role for the Cultural Industries?. *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 2(2), pp.370-382.
- Toghraee, M. and Monjezi, M. (2017). Introduction to Cultural Entrepreneurship: Cultural Entrepreneurship in Developing Countries. *International Review of Management and Marketing*, 7(4), pp.1-7.
- UNCTAD (2010). Creative Economy Report 2010. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, pp.1-280.
- UNCTAD (2015). Creative Economy Outlook and Country Profiles: Trends in International Trade and Creative Industries. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, pp. 1-161.
- UNESCO (2002). *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*. Cultural Diversity Series No. 1. [online] Johannesburg: UNESCO. Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000127162> [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

- UNESCO (2009). *Indonesian Batik: Nomination for inscription on the Representative List in 2009*. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Abu Dhabi: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2013). *Creative Economy Report 2013*. United Nations, UNDP and UNESCO, pp.1-173.
- UNESCO (2017). *Creative economy: Indonesia's wager*. [online] Available at: <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/news/creative-economy-indonesias-wager> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2019].
- UNFPA (2015). *Taking Advantage of The Demographic Dividend in Indonesia: A Brief Introduction to Theory and Practice*. [online] Jakarta: UNFPA Indonesia, pp.1-24. Available at: https://indonesia.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pubpdf/Buku_Policy_Brief_on_Taking_Advantage_on_Demographic_Dividend_02_%28%29_0.pdf [Accessed 23 Nov. 2018].
- Welsch, H. P. and Liao, J. (2003). Strategies for entrepreneurship development: striking a balance between explorative and exploitative research. In: C. Steyaert and D. Hjorth, ed., *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.3-19.
- Wijayanti, A. and Damanik, J. (2019). Analysis of the tourist experience of management of a heritage tourism product: case study of the Sultan Palace of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 14(2), pp.166-177.
- Williams, R. (1963). *Culture and Society*. Edenborough: Penguin Books.
- World Bank. (n.d.). *Data for Indonesia, Lower middle income*. [online] Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/?locations=ID-XN> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2019].
- Yin, R. K. (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Third Edition, Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Zuhdi, U. (2012). Analyzing the influence of creative industry sector to the national economic structural changes by decomposition analysis: The case of Indonesia. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 65, pp.980-985.

Appendix A: List of Interview Participants

Target Group Interviews

Pseudonym	Age	Type of Business
Ahmad	27	Accessories
Aldi	23	Accessories (traditional textiles)
Aulia	26	Accessories (traditional textiles)
Rendy	28	Accessories (traditional textiles)
Farhan	22	Batik
Ridho	24	Batik
Ilham	26	Batik
Andy	28	Batik
Fadhlan	24	Ceramics
Dina	35	Crochet crafts
Rafi	35	Jewelry
Rudi	23	Leather goods
Rizky	25	Leather goods
Adrian	26	Leather goods
Karina	26	Leather goods
Muhammad	28	Leather goods
Rio	25	Painting and sculpture
Rama	20	Textiles and fashion
Dian	35	Textiles and fashion
Putri	31	Wood crafts
Hasan	34	Wood crafts
Ade	25	Wood crafts and batik
Grace	22	Wood crafts and furniture
Bayu	24	Wood crafts and furniture

Experts & Key Informants

Pseudonym	Profession
Pak Arif	Leather crafts person, second generation
Mbak Annisa	Project coordinator, international agency
Ibu Sachi	Program specialist, international agency
Pak Agus	University lecturer and heritage expert
Mas Budi	Furniture designer and crafts dealer
Pak Fajar	Director, creative space and MSME incubator

Appendix B: Interview Materials

Note: The following documents (project purpose, consent form, and semi-structured interview guide) were translated into Bahasa Indonesia and given to all participants to read and sign prior to commencing interviews. This information was also given to gatekeepers and assistants who helped recruit suitable interviewees.

Project Purpose

My name is Aldyn Brudie, a master's student of International Development and Management at Lund University, Sweden. I am conducting interviews in order to collect data for my master's thesis about young cultural entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta.

I will be interviewing people aged 18-35 who run their own businesses, or help to run family businesses, primarily in traditional handicraft production (batik, weaving, ceramics, puppetry, etc.).

If you see yourself to fit in to this category, I would be grateful if you would be willing to spare some time to be interviewed at a time and place that is convenient to you. Questions will vary, but will primarily focus on your business, and your motivations for doing what you do. Interviews will be carried out with the help of an interpreter/research assistant who will facilitate the English-Bahasa translation.

Thank you,

Aldyn Brudie

WhatsApp: XXXXXX

Email: XXXXXXXX

Confirmation of Prior and Informed Consent

I, the undersigned, hereby agree to participate in the research of Ms. Aldyn Brudie, and confirm that I understand the following:

- I have been informed of the purpose of this research and the intended use of the information I provide.
- My participation is entirely voluntary, and I may withdraw my consent at any time. However, information gathered prior to withdrawal of consent may still be used for the purposes of this research. I am also free to skip any question I do not wish to answer.
- My name and any other identifiable information, such as recordings of my voice, will remain strictly confidential and my identity will only be known to the researcher and research assistant/interpreter.
- I understand that Ms. Brudie is an independent researcher from Lund University and is in no way affiliated with an organization, government entity, or private company. The information I provide is solely for academic purposes and will in no way be used to inform policy, projects, or funding.

Signed,

Participant Signature

Name (print)

Age

Date

- I do **NOT** consent to having my interview recorded with a recording device
- I would like an electronic copy of the completed thesis to be sent to the following email address/WhatsApp number:

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Basic Information

Name _____
Age _____ Gender _____
Place of residence (town, neighborhood, region) _____
Place of business (if different from home) _____
Place of birth (if different from current location) _____
Highest formal education completed _____
Current education (if ongoing) _____
Vocational training, completed or ongoing _____
Name of Business _____
Type of Business/Products _____

Open-Ended Questions

To begin:

- Tell me a bit about yourself
- Tell me about your business
- Can you show me around your workshop? Or show some of your products?

Career

- How did you learn your craft/trade?
- What do you feel are the advantages of working in your particular industry/business? What are the disadvantages?
- What are the challenges you face in your industry?
- What are the opportunities you see in your industry?
- How long do you see yourself doing what you are doing?
- Is this your primary form of employment? What else do you engage in?

If self-employed/business owner

- Why did you start your own business?
- What challenges did you face in starting your business?
- Where do you sell your products? To whom? Mostly wholesale or direct retail?
- What is the average cost of making a product? What is the average price wholesale? Retail?
- What opportunities do you see for the future growth of your business?
- Do you have employees? If so, how many?
- What are the biggest expenses associated with running your business?

Economy/Livelihood

- What is your average salary, per month? Is this regular through all months of the year? If not, when do you earn the most/least?
- How many people live in your household?
- How many people do you financially support?

Business/Tools

- What types of technology do you use for your business? (social media, WhatsApp, other internet-based applications)

- What other tools/platforms do you use for your business?
- Is your business registered/formal? Why or why not?
- What type of support do you get from the government? From other outside sources?
- What do you feel are the outside structures that either help or inhibit you from a successful business?

Personal

- In what ways are you proud of your work? How does it bring you satisfaction? In what ways are you *not* proud of/satisfied with your work?
- **Why do you do what you do?**