

Global goals on local level:

How do civil society organizations in Indonesia working with gender equality, female empowerment and female entrepreneurs frame the Sustainable Development Goals and local challenges?

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Abstract

The SDGs provide a global policy framework for regulatory actions at national, regional and international levels. However, when it comes to how to locally implement these goals it is important to understand the context of the local reality.

This paper has two objectives. It seeks to critically analyse how the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) goals are framed by civil society organizations (CSO) in Indonesia in relation to their work. It also seeks to unravel the framing of challenges these civil society organizations identify when working with gender equality and female empowerment in the context of female entrepreneurs. To get an understanding of how local CSO's interpret and integrate SDGs into their practical work and what challenges they identify, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight people working at seven civil society organizations. Interpretative policy analysis and framing were used to uncover what frames were present in the interviews.

The findings in this research indicated that the SDGs are framed differently by different actors where some applied them more practically than others. The framing of the challenges was often similar but depending on what the area the organizations focused on, different frames were highlighted.

Keywords: Sustainable development goals, gender equality, female empowerment, female entrepreneurs, civil society organizations, Indonesia

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1. Introduction

The year 2020 marks the ten-year countdown to deliver the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that play a major role in contemporary international development work. The SDGs or Agenda 2030 is a “global policy framework that aims at reducing poverty and inequality as well as strengthening sustainable economic and social development by means of establishing a collaborative partnership between state and non-state actors in the global South and North” (Tosun&Leinigner,2017:1). In line with this statement, there are positive trends and concrete actions have been taken such as implementation of policies. Actions has been taken on global, national and local level with high involvement from other actors such as businesses, science community, civil society and international organizations (United Nations, 2019: 2). However, with many pressing issues at hand around the world such as climate change, conflicts and growing inequalities, it is valuable to study the SDGs and the process of implementation on a national and local level.

The responsibility of achieving the SDG is based on a combined effort by government, community-based actors, civil society and the private sector (Khan et al, 2018: 68). According to United Nations Development Programme (2018) in order to effectively implement the SDGs, all levels of the government have to adopt policies and strategies that take social, economic and environmental aspects into account. It is crucial that policies to take into account the local context (geographical, social and political). Therefore, when localizing the SDGs, subnational and national level government are key to implementing policies and strategies, in partnership with international institutions, academia, private sector and civil society groups (UNDP, 2018: 8;20).

On a regional level, the SDG application can be studied in the context of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and more specifically Indonesia. ASEAN has been getting more and more influence globally when it comes to development. As a region it contributed remarkably in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and is steadily growing economically and the region is expected to be the fourth largest economy by 2050. Growth was also a driving factor for reducing extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2013 (UNDP, 2019:18). When it comes to ASEAN and the SDGs, the region has shown great commitment to achieving the global goals by develop cross-cutting regional initiatives and develop a

framework where ASEANs aspirations as a region align with the goals of the SDGs. One example of this is ASEANs “ASEAN vision 2025” (UNDP,2019:34).

On a national level, countries of ASEAN have also committed to implementing the SDGs and among the nations that are more invested in this process is Indonesia (UNDP, 2019:34). Indonesia is the largest economy in Southeast Asia and the fourth highest populated country in the world, with a population of about 265 million people (Hal, 2018:469-470). Economically, Indonesia has changed a lot in the last decades with the expanding of the manufacturing and the service sector and with the decline in the agricultural sector. Indonesia achieved middle income status in 2004 and the country hit a record-low number with 9.2 percent living below poverty line (World bank, 2020:1) However, when it comes to gender, there are a number of challenges that women face in Indonesia. Gender stereotyping and traditional views on the role of the woman puts constraints and limits in social, political and economic aspects in Indonesia (Asia Foundation, 2012:2). The Indonesian government has integrated the Sustainable development goals into their national development plans and the mid-term development plan (RPJMN 2015-2019). This plan highlights the role of micro, small and medium enterprises and support owners of such enterprises, especially women (World Bank, 2016:1). Gender inequality in Indonesia still prevails and the participation of women in the labour market is lacking (AIPEG et al 2017: 1-6).

One way that this could be address this issue is through the discourse of entrepreneurship. The Indonesian government has been trying to encourage women entrepreneurs through a number of programs and support in financial, technical, marketing and raw materials. Still, in line with gender inequalities, gender gaps in entrepreneurship in Indonesia prevail. There is also not much research done or literature in regard to women entrepreneurs in Indonesia, especially when it comes to micro and small enterprises (MSE). Micro and small enterprises is where traditionally, women in Indonesia are involved. Women in business are mostly located “in trade and services, managing/owning e.g. small shops, food stalls, beauty salons, boutique/fashions, and catering. In rural areas, women doing own businesses are mainly as traders operating in traditional markets. In industries women in Indonesia are mainly found in small-sized handicraft, food and beverages, and clothing industries “(Tambunan, 2017:57). The Australia Indonesia Partnership for Economic Governance (AIPEG) stated in the conclusion of their research on the status of gender in labour in Indonesia that “barriers to entrepreneurship and to expanding women’s businesses need to be better understood” (AIPEG et al 2017: 50).

One of the prominent characteristics of the Indonesian post-1998 democracy has been the importance of the civil society organizations (CSO) in the political sphere. The leaders of CSOs are often asked for consulting by politicians and bureaucrats when it comes to issues such as anti-corruption, gender equity and the environment. The political environment for a pro-democratic civil society is more open Indonesia than any of the neighboring Southeast Asian countries (Savirani, 2018). CSO engagement play a great role in developing a more inclusive and sustainable development, promoting female empowerment especially in the area of female entrepreneurship in Indonesia.

Empowering women, whether it is on an individual, institutional or socio-cultural level, is fundamental for sustainable development and is a fundamental part of the global development goals. As entrepreneurship is greatly inflectional on development, researching empowerment of female entrepreneurs is important. MSE play an important role for the Indonesian economy and it is also where a lot of female entrepreneurs are located. Therefore, female entrepreneurship and female empowerment is the main focus of this research. In the process of implementation of global policies such as the SDGs local government and civil society organizations play a big role. Understanding how CSOs frame and use these concepts in the context of Indonesia are of value as it shines a light on the current local and national discourse on these topics. This is in line with the aim of this research. This thesis aims to understand what frames are present among different civil society organizations based in Indonesia who all engage with female entrepreneurs' trough their work. This research focuses on two aspects. Firstly, this research seeks to understand how these CSOs frame the SDGs and the application of the goals in their work. Secondly, the research seeks to understand how these CSOs frame the challenges of working with female empowerment and gender equality in the context female entrepreneurship.

The following chapters are structured as follows. Firstly, an overview based in previous academic literature will be presented. This overview will include an overview of the discourse on the following topics: the sustainable development goals and gender equality and female empowerment and the role of civil society organizations in the context of SDG implementation on a local level. Firstly, the above-mentioned discourses will be placed in the context of Indonesia and female entrepreneurship. Here the role that CSOs in Indonesia will be discussed. The review of the research field will place the research in the context of literature and lead to the formulation of two research questions. Secondly, the theoretical framework and

methodology will be presented, together with discussions of ethical considerations and limitations of this study. Thirdly, the findings that were gathered during fieldwork in Jakarta will be presented. The interviews done with eight staff members from seven organizations will be critically discussed and analyzed.

2. Review of research field

2.1 Sustainable development goals, empowerment and entrepreneurship

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) consists of 17 goals that consist of targets and these targets are then related to indicators that are used to monitor and assess progress. The indicators serve as a way to interpret the goals but also as a way to focus attention and action (Long, 2018:92;95). The SDGs applied improvement of the previous global agenda, the Millennium Development Goals that had extreme poverty reduction as a main target. The eight millennium development goals focused on development in areas of poverty, education and health. However, the MDGs were critiqued for the narrow view of development. In regard to gender, MDG 3 promoted gender equality and female empowerment, but it only focused on elimination of disparities in primary, secondary and tertiary education. Viewing gender and development in this way does not recognize the issues of societal gender structures, gendered violence, unpaid care work, uneven access to resources and many other issues that are crucial for a fair and inclusive development. As a result of the critiques towards the MDGs, the Sustainable Development Goals emerged as a framework. The new framework cover three aspect of development: economic, social and environmental. The SDGs highlight the fact that addressing issues, such as gender equality, should not be done with only one goal, but instead there needs to be a cross cutting approach to issues of development (Odera & Mulusa, 2020: 96-97).

Globally, the discourse of empowerment, gender equality and development has is currently tied together by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) or Agenda 2030. The SDGs are a “global policy framework that aims at reducing poverty and inequality as well as strengthening sustainable economic and social development by means of establishing a collaborative partnership between state and non-state actors in the global South and North”. Agenda 2030 consists of 17 SDGs that include 169 targets and 304 indicators that all deal with issues of sustainable development, human development. What differed the SDG’s from their

predecessor Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in the understanding of global development are three things. Firstly, the SDGs are grounded in an idea of universalism, which entails that the goals should be implemented by all states, no matter their economic situation. Secondly, the goals and objectives are interdependent. Thirdly, the SDGs highlight the need for thorough monitoring and implementation (Tosun & Leininger, 2017:1-2).

In terms of the SDGs and gender, Agenda 2030 has taken steps forward by giving gender equality and female empowerment one stand-alone goal as well as including gender specific targets in other goals, acknowledging that gender is a cross-cutting issue (Ponte & Enriquez, 2016:84) Ponte and Enriquez (2016) argue that a feminist perspective highlights the fact that there isn't a clear correlation between economic growth and gender equality. It is important to analyze the distributional growth of economic growth and look at how it affects different groups, such as gender, age, race. For economic growth to contribute to sustainable development, it should bring about new ideas in regard to sustainable production and the consumption patterns as well as value- and supply-chains (Ponte & Enriquez, 2016:84).

The Sustainable Development Goal number 5 is Gender Equality and aims to “achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls” (UN women, 2018:18). According to UN Women (2018) one of the 2030 Agenda goals is gender equality and women empowerment which is fundamental on so many levels: sustainable development, poverty and hunger eradication, building of peaceful societies and preserving natural resources. A gender approach is crucial in regard to all Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), but progress on gender equality has been uneven in regard to the different goals (UN Women, 2018:4-5). In combination with social and environmental aspects, economic growth plays a big role on the road towards sustainable development, poverty eradication and elimination of inequality. Therefore, gender equality in employment and fair access to job opportunities are essential for inclusive development (UN Women, 2018:40). “Unequal access to and control over economic resources lie at the root of women's poverty” (UN women, 2018: 8) and therefore the SDG goal number 5 entails that it is crucial to “adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels“ (UN Women, 2018:18).

In international development, the term empowerment has become more and more important. However due to the various usages of the term and the conceptualization used to framing

empowerment the definition of empowerment is not clear. According to Hennink et al (2012) the “lack of clarity can undermine the value of efforts aimed at strengthening empowerment as a route towards improving community development and poverty reduction” (Hennink et al, 2012:203). Empowerment is also the core concept in the SDGs in terms of development, but also gender equality, and empowerment is referred to as both as an end and as a means in the SDGs. The importance of women empowerment in international development is widely acknowledged. Empowerment is acknowledged for its contribution to development and poverty reduction, but there needs to be a clarity in the conceptualization and framing of the concept, as well as the practical application of empowerment (Hennink et al, 2012:203). In broad terms, empowerment entails” the ability of individuals to gain control socially, politically, economically and psychologically through (1) access to information, knowledge and skills; (2) decision making; and (3) individual self-efficiency, community participation and perceived control” (Nikkhah & Redzuan,2010:86). While empowerment is often associated with groups that are marginalized, vulnerable, poor or excluded, when it comes to women and female empowerment there are some additional elements that ground themselves in gendered social norms. Women are a “crosscutting category of individuals” that overlaps with the other disempowered groups in society. In addition, women experience disempowerment as a result of household and interfamilial relations that are not evident for other vulnerable groups. While empowerment generally entails reforms on institutional levels, changes in systematic structures is crucial for women empowerment, especially those that are supporting patriarchal structures (Mahotra,2003:2).

According to Hennink et al, (2012) when researching about empowerment there has been less focus in research on understanding how the concept is understood in practice. Therefore, Hennink et al (2012) research focused on international organizations and how these organizations empowerment in regard to their work. From their research five main mechanisms were in focus among these organizations: knowledge, agency, opportunity structure, capacity-building, resources and sustainability. Depending on who is being empowered, whether it is an individual, a community or an organization, different combinations of mechanisms operated. When it comes to individual empowerment the focus is on enabling individuals to make independent decisions and to act on these decisions to improve their lives. According to Hennink et al (2012) research, the key mechanism for individual empowerment was agency, more specifically individual’s self-identity, decision-making capacity and effect on change. For individual empowerment, the main point was institutional structures and social norms were

enabling or a hindrance for empowerment. Community empowerment means the process and ability of a community to mobilize and foster change. When it comes to community empowerment agency, capacity building, resource provision, opportunity structure and sustainability were the mechanisms for empowerment. Agency in this context focused on defining the priorities of the community and the ability to make decisions and take action. Capacity building is also a key element, where building networks or community groups that could mobilize and take action, sometimes with additional help from resource provision. Organizational empowerment was defined in two ways: “where empowerment of a local partner organization is in focus of collaboration, or where it’s a by-product of collaborative activities”. The mechanisms for organizational empowerment matched the ones for community empowerment. The research also highlighted that there are domains that play a role in empowerment: health, economic, political, natural resource and spiritual. Hennink et al (2012) state it is important for development organizations to understand how different mechanisms of empowerment work in different domains and how these can overlap. (Hennink et al, 2012:206-207).

In regard to agency and female empowerment, the agency of the woman on an individual level is crucial, and the women themselves are key in the process of change. Without women as agents in this process the empowerment would not be achieved (Malhotra, 2003:2). Two of the main components of empowerment are resources and agency, although sometimes resources are rather seen as the catalyst or enabling factors for the empowerment process. It is not enough for women to just get access to resources, be it economic, social or political. Women’s access to resources does not automatically give them control over said resource, nor does it always have an impact on law and policy. Agency on the other hand is a key concept for empowerment and it derives from a critique to the top-down development approaches. The term agency refers to different things in depending on contexts: on institutional level it refers to as public participation and social inclusion, while on micro-level it is refers to as the idea of self-efficiency and focuses more on the individual level. Accordingly, it is important to note that agency does not mean that all the burden of changes and improvements is put on the women. “Without women’s individual or collective ability to recognize and utilize resources in their own interest, resources cannot bring about empowerment “(Malhotra, 2003:3).

Labour has been a focal point for women’s rights since the movement started to emerge, over a century ago. In addition, exclusion and gendered discrimination is prevalent in the labour

market shows that there is still a long way to go (Odera & Mulusa, 2020: 95). Woman empowerment in entrepreneurship has great relevance for sustainable development, reducing poverty and gender equality because female entrepreneurs both provide for their own family and contribute to national economy by providing jobs and products. A majority of these female entrepreneurs are located on a local market and in the informal economy sector (ILO, 88-89). Studying gender and female entrepreneurship is to “identify the factors that prevent women from contributing to socio-economic development” (Sarfaraz et al, 2014: 9). From Sarfaraz et al (2014) study on female entrepreneurship states that is very complex and that the relations between gender equality and female entrepreneurship has to be studied in each country’s socio-economic context. To understand the reasons behind the number of female entrepreneurs, the quality and longevity of the business, and how female entrepreneurs impact development in a country it is important to look at the country-specific context. Different relations between formal and informal institutions and what actors and stakeholders are present can affect the effect on and effect of female entrepreneurship (Sarfaraz et al, 2014: 9-10).

Entrepreneurship has become an important concept in development and “politicians continuously cite its importance and the need to create more entrepreneurial societies, and newspapers and television programs frequently create themes around successful entrepreneurs.” (Ahmad & Hoffmann, 2008:3). Policymakers and scholars agree that entrepreneurship contributes greatly to economic growth and development. However, entrepreneurship can look different which makes it difficult for policymakers to know what type of policies are needed to make an impact. One key characteristic of entrepreneurship is the way opportunities are discovered and exploited. The relationship between individual and opportunity is central. When it comes to entrepreneurship policy, the main focus is to stimulate more entrepreneurial behavior (Terjesen et al; 2016: 231).

When it comes to empowerment, and female empowerment included, Hennink et al (2012) states that while there is research contributing to the theoretical understanding of the concept, “there is little empirical research to understand how those at the center of development practice define and implement programs that promote empowerment as a route towards development and poverty reduction” (Hennink et al, 2012:203). Globally, the number of entrepreneurs is rising, and female entrepreneurship is also on the rise. If given equal opportunities and access to resources female engagement in entrepreneurship is proved to have a great positive impact on development. Especially for countries where unemployment among women is high and

where women need to work at home, entrepreneurship can be a solution for these women to earn income, reduce unemployment as well as poverty. Entrepreneurship can also give women who are carrying the burden of domestic responsibilities a way to earn their own income (Sarfaraz et al, 2014:1-2).

Female entrepreneurship is a cross cutting concept that has an impact on and is covered by a number of SDG and targets. However, to even start addressing the idea of female entrepreneurship, focusing on ending “all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere” (SDG 5) is fundamental in order to continue working on other issues of gender equality. It is also crucial to give women equal rights, ownership and access to resources, such as land, finance and property as stated in SDG 5, target 5.a. SDG 10 that focuses on reducing inequality within and among countries is also addressed by female entrepreneurship. It relates to the target 10.2 that states that “by 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status”. The concept also is closely connected to SDG 8 that relates to sustainable economic growth and decent work for all. Target 8.3 states that in order to achieve SDG 8 promoting “development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services”. Therefore, understanding the role of female entrepreneurship in micro, small and medium size enterprises is interesting in the context of inclusive and fair sustainable development (UN, department of economic and social affairs, n/d).

Supporting and working with female entrepreneurs will have a spillover effect on various SDGs not only the ones discussed above, and it affects other SDGs as well. While working with the SDGs might not always be a priority for all actors, the global goals do provide guidance and sets the tone of international development work. Striving towards giving women the resources and opportunity to pursue a career as a female entrepreneur their evident positive effects on development.

2.2 Policy implementation, localization and the role of CSOs

Although the notion of a sustainable and gender inclusive development is a global initiative, achieving it and implementing policies is done on a national and local level. The importance

of working on a local level and include national and local governments and actors in working towards achieving the SDGs, based on the understanding that much of the implementation would be managed at that level by local actors. Agenda 2030 calls for the local actors to actively participate in the implementation of the global goals, as well as monitoring and agenda-setting, and entails that all relevant actors should be involved in the decision-making process (UNDP, 2019:22). Taking subnational, community and individual contexts into account when setting goals, targets and indicators as well as adapt the means of implementation is crucial for localizing development. Initially, the term localization referred to the implementation of global goals by local and regional governments on local levels (Local2030; 2017). The term localization has evolved and according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) the concept of localization in the context of SDGs incorporates these key aspects: “A framework for local development policy while ensuring coherence a cohesion between national and local level policies; Framing the SDG’s into action that it relevant, applicable and attainable at the local level; Bottom-up action that enlists local and regional governments to support the achieving of the SDGs- through partnership, better resource allocation and monitoring SDG achievement to ensure that no one is left behind “ (UNDP: 2019:23). In these terms, localization enables policy-actors to implement the policies in an integrated and inclusive way. Localizing development is then a process of taking the context, needs and aspirations in to account and giving space to local stakeholders to have impact on the development (Local2030; 2017). Localization helps strengthening the inclusion of the communities and affected population. This underlines the importance of understanding and reflecting on the needs of the local communities (ICVA, 2018:3). However, localization of SDGs is not an easy task and faces a number of challenges. Transparency and accountability must be present in all levels of government and implementation of policies need to be done in a way that inclusive and context sensitive. According to UNDP (2019) in order to achieve this, there must be transparent and effective institutions in place, corruption has to be addressed, decision-making needs to be representative and everyone should be able to participate, information has to be publicly accessible and fundamental freedoms have to be protected. Good governance is crucial for sustainable development to be inclusive and fair and for economic growth to be sustainable (UNDP, 2019:23).

Streeten (1997) commented that “it has been said that the nation-state has become too small for the big things and too big for the small things.” (Streeten 1997: 194). When put in the perspective of global goals and localization, it highlights the need for new actors for policy

processes. Non-state actors, such as civil society organizations (CSOs) and non-governmental actors (NGOs), has a number of ways to contribute to sustainable development. Commitments to the SDGs are made by national governments and most countries have multi-level governance structure. This means that the subnational governments and local authorities are often the ones responsible for putting the SDG policies into action (Kanuri et al, 2016:15). NGOs are understood as part of civil society organizations in accordance to the definition that the Advisory Group on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness presented: “CSOs can be defined to include all non-market and non-state organizations outside of the family in which people organize themselves to pursue shared interests in the public domain. They cover a wide range of organizations that include membership-based CSOs, cause-based CSOs and service-oriented CSOs. Examples include community-based organizations and village associations, environmental groups, women’s rights groups, farmers’ associations, faith-based organizations, labour unions, co-operatives, professional associations, chambers of commerce, independent research institutes and the not-for-profit media.” (OECD, 2011:10). Therefore, from this point on, the term CSO will be used as a common term for all non-state actors working in Indonesia.

For SDG implementation, CSOs are a key player when it comes to raising awareness, mobilization, capacity building, monitoring and reviewing projects; data collection and can provide expertise (The Major Group. 2017:3). According to Pacheco-Vega (2010) civil society organizations “participation in preparatory, international, regional, and global meetings gives them propitious ground where they are able to interact (both formally and informally) with government officials influencing governmental agendas, highlighting key issues and providing input in official text” (Pacheco-Vega R.2010:1052-1053). According to Eschke (2018) “the changes needed to achieve sustainable development require substantive policy changes in many policy fields from agricultural to economic policy, from urban planning to soil protection. Persons and groups potentially affected by such policy changes need to be heard and need to participate in the development of policy alternatives, which may affect them” (Eschke, 2018:6). Here is where the role of civil society organizations are crucial. The role of CSO for sustainable development and contributes immensely to development on community level. CSO’s play an important part in the work regarding humanitarian relief, sustainable development, policy processes and advocacy. On top of that, CSO’s are also lately been seen as a channel for governments, especially for development assistance. Some of the major functions of CSOs are service delivery such as relief, welfare, basic skills; provision of education of critical analysis among others; and public policy advocacy (Nikkhah & Redzuan,2010:85). CSOs are

oftentimes more adaptable, more sensible towards and are more informed on local conditions and context, more inclined to listen to individuals and the poor, and good knowledge of community development. According to Streeten (1997) CSOs “strength lays in their role as brokers or catalysts, linking families and communities with the institutions of the wider society” (Streeten, 1997: 197-198).

2.3 The case of Indonesia: current status on development and gender

The SDGs are a part of Indonesia’s National Long-term Development Plan (RPJPN) that stretches over the time period of 2005-2025. According to the Indonesian government, the SDG implementation is “conducted by involving all stakeholders: government and parliament, philanthropy and business society, civil society organizations and media as well as academics” (Republic of Indonesia, 2017: 8). As mentioned above, the leaders of civil society organization are often asked for consulting by politicians and bureaucrats when it comes to issues such as anti-corruption, gender equality, migrant rights and the environment. CSOs in Indonesia play a big role in advocacy, research and community mobilization and empowerment. The decentralization of Indonesia has enabled CSOs to operate on provincial, district and village level. On local level they are an important part of policy change and on national and local government level they act as consultants (USAID, 2018:1-4). However, there is a regional difference from the urban and rural areas when it comes to the influence that the civil society has on policies and there has been a drive from the CSOs to promote “citizens’ rights at the local level, ranging from staying *outside* as a watchdog, to moving *inside* in the bureaucracy itself, typically as consultants to local government.” (Savirani, 2018). According to Savirani (2018) the way that CSO are deciding whether to advocate from within or outside of the local government in Indonesia depends whether it’s an issue of political economy, social and political rights, and public services. Bigger problems need bigger coalition, longer timeframe and complex strategies (Savirani, 2018).

Micro, small and medium size enterprises (MSME) have been a major factor in Indonesian domestic economics as it is the primary or secondary source of income for many households in the country, especially low-income and poor families in rural areas, although lacking a huge impact on the national economy of Indonesia. Small and medium enterprises (SME) have also contributed greatly to local communities and the development of local economies. In Indonesia, more than 90% of SMEs are the biggest source of employment and are mostly located in rural

areas and are focused on a local market. These types of enterprises are often struggling to make ends meet and will often not make it long term. This often has to do with the fact that, especially small enterprises (SE), have a hard time upgrading to new technology, accessing a wider market and keep up with the demand for higher quality and more modern products. In Indonesia, SME are mainly located in the agricultural sector, with hotel and restaurant sector coming second, following by the manufacturing industry. Manufacturing covers a lot of the traditional manufacturing such as woodwork, textiles and footwear, and consumable goods such as food and beverage (Tambunan, 2008:148-150). There are a number of challenges that most SME face which are “lack of capital, producing raw materials, access to relevant business information, difficulties in marketing and distribution, low technological capabilities, high transportation costs, communication problems, problems caused by cumbersome and costly bureaucratic procedures (especially in getting the required licenses) and policies and regulations that regulate market distortions” (Tambunan, 2008:150). Most of SMEs are located in rural areas where there is a higher poverty and oftentimes women who run these types of businesses do it to bring income to their family, and not solely because of a high entrepreneurial spirit (Tambunan, 2017:60-61).

According to Tambunan (2017) Indonesia the rise of interest for women entrepreneurship has increased due to three reasons. Women as entrepreneurs and businessowners are traditionally found in MSEs and as their number continues to grow bigger, they have more impact on economic growth and development. Another reason is that Indonesia is working with SDGs, and women empowerment and gender equality is an important aspect. Indonesia also has a high prevalence of poverty, and it is both a social and political issue, and involvement of women in labour, be it as labour force, entrepreneurs or businessowners would have an impact on poverty reduction. Since the end of the Asian financial crisis, the Indonesia government, in collaboration with other governments, for example Australia, UN organizations such as UN Women and international and national NGO's, is supporting programs that would support female entrepreneurs. In 2007, the Indonesian government implemented a public credit guarantee scheme (KUR) that was oriented towards MSE (Tambunan, 2017: 56-58).

As mentioned above, female entrepreneurship is often connected to economic growth, social development, stronger communities and business ecosystems as a result of higher participation levels of women in the labour market. According to research, female entrepreneurs face some challenges and women are less likely to be involved in entrepreneurial activities compared to

men. Financially, women generally have lower level of financial capital and this capital rarely comes from formal, external sources. Female entrepreneurial businesses are often located in the premises of their home and rarely focus on export markets. The aspirations for growth of female entrepreneurs are often low and the business is often motivated by noneconomic goals (necessity based). To better understand the challenges of public policy for female entrepreneurship, Terjesen et al (2016) introduce three policy implication that incorporate “individual and environmental components that concern women’s roles in their family, human capital, and social capital” need to be taken into account (Terjesen et al, 2016: 233). Firstly, women operate in the context of family plays a big role on policy implications. Research has shown that female entrepreneurs start their businesses in later age and often after having childbirth, which emphasized the need for policies that help women with childcare and other household chores so that more of their resources and energy can be put into the business. Secondly, human capital is also a policy initiative that is important in the context of female entrepreneurship and relates to providing education and training to female entrepreneurs. Policy initiatives can also facilitate access to networks and exposure and expand social capital. Thirdly, discriminatory processes and norms need to be eliminated and women and gender equality needs to be addressed in order for female entrepreneurs to be able to develop at a full potential (Terjesen et al, 2016: 233-234).

When it comes to female entrepreneurship in Indonesia there has not been much research done on the key challenges that women entrepreneurs and businesses in Indonesia face. According to Tambunan (2017) compiles the main factors that make female entrepreneurs struggle. Low level of education and limited access to training opportunities puts women at a disadvantage. Religious, cultural and social norms put limitations on women’s access to education. In rural areas especially, heavy household shores and expectation on women to take on traditional household responsibilities limits the amount of time women can put into developing their business. Traditions, customs as well as legal, cultural and religious structures in Indonesia are often limiting women already in initial stages of starting their own business. Another issue that women face is limited access to financial resources such as loans or other financial institutions (Tambunan, 2017: 74-76).

2.4 Research Questions

From the literature review a number of conclusions can be made. In regard to the SDGs, understanding the local context when implementing policies regarding empowerment and

gender equality is crucial for sustainable development. In order to understand this, the role of civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations in the localization process and how they frame issues of development needs to be addressed. Female entrepreneurship plays an important role Indonesia's development and national policies, and therefore it is of interest to highlight how CSOs frame issues of female entrepreneurship and empowerment and the challenges they see working in with this issue.

From the discussion above two research questions arise:

(RQ1) How are global policies and concepts, presented in the Sustainable Development Goals, in regard to gender equality and woman empowerment framed on a local level by CSO's working in Indonesia?

(RQ2) What conditions and challenges do CSO's working with gender equality and female empowerment in Indonesia identify when working with the Sustainable Development Goals and empowering female entrepreneurs?

3. Theory and Method

3.1 Universalism, differentiated universalism and framing

The SDGs have been seen as a new way of global governance as a way to 'govern through goals' but it is important to understand what that means for the implementation of the goals. However, as the SDGs are understood to be universal in the sense of them being accepted by all and applicable by all, it is important to understand the concept of universality. The idea of universality in the SDGs is a major difference from the MDGs. The goals apply to all countries which makes them more transformative, but it also lifts a question of how to share responsibility among countries. Long (2018) argues that understanding universality in relation to the SDG is to understand the difference between 'universal in application' and 'universalism with differentiation'. Starting with the concept of universal in application in the context of the SDGs, what it means is that the goals and targets in the agenda apply and are of relevance to all countries. However, when stating that the SDGs are applicable to all, it does not mean that the goals are equally applicable, where the concept of 'universalism with differentiation' comes in place. The SDG framework adopts the notion of national differentiation which takes into account the difference in national context, capacity and levels of development. what it means for the SDGs is that although they are universal in the sense of application they differentiated

and allow countries to take action in relation to the national circumstances. Countries have the ability to interpret the goals and prioritize them to the national context (Long, 2018:96-102). Long (2015) identifies three components that are important for why the idea of differentiation in regard to the SDGs is so important. Firstly, as mentioned, the fact that different nations have different starting points. Secondly, it also depends on different capacities in terms of resources. Thirdly, the concern of state sovereignty and national flexibility is another reason why differentiation is important. (Long, 2015: 215). According to Long (2018) “commitments to nationally differentiated implementation of a universal agenda, to realizing the goals in a way that respects their integrated character, and to a focus on the most marginalized, can serve to shape policies and frame how such efforts should be judged.” (Long, 2018:92).

Traditional forms of policy analysis, such as micro-economics, are based on a positivist assumption that it is possible to make value-free and objective assessments of a policy. It also assumes that policy language has unambiguous meaning that can be directly applied by relevant actors at all levels. Instead, this paper derives from an interpretivist understanding where values and meaning is fundamental for policy analysis and through means of interpretation and an understanding of the social world as constructed (Yanow, 2015:403). Values, norms and feelings as fundamental part of policy processes, political actions and institutions. They shape all aspects of the policymaking process from framing and structuring a problem, to the implementation of policies to reflection of policies (Wagenaar, 2011:4-5). According to Wagenaar (2011) interpretative research methods are useful when you want to understand what a policy means to people who are affected by it (Wagenaar,2011:3). Yanow states that for interpretative policy analysis, “meaning of policy documents lies not in the text itself nor in legislative intent [...] but in the experience-based understanding of, for example, constituents of the ‘receiving’ end of policy implementation (Yanow, 2007:116). Different people can interpret and frame the same policy in different ways, and in interpretative policy analysis can be a tool to understand how different individuals frame policy issues in different, and possibly conflicting, ways (Yanow, 2007:113-115). Framing is central to IPA and are seen as “cognitive schemata that organize the way people perceive, interpret, organize and represent their knowledge of the world” (Braun, 2015: 445). In this research, looking at frames in interviews with relevant actors can help understand how they interpret and define policies to promote solutions that are compatible with their views and interests (Braun, 2015:447). In this sense,

frame analysis is to shine a light on intentions, motives and purposes of actors' through analysis of various texts and how meaning is created.

It is important to mention that different frames can exist at the same time and there can be more than one interpretation present and a pluralist ontological stance serves as a base for this research. The research is also based on the constructivist approach to understanding the world where individuals shape and view the world based on their contextuality (Aukes et al, 2020:8-9).

3.2 Data-collection

The aim of this research is to look at framing of female empowerment and female entrepreneurs in SDG's in official documents from the UN as well as framing of these issues on a local level by 7 organizations in Indonesia and see the way they frame it. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with actors from these organizations based in Jakarta in Indonesia that work with issues regarding gender equality and female empowerment. The selection of the of participants was done by snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is done in two stages. Initially, four participants were chosen in a strategic way and these people were contacted for an interview. The interviewees were chosen on the basis relevance to the research and to answering the research question. Thereafter, these participants on their own initiative suggested other people to interview (Bryman, 2012: 424).

The questions were structured in three sections: (1) background information on the interviewee and the organization and how they work with gender equality, female empowerment and female entrepreneurs (2) what they found important when working with gender equality, female empowerment and female entrepreneurs and what challenges they encountered, (3) the role of SDGs for their work. All the interviews were planned to be conducted in person in Jakarta, and five of them were done accordingly. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic having an upswing at the end of my stay in Jakarta, three of the interviews were done through Skype or WhatsApp videocall to ensure everyone's safety.

3.3 Data-analysis method: Coding

Semi-structured interviews are a way to interview where the interviewee gets a list of questions or specific topics but allows the respondent to answer freely. For research, it is a way to

understand how the interviewees frame and interpret different issues, concepts, events and how they describe them (Bryman, 2012:471). Semi-structured interviews consist of a number of open-ended questions and there are several reasons why open-ended questions are suitable for my research. Open ended questions allow the interviewees to answer on their own terms. Since there are no pre-set answers to open ended questions it allows for different answers from interviewees. This can highlight different approaches, interpretations and knowledge of the issues covered by the interview. This study focuses on the interviewee's interpretation of global goals and policies, therefore open-ended questions are a way to explore different approaches and interpretations (Bryman, 2012:247-250).

As mentioned in the theoretical discussion, framing will be addressed in this research. Therefore, the data will be analyzed by the method of coding. Coding is essential in linking collection of data to analysis of data as it helps define the themes in the data that help grasp the meanings. Codes are constructed and the world is seen as a construct where norms and values can be expressed through language. Coding is therefore used to show a reality as perceived by the person doing the coding, and the data could have been analyzed differently if another person coded it (Charmaz, 2014:113).

Coding is done in two stages: firstly, the material has to be categorized. Secondly, these categories are given numbers so that they can be analyzed and processed to compose a bigger picture. For open ended questions, it is important to have a coding schedule, that is a record of rules that are applied when identifying frames in the texts (Bryman,2012:247-249). In this research, coding follows the steps and considerations outlined by in Bryman (2012). After the interviews were transcribed the data was read through and notes in forms of key words noted in the text were made. The key words could either be words mentioned by the interviewee or the initial thought that came up when reading the data. Then the data was read through again and more emphasis was put on the initial codes. In this phase the coding is critically analyzed, and some key questions are addressed. Are there are different key words that explain in the same thing present? Are there are any concepts and categories that already exist in literature? Are there connections between the codes? After the data is approached in this way connections between concepts and categories are developed and theoretical ideas emerge, what in this research will be referred to as frames (Bryman, 2012: 578). Coding is essential in linking collection of data to analysis of data as it helps define the themes in the data that help grasp the meanings. Codes are constructed and the world is seen as a construct where norms and values

can be expressed through language. Coding is therefore used to show a reality as perceived by the person doing the coding, and the data could have been analyzed differently if another person coded it (Charmaz, 2014:113).

As mentioned above, this research is interested in understanding different frames that exist within the NGO's in regard to female empowerment and female intrapreneurs. With basis in the discussion above, semi-structured interviews are a suitable way to collect data as it allows the interviewees to answer freely and develop their own statements. For the data-analysis and coding, semi-structured interviews are a good choice because the interview guide. In the interview guide the questions asked regarding a topic or issue can help demarcate the answers and make it easier to code afterwards.

3.4 Reflexivity, limitations and ethical considerations

In this research, eight staff members from seven organizations were interviewed, making this a multiple case study research, which comes with some aspects of caution. First, since the method that will be used is semi-structured interviews, it is highly important to have a structure in the interviews to ensure cross-case comparability (Bryman, 2012: 472). This was done by creating an interview guide with themes and questions that were guiding the interviews (see appendix 1).

As a part of reflexivity as a researcher it is crucial to understand that the researcher takes an active role as an interpreter of policy texts as well, be it official documents or interviews. Reflecting on the role as a researcher is important and makes the research more transparent. It is also helpful to others while assessing the adequacy of the interpretations and assumptions the researcher has done in the analysis (Yanow, 2010:116). It is important to reflect on the fact that the researcher is a part of the interaction and is "interpreting interpretations" (Braun, 2015:459). Therefore, one key aspect during collecting data for this research and analyzing it is to reflect and to be wary of my own position as a researcher. I need to reflect on how and how my values, ideas, pre-conceptions and knowledge context can affect the research outcome, and this will increase validity and transparency of the research. My position as a white female who born and raised in a Western context and European academic background has shaped my understanding and pre-conceptions of the concepts discussed in this research. This is something that I acknowledge and try to reflect on constantly during throughout this research and in my

everyday life. To avoid imposing my own values and views I as a researcher engaged in constant self-reflections on my background, biases and knowledge. When conducting my interviews, I was aware of the language that I used and did my best to ask questions that were as unbiased as possible. However, as this research is based on the assumption that there is no fixed meaning, whether on an individual level or when it comes to policies, I am aware that it is impossible to avoid imputing my own ideas and values.

One of the most important ethical when it comes to data collection is “how people who participate in research as subjects or informants can be treated” (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017: 12). It is important to protect information and identity of all individuals who are will be contributing to the research through interviews. Therefore, all names of organizations and the names of the interviewees were changed. For purposes of transcribing and coding, the interviews were recorded which also raises questions of ethics and information management. Therefore, the purpose and aim of the research was always stated before every interview. It was also disclosed that the participants are being subject to research, that the information that was gathered will be anonymous. Personal data (such as recordings) that will be collected was done in coherence with the personal data act and the interviewees will be informed of information such as how it will be stored and how long it will be saved for (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017:26-27). It was emphasized that participation in interviews is voluntary and that they could cancel the interview at any time.

There are limitations to this research the main being the scope of the research, time and selection of participants and generalization of the study. Given more time and resources more people could have been interviewed which would have enriched the research. The positioning of the research and the choose of theoretical framework, i.e. framing, makes it hard to separate personal opinions/framings of the organization that the individual interviewees represent and the personal opinions of the interviewees. The questions were stated in a way where emphasis on the organization and work was made, but the individual experiences, frames and norms affects the answers. Therefore, the frames that will be presented in the analysis are not to be seen as representative of a whole organization. As part of reflexivity, while analyzing my findings, I was constantly self-reflecting on my background knowledge, values and preconception and how they affect the frames are presented.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1 Data collection results

Interviews with seven organizations and eight people who work with civil society organizations or non-governmental organizations were conducted. Organization 1 through 5 are considered to be civil society organizations. Organization 6 is part of a government collaboration initiative, but the organization works closely with partners from civil society. Organization 7 is not a CSO as it is a government program, but the interview is included as it gives an insight in the work done on a government scale in regard to the SDGs. All interviews were conducted in Jakarta, Indonesia during the course of 6 weeks. All interviewees worked closely with gender equality and female empowerment. All interviewees worked on different levels of intensity with female entrepreneurship.

Organization 1 focuses on providing resources to women in households in Indonesia towards gender equality and improving their livelihood. The organization provides cooperative training such as: crop management, bookkeeping, leadership, savings and loan regulation. This is done by facilitating with small business programs such as skill training, entrepreneur training, link with other stakeholder like government to access resources and training. Interviewee A's role in the organization was to manage research activity as well as monitoring and evaluation.

Organization 2 works with women artisans involved with traditional textile on natural dye, natural materials and natural fibers. The organization facilitates community engagement with the weavers and making sure that the value chain comes from traceable material, traceable colors and traceable fibers. Interviewee B focused on including facilitating development of the road map for vocational training.

Organization 3 works with empowering in the sense of empowering women economically and politically. They also work with empowerment by promoting and educating on critical awareness i.e. what women's rights are, political awareness and how to understand their rights to access the public services. Interviewee C works as a gender perspective advisory as well as lobbying and discussion with decision makers from the government.

Organization 4 focuses on how to help communities grow in terms of economic prosperity while they are protecting their biodiversity and ecosystems and enriching their culture. The organization is trying to help communities to build economic resilience by utilizing their biodiversity and ecosystems, in ways that are creative and also gender sensitive. Interviewee D worked closely with a network of women entrepreneurs working towards creating a more sustainable fashion.

Organization 5 is a coalition of companies that want to promote or place gender equality in Indonesia and helping women to rise to the higher position within Indonesia. Although not working with female entrepreneurship directly the goal is to add up the number of female business leaders in Indonesia. Interviewee E works on executive level of the organization.

Organization 6 is a collaborative initiative between two governments that work with gender equality and female empowerment focuses on improving the access of poor women to essential services and government programs. The organization work with CSO's to impact policy change on local and national level. The organization collect evidence-based data and information and anything to create a policy change. They also work on supporting the Indonesian government to achieve the SDGs. Two people were interviewed from this organization. Interviewee F focuses on child marriage prevention and women leadership and interviewee G focuses on decent work and women economic empowerment.

Organization 7 mainly focuses on increasing the level of research in regard to research in policy, the research then informs and influences policy. The organization also addresses female empowerment and gender equality. Interviewee H works with managing knowledge sector programs focusing on policy as well as working on research.

4.2 Findings and analysis

In the following paragraphs, I will address the key frames that were present in the interviews and the connection to related academic literature. As different frames expose how different actors give policies meanings, their intentions, motives and purposes (Yanow, 2015:406)

To set the scene for the coming analysis and once again emphasize the importance of this research and of a gendered approach to development and entrepreneurship, this following statement by interviewee E is highlighted:

“What is the important point for me is to acknowledge that both men and women have different needs and a different way to reach something. The opportunity made the same and equal both can access, but the way might be different for both men and women. And sometimes, in practical situations, women tend to take a longer road to get where they are because they have differences with the man, if we put it in the analogy of the road. Women have to go through a maze to get where they are while men can just go a straight line.”

Acknowledging that women are disproportionately affected by discrimination and challenges in all aspects of life due to social and cultural structures is key and lies at the base of this research and analysis. With this statement in mind, the discussion will be divided into two parts to address the two different research questions. The first part of the discussion will address the frames in regard to the role of SDGs in the organizations agenda and work as well as framing of localization (RQ1). The second part will of the discussion will present the current challenges the interviewees identify when working with female empowerment and female entrepreneurship in Indonesia (RQ2). The frames will be introduced as overarching concepts and then explored with the help of statements from the interviewees.

Framing the SDGs in the context of the organizations work

In line with UNDP (2019) suggestions, the interviewees highlighter that it is important to work on a local level and involve national and local governments and actors when working towards achieving the SDGs. On a national level, due to the fact that the SDGs are a part of the leading discourses in international development and is also part of Indonesia’s National Long-term Development Plan (RPJPN), all of the organizations were aware with the goals. According to the Indonesian government civil society organizations play an important role in policy processes on all levels of governance. Therefore, one can assume that the SDGs have a place, whether officially or unofficially as well as positively or negatively, in the discourse of development on government level as well as civil society level.

Some interviewees saw the SDGs as an important and crucial part of their work and the overall work of the organization. For interviewee A, using SDG in their work was a way to engage other stakeholders and a way to direct effort and discussion.

“SDGs plays important role in our work. Since there is SDGs framework, more stakeholders focus on SDGs goals. It is really supporting our work. For example, Indonesian government from national up to local level pay attention on SDGs framework. It makes us easier to do the activities since more stakeholders focus on the same issues.”

Interviewee C’s work involve conducting trainings with women and men on the topic of gender and these trainings all include SDG values. It the SDGs are also a cornerstone of the training, and it is stated in the material in our training is to achieve the goals of SDGs, mostly focusing on SDG 5, SDG 1 and SDG8. So evidently, the SDGs play an important role in framing the goals of the work that the organization 3 is doing.

Some the interviewees have presented the SDGs as being an important part of their work, whether it being on organizational scale or when working in a practical setting. However, on the other hand, some interviewees did not actively apply the SDGs in their work. Interviewee D sees the SDGs as something redundant and *“A lot of hot air a lot of the time”*. They stated in their interview that the SDGs can on some points even be counterproductive because:

” SDG discussions contribute a lot to climate change. Crisscrossing the world all the time, having huge meetings in big hotels, discussing a lot around commas and words and this and that. Writing things down. And at the end of the day, no one has the energy to implement the policies that they discussed. I think the UN needs to find a better way to discuss the issues it's passionate about. A lot of people think so.”

However, interviewee D did not totally disregard the influence of the SDGs as a framework and stated that the SDGs as formulations, or agreements or policies, are of useful. The Indonesian government has ratified them and therefore bind the government that have signed them work towards achieving them. However, interviewee D states that the SDGs *“can be used whenever we would like to encourage the government to be more gender sensitive, but that's*

about it". In this sense, the SDGs can be seen as a communications tool for engaging with stakeholders and relevant actors, in line with how interviewee A presented the goals.

Some interviewees explained that the SDGs are seen as a global way to put words to work or concepts that already exist. Interviewee C explains that the *"SDG is only a name, but we already think in the SDG perspective. This only gives another name for our projects"*. Interviewee C explains that since their organization is already working with female empowerment and female entrepreneurs it is by default already working towards the same end goal as the SDGs.

Interviewee F also mentions the SDGs as a form of communications tool and their work is to put it in the context of Indonesia. They experienced working with issues of gender and female entrepreneurship before entering this organization but had not applied the SDGs in their work before. After entering organization 6 where the SDGs were a fundamental part of the organizational plan, interviewee F reflected that:

"SDG is not a new thing, its stuff that we already know. What we need to learn the purpose, how Indonesia translates that into policy. (...) It's (SDGs) something we need to eat up. Our partners are doing it anyways, we just need to map which SDG priority they can fit their work."

One could argue that this statement above is a way to frame the SDGs as a discursive tool. The SDGs are an important part of framing the discourse of development and gender locally and globally. This is a point that Interviewee H also highlights in their interview, explaining that:

" it's better to talk about the content of the SDGs rather than talk about the content. So, what we do, is using SDGs and MDGs as our knowledge to create the program contributing to achievements to SDGs. But when we do that at the local level, we just follow the list of their daily lives. So that it is not perceived like something new. (...) So, we have to translate and prove to the leaders that the SDGs are not nothing new and it is not enforced but is an issue that we face."

This statement above calls for a local adaptation of the SDGs, which invites to explore how the different interviewees frame the concept of localization.

Framing localization

Localization helps strengthening the inclusion of the communities and affected population. This underlines the importance of understanding and reflecting on the needs of the local communities. According to Streeten (1997) CSOs “strength lays in their role as brokers or catalysts, linking families and communities with the institutions of the wider society” (Streeten, 1997: 197-198). Taking subnational, community and individual contexts into account when setting goals, targets and indicators as well as adapt the means of implementation is crucial for inclusive and fair development.

Programs that target female entrepreneurs in Indonesia have in the past policies have targeted all women with an overreaching intervention. Or they have targeted micro and small businesses in general, without a gendered perspective. This led to programs not having the wanted impact due to not being able to adapt their target to the different contexts or needs of the women (World Bank Indonesia Collection: 78).

Interviewee F put emphasis on the role of the local context and that without localization, you cannot achieve gender equality or a fair society. Interviewee F expands on this further.

“When we talk about female entrepreneurs the contextualization and localization is important, you cannot fit everyone in the same solution. (...) Most development programs need to step back and localize, because there are no size-fits-all solution. Female empowerment, if you don't realize their (women's) right if you don't accept their truth, you will not get the empowerment, let alone the economic empowerment.”

Eschke (2018) state that persons and groups potentially affected by policy changes need to be heard and need to participate in the development of policy alternatives which may affect them. Interviewee B worked very closely on a local level with groups of female weavers and accentuated the role of localization and understanding macro and micro context of how the women should empower themselves and see the trends and challenges in the Indonesia context and local context as well as the global context. They emphasize the importance of bringing forward the individual voices of the female weavers/entrepreneurs. Giving women the space to show their work and explain themselves what issues and challenges they are facing are key for a sustainable development.

“Now is the time to work with economic empowerment to the people directly, to the women directly, but let them talk about policy concerns in a practical way and a simple way. We want to let the women themselves, the weavers of traditional textiles, talk and tell about their concerns so that the people on the national level or the government can hear about them. (...) Linking the research to policy, and policy to complete entrepreneurship support.”

There was an overall consensus among the interviewees that understanding the local context and adapting the policies to the demands and needs of the women.

Local challenges in Indonesia

The following paragraphs will focus on the conditions and challenges that CSO's working with gender equality and female empowerment in Indonesia identify. As stated in the SDGs (specifically SDG 5 and 5.a) It is also crucial to give women equal rights, ownership and access to resources, such as land, finance and property (UN, department of economic and social affairs, n/d). In line with the policy implications presented by Terjesen et al (2016), frames where household, human capital, and social capital were in focus were prominent in majority of the interviews. However, other issues were highlighted such as issues of discrimination on a legislative and cultural level. As mentioned in the literature overview, Tambunan (2017) presents a number of issues that affect female entrepreneurship in Indonesia: low level of education and limited access to training opportunities; religious, cultural and social norms; heavy household chores; limited access to financial resources. These were also brought up in the interviews. The notion of ownership was also discussed as well as issues of access to the global market.

Household

Research has shown that female entrepreneurs in Indonesia start their businesses in later age and often after having childbirth, which emphasized the need for policies that help women with childcare and other household chores so that more of their resources and energy can be put into the business. This puts a pressure on female entrepreneurs, and interviewee E states that the reason for that is *“because as women, we have multiple roles, as a mother, as a wife, as a career woman.”*

The organization that interviewee A works at focuses on female entrepreneurship in the context of the household and list a number of challenges that need to be addressed. Since women have multiple roles in their houses, so they could not focus in developing their businesses.

In the context of households, the discussion about female entrepreneurs either contributing or being the sole breadwinner for the family was also discussed. Not only do women who have gender related duties in the household have a hard time starting and developing their businesses, there are also societal norms that hinder women from becoming breadwinners. Interviewee E explained that:

“one thing that still proceeds until now when women try to declare as the main breadwinner within the household, they need to release a statement that they are the breadwinner, that their spouse doesn't have an income or that they are a single parent. It's never been the case with the man. We have tried to explain, we have a discussion with the tax offices in Indonesia about the case and apparently, there is no single law or rule mentioning that women have to provide some evidence for that. So, this is the form of discrimination and we have addressed it to the minister of finance, and she promised to look into that. It's basically that the practice is not even written in the law that women should provide.”

This also impacts the access that women have to policy programs and financial support, and according to Interviewee A *“the norms do not consider women as the main breadwinner so that the policy and program are not prioritized for women.”*

In order to address this, interviewee A listed what organization 1 works with in order to improve the situation for female entrepreneurs that are affected by issues related to the household. Emphasis was put on developing *“critical awareness of female headed household both on the equality of their roles, positions and status, as well as on their socio-political life”* and *“increasing the participation of female headed household in various social, economic, political and cultural life processes”*. By doing so the female entrepreneurs will have more ground and knowledge to be able to *“increase women's control over the decision-making process from the household level to the country level.”*

There is also an issue of domestic violence. Interviewee C states that even if the women are being educated and given the resources and information that help their businesses, if the men around them are not educated on gender it can have harmful outcome in the household. The consequences of domestic violence are often reflected on the ability and will of the women to pursue their businesses.

“The violence, it happens in the home. If this happens in the home, the violence or harassment from the husbands to their wife will affect to their (female entrepreneurs) business and their business will decrease when they have the problem gender problem at home.”

Human capital

Secondly, human capital is also a policy initiative that is important in the context of female entrepreneurship and relates to providing education and training to female entrepreneurs. One of the key roles of CSOs was providing service delivery such provision of education of development of critical analysis among individuals and communities (Nikkhah& Redzuan,2010:85). In order to address this, interviewee E and organization 5 focuses on educating women, but also men, on gendered perspectives.

Several services that we provide for our members one is the assessment for workplace gender equality to see where they are right now as a company. And then we have a gender bias training for the employees of our members. We have the sexual harassment training tahts also one of them. And then we provide service to companies to develop their gender based management and staff development programme that targeted female talents within the companies.”

Interviewee C emphasizes on the importance of educating men on the importance of a gendered perspective. Men are present in the lives of many female entrepreneurs as fathers, brothers and husbands. There are also societal norms grounded in patriarchal social structures that need to change in order for gender equality to prosper.

“It is very important to include the husbands in their (female entrepreneurs) activities and then their husband should understand the women activity. Because I

have seen many cases where the empowerment only focuses on women when they go back to their home (...) and there is no understanding of gender perspective from the husband it's a big challenge for the women."

Educating women on their rights and the resources they can access, as well as educating men on gender equality will have a positive effect on female entrepreneurship in Indonesia.

Social and cultural norms

However, there are a number of discriminatory processes and norms need to be eliminated and women and gender equality needs to be addressed in order for female entrepreneurs to be able to develop at a full potential. The issue that some social and cultural norms present for female entrepreneurs and women in general was a focal point in all interviews.

Interviewee E stated that in *"Indonesia there's a patriarchal society I think there is something that I read on the internet saying that the enemy for gender equality is not really the man it's the patriarchal society"*. Interviewee G reflects on the fact that some norms are so embedded in the society that changing it is a huge challenge.

"Because if you are talking about sometimes, it's hard to engage on a system. The insertion of thoughts and notions and everything from long long time ago we have people that are corrupt are still there. Even if we depend on new actors, how can this man or woman change a norm that is so widely, and consuming and internalized so long?"

Interviewee E discusses the approach that can be taken in order to tackle issues of social and cultural discriminations.

"It's about how both (men and women) can collaborate for the good of everybody so it's not a competition because some always think that these women are trying to be equal with (men) and trying to take our place. That's not the case. We (women) are not trying to replace anybody we are just trying to be treated equally and having an open mindset that no longer brings segregated that this job can only be

done by women or this job can only be done by men no that everybody can have equal treatment and everybody has their own strength and weaknesses of course.”

Religion is also an important aspect of the societal structure of Indonesia. Indonesia has the world’s largest Muslim population and around 87% of the population is Muslim, followed by a 10% Cristian population (World Population Review, 2020). The religions norms and values and the rise of conservative views affects female empowerment discourse and by default female entrepreneurs. There are cultural and social practices that are actually harmful towards women are also prevalent in Indonesia. Female circumcision and child marriages is a cultural practice that is accepted by people in religious groups.

According to interviewee F *“nowadays in Indonesia there are more and more religions. Even religious fundamentalists (...) and they have their own regulations especially restrict women to do so and so. People are more and more conservative nowadays.”*

National laws

There are national institutions that are discriminatory towards women that are in place in Indonesia that make it harder for women to access resources and welfare needed for them to run a business properly.

Interviewee C explains that this needs to be understood in the context of national laws:

“In marriage law stated that the head of the family is the man. Based on this, understanding if the woman it means that the woman if they want to do everything, they have to ask the permission of the man as the head of the family. (...) The woman has to ask permission to the husband as the head of family. This is the policy from the bank in long time ago.”

Interviewee B discusses the fact that even if government of Indonesia has ratified The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) the legal law enforcement is weak.

“Although we have ratified the CEDAW for example, what is after that? Unless the organization started then no country report or that kind of thing. (...) I think that

because we don't have sufficient models to show that it works, but at the same time I think that issues of efficiency and corruption still occur (...). And processes, for example consulting sincerely to the people, to the women to the poor have not been really (part of) government practice. We talk about the same thing every year and it's not really shown on the surface.”

Market and access to capital

Female entrepreneurs have harder time to access to the national and global market as well as resources and capital (Tambunan, 2017: 74-76). Interviewee B reflects on the impact that has on female entrepreneurship and highlights the importance of female entrepreneurs to come together and work as a community.

“By making women have access to capital and be part of a cooperative they can improve their livelihood and go global. Because of that access to the export market they actually also control the supply chain and value chain. In the past, they have been only labourers, labour used to work at plantations as laborers and only sell to the collectors. Having participated as members as cooperatives that also go global, they get to know how the span of the value chains they can understand about the market price and even get the benefit of the price and improved quality of the export.”

Access to market is also an important factor to address in order to understand what female entrepreneurs need to overcome. When it comes to sustainable business practices understanding our value chains and the whole process of our consumption patterns of mass production (UN, department of economic and social affairs, n/d).

Interviewee B discusses the fact that there is a discrepancy between the global pressure to deliver cheap labour and developing sustainable value chains.

“That's what we think about our supply chain. If we work and fill in the different supply chains and value chains, we have a clear traceable sustainable fashion. We hope that the government understands this but it's not easy because then we talk about economic growth. To produce cheap garment through cheap labour and

export it. We think about what about this market that appreciates high value, that makes women's life better. the market has to be different. We don't go to the mainstream market.”

When it comes to economic empowerment, interviewee B highlights that:

I think the measure is that they should be independent in terms of their ability to access and to control over their resources including the access to finance free from the moneylender and they include improve their quality of life.”

However, there are legislative and cultural barriers that female entrepreneurs have to face in order to access capital. In Indonesia the title of land is usually in men’s name i.e. the husband or brother name). Interviewee A explains that *“this impact on access and control of women on the land. Furthermore, it impacts (the possibility of) women in getting loan from the bank since the women do not have land certificate for collateral”*. This raises the issue of ownership and how it affects how female entrepreneurs can run their businesses.

Ownership

Ownership is an important part of the current challenges that female entrepreneurs face in Indonesia. As stated in SDG 5 it is crucial to give women equal rights, ownership and access to resources, such as land, finance and property (UN, department of economic and social affairs, n/d). Interviewee D explains that in the context of female entrepreneurs in micro and small enterprises, the women do not have legal ownership of their own businesses. *“A lot of women in Indonesia are small businesses but they don't own, they don't have the legality.”*

In relation to the above discussion on discriminatory legislations where women do not legally have right to own land, Interviewee A states that ownership:

” is important especially for women, since in Indonesia the title of land usually is in the men’s name (e.g. the husband or brother name). This impact on access and control of women on the land. Furthermore it impact on women in getting loan from the bank since the women do not have land certificate for collateral. ”

To address this, Interviewee B and organization 2 focuses on *“engaging with women's only cooperative used to not having access to the land, and by negotiating with husband and village head they can use their land as part of their memberships in cooperation. Who will be able to export and get premium when the export has a good price?(This affects) ownership and at the same time, I facilitated some women lead cooperative to improve their governance and how then improve their leadership capacity not only cooperative structures but also through the members and delegations.”*

Framing challenges of working with female empowerment in Indonesia

When discussing the challenges of working with gender and female empowerment behavioral change, cooperation between local and national levels and understanding all sides of the issue is crucial for gender equality work to be impactful.

According to Hennink et al (2012) adapting measures and approaches depending on who is being empowered, whether it is an individual, a community or an organization is crucial. When it comes to individual empowerment the focus is on enabling individuals to make independent decisions and to act on these decisions to improve their lives. Giving women agency and build up their capacity as well as creating networks (Hennink et al, 2012:206-207).

One crucial point on the idea of entrepreneurship and female empowerment was made by interviewee G. They highlight that not everyone wants to be an entrepreneur and not everyone should be forced to take on the role of entrepreneurship as a part of international and national aspirations in gender equality work.

“Because sometimes we have to be very careful because not everyone can be an entrepreneur. There are those types who own businesses because they have to because without having the businesses, they cannot get more income, but they are those who are entrepreneurs with entrepreneurial traits. Meaning they have a mission to leverage their businesses. It's very important to map before interfering or making a programme or intervening we have to map which type of woman businesswoman that we want to target. If we want to target those who have businesses because they have to, (...) we cannot use these entrepreneurial traits, goals and theory of change for those different types. I always say (...) we cannot

force people to be entrepreneurs. We have to understand their motive, their goals and their purpose.”

There is also the notion that of behaviour change is needed in order to have a greater impact in policy changes. Changes in attitude are difficult to measure, and therefore it is difficult to know whether there has been a behaviour change or not. Interviewee G explains that:

“It's hard to measure the shifting of attitude. How do you measure perspective? Sometimes there is a shift of perspective, how can you validate that? But really sometimes we cannot profile those experiences and story making kind of way. We can dream of having behavior change as our goals, but behavior change is the highest level of change. “

Changing behaviors is closely related to understating the cultural and social norms present in the country and interviewee C states that in Indonesia:

“our challenge is the culture. Because Indonesia is a big island that we have so many cultures that influenced our lives. Not all our culture values gender perspective. We have to understand we have to step by step to push this culture value to become a gender perspective to gender equality achievement. So, if we want to work to achieve the SDG, we have to recognize the value of the local cultures and values.”

As mentioned above, issues of gender equality on a national level are often found in discriminatory legislative practices. Interviewee F explains that engaging on a legislative level is crucial due to the fact that that's where there is an abundance of financial capital and the voices can be heard. Although people are involved and aware on a local level, on a legislative level and national are not quite aware. It is hard to get in and effect the national legislative and change old patterns of values and behaviors. Interviewee G from the same organization also addresses this issue, and states:

“Our partners have been successful in giving those recommendations to ministers even, but it's different. There are some things we cannot control (...) such as the new law, the new bill, those are making us quite nervous. Because if that thing is

stupefying much of the work is actually going to be wasted. But we do what we can do to empower and to strengthen these local NGOs and their beneficiaries. Especially our government champions and local government champions. (...) They are really smart and brave actually and I think that if more development programs are doing this, there is only so much we can cover right, that's why we try to connect with other institutions and gain more outreach and spread the narrative.”

In line with this statement above, Interviewee C explains the importance of interacting with local and informal leaders, such as religious leaders. Especially in relation to the SDGs, including our informal leaders and in SDG is very important. Engaging with religious leaders are also very important due to religion and religious values being an important part of the Indonesian society.

Inclusivity and engaging with all perspectives are also important in order to have sustainable development where gender equality is present. Interviewee D states that:

Focusing on seeing both perspectives is very important. When you look at gender, it's very important to not just turn the table and say okay, women want to have the same as men, because then you just get a patriarchy where the decision makers are females in a sense. And I learned that so much from the communities that I work with that it's very important to look at both perspectives. (...) Because it is turning the table, it is taking power away from the powerful, it is suggesting people to go out of their comfort zones.” They explain that while this is tricky, this will enable to “*very slowly build the power of them and then (women) where they have the power and they have the voice.*”

5. Discussion and conclusion

“Sustainable development can only succeed when there is a societal debate about the implementation, monitoring and follow-up of the SDGs” (Eschke, 2018:6). The aim of this research was to engage with and contribute to developing this debate. The aim of this study was to understand what frames are present among different civil society organizations based in Indonesia who all engage with female entrepreneurs’ through their work. The goal of this

research was to understand how these CSOs frame the SDGs and the application of the goals in their work. Secondly, the research seeks to understand how these CSOs frame the challenges of working with female empowerment and gender equality in the context female entrepreneurship. This research has contributed with a relatively unique dataset involving CSOs in Indonesia that can contribute to further development of framing discourse of the SDGs, female empowerment and female entrepreneurs.

In regard to how the global policies and concepts connected to gender equality and woman empowerment were framed by CSOs working in Indonesia, the research showed a discrepancy among the interviewees. Some interviewees were more positive towards the usefulness and impact of the SDGs as a framework. For some the SDGs were applied directly and achieving the SDGs were a part of their work. In contrast, other interviewees were more reluctant to include the SDGs as a vital part of their work. Most interviewees agreed that the work done before and are doing currently are in line with the ideas of the SDGs. The SDGs in this sense some of the interviewees state that the goals do not bring new concepts to the table, they just frame what is already being done. However, the majority of the interviewees framed the SDGs as a useful tool to communicate their ideas. Interestingly enough, the interviewees framed the SDGs as a communication tool when addressing stakeholders decision-making level or governmental level. However, when it comes to local and individual level, it appears that the SDG framework is not a useful communication tool. Instead, adapting the framework to already existing local discourses seems to be more effective and beneficial.

In regard to the challenges that civil society organizations identify when working with gender equality and female empowerment in Indonesia six main frames were identified. The frames were mentioned by more than two participants and on more than one occasion. One of the reasons for having a number of different frames could come from the fact that the organizations focused on different aspects of female empowerment. Therefore, adapting policies and framing concepts to fit their work seems reasonable. Many of these frames were also cross cutting, for example national laws that were gender discriminating affect the possibility of women to access capital and have ownership. This means addressing one of the frames might have a positive spillover effect on the other frames.

Local challenges were framed in a similar way across all interviews and three main points were highlighted: the need for behavioral change, ways to impact legislative level and inclusivity.

Changing the societal and cultural norms that are discriminatory towards women is fundamental and promoting a gendered perspective is a way to address in order to create policy change. In regard to female entrepreneurship, it was highlighted that sometimes policies generalize women in small and medium size enterprises as female entrepreneurs. Adapting the policies and programs to the needs and local challenges is important in order for female empowerment actions to be fully effective. As stated by interviewee G, *“We can dream of having behavior change as our goals, but behavior change is the highest level of change “*. Addressing how to effectively create a behavior change towards a mindset that values inclusivity and gender equality is key to create sustainable development where all women can prosper. As there are domains that play a role in empowerment: health, economic, political, natural resource and spiritual. Understanding the reason of individual women to become entrepreneurs is crucial in order to target the right issues. Whether it is way to sustain their immediate surroundings or if there is a drive to expand and grow as a business giving the women agency is fundamental for an inclusive and sustainable development. This is also a topic where little research has been done. Combining this research with a narrative analysis from interviews with female entrepreneurs could have given this research more layers.

The above discussion shines a light on the applicability of interpretive policy analysis. As stated, in regard to the SDGs there was a discrepancy in how different interviewees framed the relevance of the goals to the work. One could argue that in line with Yanows (2007) argument, that the “meaning of policy documents lies not in the text itself nor in legislative intent but in the experience-based understanding (Yanow, 2007:116). All of the interviewees talked about their own experiences and arguably, those affected the framing in this research. In limitations, it was addressed that it is difficult to identify where the individual frame starts and where the frame of the organization is presented. In this case, IPA was a fitting tool to use for analysis. Further research could address this. Conducting more interviews people from the same organization could help create an understanding of how the organization frames the issues discussed. Another interesting aspect could have been interviewing different levels of decision-making within the organization, which could have added more dimension.

6. Appendices

6.2 Interview Guide

Interview for Master Thesis Data Collection

Maria Yartseva

All information you provide for this study **will be treated confidentially and your identity will remain anonymous** in any report on the results of this research. Participation in this interview is voluntarily and even if you agree to participate now, you can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind. You can also withdraw permission to use data from your interview within two weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.

Confidentiality will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal your identity, or the identity of people mentioned. Information given during the interview may be quoted in the master's thesis, master thesis opposition, potentially future publications. If given consent, the interview will be voice recorded and original audio recordings will only be retained on Maria Yartseva personal Google Drive and on her personal computer and will not be made accessible to other people.

You are free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information:

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6.2 Interview Themes and Questions

Occupation and role

What is your occupation and role? How did you get into this line of work?

How do you work with gender equality and female empowerment (in the context of female entrepreneurs)?

Working with gender equality and female entrepreneurs

What is important to you when working with gender equality and female empowerment? What is a challenge when it comes to working with gender equality and female entrepreneurs?

SDG and your work with gender equality and female entrepreneurs

What are the SDG's to you and your occupation? Have you had any training on the SDG's?

->If YES what kind and how has it affected your work? ->If NO how is it affecting you and your work?

Goal 5 of the SDG's is to "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" (let then read the two goals below) what does these statements mean to you and your work?

5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere

5.A Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws

How would you interpret these statements in regard to the work you do and the reality that you experience?

How would you measure achievements when it comes to gender equality and gender empowerment?

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