The issue of entrepreneurship as a political gimmick or sustainability? (A study on 2019 presidential election campaign)

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Abstract. Entrepreneurship for sustainable development is a multilevel phenomenon connecting social, environmental, and economic dimensions between entrepreneurial processes, market transformations. Sandiaga viewed entrepreneurship as an opportunity to draw voters’ sympathy through his social media narration during the 2019 Presidential Election. The present study aimed to explore the form of Uno’s entrepreneurship narration in Instagram related to SDGs and identify the narration that influenced young people during the campaign period. The thematic content analysis, was applied. This study’s data was the documentation of the narrative posts presented in the @sandiuno Instagram account during the campaign period starting from 23 September - 14 April 2019. Of all the posts on that date will be selected from the highest number of comments, after being listed, the unit of analysis in this study is March 18 - April 13, 2019. The study’s findings revealed that Uno’s narration focused on building hopes and motivation to draw millennial's interest in entrepreneurship. Unfortunately, the narrated entrepreneurship does not depict a holistic description of the entrepreneurship process. It ignored the supporting elements of entrepreneurship, such as capital, market strategy, and strategy to survive the competition. Besides, it neglects the potential risk and does not highlight the sustainability of entrepreneurship.

1. Introduction

The working world has transformed its face drastically in the last few years [1]. Issues on workforce diversity follow it, rapid changes in technology and globalization that transform the traditional structure of an organization and work environment, leading to critical changes in how an individual determines his/her career [1]. Facing the changes, entrepreneurship emerges as a popular choice among millennials [2].

The COVID-19 pandemic impact of economic deceleration due to massive layoff serves as a precondition proving the relevance of entrepreneurship as a strategy to survive the crisis and reach welfare. COVID-19 pandemic exhibits the substantial existence of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship refers to a process of creating novel things and innovation to gain an individual's welfare and value-added for the community [3]. Zimmerer, Scarborough, and Wilson argue that an entrepreneur refers to a person who creates new business and faces risks and uncertainties, whose aim is to gain profit and growth by identifying opportunities through a set of necessary resource [4].
Digital transformation has turned Indonesia into one of the countries with rapid e-commerce growth, as shown in Statistics Indonesia’s (BPS) data showing that in the last ten years, Indonesia’s e-commerce industry grows by seventeen percent with a total of 26.2 millions unit of e-commerce business [5]. BPS explains that Indonesia’s e-commerce industry experiences rapid growth and is expected to continue with the growing number of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) actors. Huge potentials of e-commerce industries in Indonesia are also influenced by young people’s online shopping style [5].

Based on Indonesia Millennials Report, Millennials relatively enjoy comparing prices, features, promotion programs, and quality of a product in some e-commerces before deciding to buy a product. It is also found that millennials are actively recommended their favorite e-commerce or online shop to their social networks [6].

Increasingly rapid technology advancement influences economic growth. A range of new companies arises, especially in the field of technology. These startup companies create various novel ideas to control the world’s electronic business [7]. In Indonesia, several startup companies, like GO-Jek, Traveloka, and Tokopedia, among other companies, have proven their success at the international level and gain the ‘Unicorn’ label [8]. However, most startup companies fail. As reported by Forbes.com, 90% of startups in the world fail [11]. Many reasons may account for a startup company’s failure, such as market research mistakes, internal conflict, insufficient funds, and low company pattern [12][13].

Until 2019, e-commerce in Indonesia grows by 500%. Recent research conducted by Google and Temasek in e-Conomy SEA 2018 report that Indonesia’s digital economy worth US$ 27 billion, or Rp.391 Trillion [14]. That number put Indonesia in the first place of the digital economy in Southeast Asia with a forty percent contribution. However, the native Indonesian product sold in the e-commerce platform is less than 10 percent.

To improve competitiveness, several government's support toward e-commerce development is provided in Presidential Decision no. 74 of 2017 on e-Commerce Roadmap. This roadmap aims to promote the acceleration and development of e-commerce, startup, business development, and logistics acceleration.

As reported in economy.okezone.com, in ASEAN, Indonesian youths possess the highest positive thought to build their country and open employment opportunities using technology [15]. They target a significant income and possess live value and dare to be more independent. As Zimmerer, Scarborough, and Wilson state, An entrepreneur possesses freedom in determining his/her fate and opportunities to take roles in the community because he/she does not rely on others [16].

Dynamics of e-commerce industries and demographic bonuses are viewed as an opportunity by Sandiaga Uno in the 2019 Presidential election. Uno brought the issue of entrepreneurship as his focus in the campaign. The entrepreneurship-based narration was packed and delivered through social media to gain voters. Issues on entrepreneurship and entrepreneur emerged as the most dominant issues in Uno’s campaign. Sandiaga Uno's campaign narration theme in his account is @sandiuno, mostly about MSMEs, OKEOCE, and entrepreneurship. Sandiaga Uno's entrepreneurship narration is backed on the argument that it can promote economic growth and serve as an employment solution.

Uno’s background as an entrepreneur serves as a magnet for his constituents, particularly youths. This can be seen from comments on his Instagram account @sandiuo. It was reported that Uno was graduated with a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration from Wichita State University, Kansas, US, in 1990. He continued his study to a postgraduate degree in Business Administration at George Washington University. As reported in nasional.kompas.com, Uno and his associates build a financial company, namely PT. Saratoga Advisor. Besides, based on Litbang Kompas, Uno was a shareholder of PT Adaro Indonesia, the president of Alberta Communication, President of PT Mitra Telecommunication, and joined some international companies in Singapore and Canada.
In entrepreneurship, Uno is viewed as a successful businessman and one of the wealthiest people in Indonesia. Globe Asia put Uno as the 63rd richest person in Indonesia, with 245 million USD of wealth. Moreover, he also receives the title of Entrepreneur of The Year from Enterprise ASIA in 2008 [17].

The relevance of entrepreneurship for sustainable development has been acknowledged in academic research and political and business practice for the last two decades. Several research streams, consisting of social, environmental, and sustainable entrepreneurship, stress that enterprising individuals and ventures can discover, create and exploit opportunities for sustainability with social and technological innovation leading to institutional and market transformations [18][19][20].

Realizing the importance of economic empowerment to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SGD), the United Nations (UN) has been increasingly focusing on entrepreneurial interventions to support ambitious youth to start their businesses and generate employment opportunities for themselves and others [21]. Entrepreneurship has also been shown to contribute to advancing social and environmentally sustainable development areas with positive impacts on financial inclusion, empowerment of women, sustainable farming, and minority integration, among many others [22]. Entrepreneurship, therefore, has direct positive impacts specifically towards poverty alleviation (SDG 1), economic development and unemployment reduction (SDG 8), enhancement of infrastructure and innovation (SDG 9), social equality and inclusion (SDGs 5 and 10), and sustainable production and consumption (SDG 12).

Grounded in this situation, the researchers viewed that Uno’s issue served as his main strength during the presidential election. In this case, the issue brought by Sandiaga Uno factually serves as the needs of millennials in productive worker positions. The study was conducted in 2018-2019; the data were analyzed by adjusting to the pandemic context as a part of the learning process.

2. Method

The present study used a qualitative approach and was supported by quantitative data to see the frequency of commenters in Sandiaga Uno’s Instagram account from 22 September 2018 to 13 April 2019. The authors found that the highest number of followers’ comments were made in March and April 2019. Accordingly, this study focused on this period. In this study, thematic data analysis was applied. The basis of analysis in the present study was the narration.

In this study, the narration is defined as Sandiaga Uno’s Instagram posts from 18 March-13 April 2019. Considering that a study aims to gain data, the data collection technique serves as the most strategic step [23]. In this study, the data were collected through observation. According to Ruslan, it is done to examine or record a particular event directly. In some cases, a researcher can act as a participant or observer when observing a phenomenon [24].

In addition to observation, a Literature study and documentation were also conducted. This study’s data were documentations of Instagram posts from @sandiuno during the campaign period, from 23 September 2019 to 14 April 2019. These posts were sorted based on the number of comments. Once sorted, the analysis unit in this study was Instagram posts from 18 March to 13 April 2019.

In this study, the authors applied thematic analysis, where the data are analyzed after the observation results are collected and well-organized. The data were analyzed by coding the posts. It aims to gather captions with similar meanings, allowing researchers to determine category and theme.

Coding is done to obtain a depiction of data concerning the themes being studied [25]. The data were analyzed repeatedly and inductively to find patterns, models, themes, and theory [27]. Qualitative data analysis, according to Seidel, covers: (1) recording the observation result by giving codes; (2) collecting, identifying, and creating codes; (3) finding patterns and relationships more selectively [28].

Thematic analysis refers to a process that allows qualitative information turns into qualitative data following the researcher’s needs [25]. The thematic analysis also allows a researcher to see a pattern other researchers do not see. Once the theme is found, the next stage involved categorization by making a label, definition, or description [26][25].

3. Results and discussion
The observation result on the number of comments and changes in the number of comments during the 2019 Presidential election campaign serves as the supporting data in this study. On 13 May 2019, Sandiaga Uno's Instagram account has 5.6 million followers. The comments, from September 2018 to April 2019, show an increase as shown in the following figure:

![Comparison of the number of comments per two months.](image)

As shown in Figure 1, there was an increase in interaction in March and April (i.e., 916,602 comments), followed by that in January and February (i.e., 269,087 comments), November and December (367,903 comments), and September and October (316,329 comments). The authors then examine the intensity of comments in the highest period (March and April), which serves as the analysis unit in this study. The observation showed that there was an increase of comments on 18 March, the increase continued throughout April, as shown in the following figure:
As shown in Figure 2, an increase occurred on 18 March 2019. In 18 March to 13 April 2019, there was 259 caption in Instagram posts. The data were coded to classify them and theme. The analysis found the following themes: (1) Creating a new business, (2) Facing risks, (3) Business Capital.

3.1. Creating new business

An entrepreneur is one's attitude, spirit, and skill to create a new thing that is valuable for oneself and others [40]. Entrepreneurship represents an active, creative, empowered mental attitude to improve business revenue [41]. Duamnu states that entrepreneurship refers to an attitude and spirit always to be creative and active and attempts toward uncertainty to increase business' revenue [42]. As previously stated, entrepreneurship can be defined as a combination of creativity that creates ideas, calculation of risk and opportunities, and innovation in implementing ideas into a valuable service and product.

In his campaign on Instagram @sandiuno, Sandiaga Uno posted a photograph of himself with youths, this kind of post is relatively liked by millennials, as shown on 10 April 2019 in YES (Young Entrepreneur Summit). In that event, Sandiaga Uno suggested millennials to be a young entrepreneur.

..."I want to make other youths who dare to start a business like Teuku Wisnu and Shireen. Insya Allah, with Oke OCe, I will lead the great work of this generation to grow new entrepreneurs to be autonomous and success".....

Narration about innovation built by @sandiuno promotes entrepreneurs to create innovation for their businesses. However, the observation showed that the narration is merely normative. It was built without ideas on how and from where innovation is done or a variety of innovations. An entrepreneur's innovation, according to Schumpeter, functions to change the market and "rule of the game." It is done by creating new types of products that benefit the market by providing more offers. In other words, the entrepreneur essentially means to create innovative, impactful work. Thus, Uno's narration seems to have limitations because it did not put innovation as a real, concrete concept. Uno's narration tends to stay in the artificial layer without concern with the main problems of bringing innovation into real-life practice.

OK OCE is Sandiaga Uno's featured program in his campaign narration. Before the vice-president candidate, Sandiaga Uno's OK OCE program was implemented when he was a vice-governor of Jakarta. The narration of OK OCE brought by Sandiaga Uno is not as ideal as the field fact. Uno's post on 21

![Figure 2. The intensity of comments in March to April.](image-url)
and 22 March 2019 ensured that OK OCE could create employments. Besides, it was said that OK OCE would facilitate MSMEs obtaining business easiness such as to permit, business mentoring, and access to capital so that the community does not need to be afraid of starting a business.

According to a news portal, liputan6.com dated 19 March 2019, the Head of Employer Association of Indonesia (Apindo), Hariyadi Sukamdan, scaling up the OK OCE program at the national level is not appropriate because the program fails. In the same vein, Hasto Kristiyanto, the secretary of the Jokowi-Ma’ruf Campaign team, argues that OK OCE’s target of 40 thousand registration failed to be met and only reached 1000 registration (2.5%). Only 150 people obtained access to capital. This data reflects how OK OCE, which is claimed to serves as a solution for Indonesia’s economy, fails.

Besides, Jerry Massie, a political observer from Indonesia Public Institute (IPI), viewed the OK OCE program as not being brought to a national level because it has failed at the regional level. Jerry argued that OK OCE failed to compete against the existing minimarket due to the absence of clear concept, support, and the business system and a distribution network. According to Jerry, Uno's narration of OK OCE reduces unemployment in Jakarta was merely a camouflage to cover the failure of OK OCE. Entrepreneur in Indonesia needs to perform an innovative strategy to maintain business sustainability by combining the whole process of a business and considering the uniqueness, quality, and strength of the product and the competitor's ability.

3.2. Facing risks
Entrepreneurship activities and risks are inseparable. Entrepreneurship activities always face risks. These risks do not only deal with financial issues. Sometimes they come from significant others or family. Entrepreneurs dare to take risks by expecting benefits, such as power and prestige [3]. Sandiaga Uno’s narration ignored the presence of business risk. At the same time, the fact shows that to be an entrepreneur, besides risk-taking, an individual should also survive the market competitions [3].

The development of entrepreneurship involves two stages, namely, start-up and growth stages [43]. The startup stage aims to gain harmony between primary purposes and plans or create ideas for the market. This stage is characterized by (1) Focus on the future than on the present and directing the business for long-term purposes; (2) moderate risk-takers with high tolerance to changes and failures; (3) Capacity to discover innovative ideas that satisfy customers; and (4), technical knowledge and field-specific experiences [43].

The next stage is the growth stage; this stage aims to modestly and efficiently grow with an orientation to profit and direct plans to achieve it. This stage is characterized by (1) Capacity to overgrow, the organization's purity and calculation skills, (2) managerial knowledge, and experience of using available resources [43]. Hubbies, as cited in Lupiyoadi, explains that almost 80% of startup companies in Indonesia fail in their first year [3]. It supports Wirasasmita, who found that small businesses’ failure rate in Indonesia reaches 78% [44]. This condition proves that the failure rate for new businesses is high. Timmons explains that tremendous opportunities start a new business yet are not followed by adequate resources (financial) and management, which leads to inequality and more significant risks of uncertainty [45].

When an entrepreneur fails to pass a critical period, their business potentially fails to survive. According to Zimmerer, an individual withdraws entrepreneurship due to some factors, namely [43]:

1. With uncertain sources of revenue, there is no guarantee to gain stable income, meaning that a business can suffer loss or gain profit at any time. The uncertain condition can make an individual withdraw from entrepreneurship activities.
2. Loss of investment capital. Failure in investment can make an individual withdraw from entrepreneurship activities.
3. Time-consuming An entrepreneur usually acts as a ‘single fighter’ from purchasing, managing, selling, until bookkeeping activities. Time-consuming effort in entrepreneurship often makes an individual withdraws. It occurs because an entrepreneur does not get to use to face challenges.
4. Low life standard despite profitable business. Life quality that does not improve after being an entrepreneur also makes an individual withdraws.
Thus, ignoring risk factors in business, as observed in Uno's narration, contribute to millennials' partial understanding and potentially mislead the essence of entrepreneurship. The incomplete narration of entrepreneurship potentially results in the emergence of new businesses that cannot survive the market competitions.

3.3. Business capital
According to Ardi & Listyawan, business capital refers to an amount of money used to carry out business activities. Its indicators consist of (1) Capital structure, consisting of own capital and borrowed capital; (2) Use of additional capital; (3) Hindrance in accessing external capital; (4). Business conditions after adding capital [46].

In its development, MSME still faces internal, structural such as relatively weak self-financing or problems in accessing sources of capital, which often faces collateral-related problems [47]. MSME still finds it difficult to obtain credit facilities due to complex regulation, leading to debtors and banks' dilemmas as the creditor. Besides, MSME also finds it challenging to access funding from both bank or non-bank financial institutions. It is difficult for most MSMEs to meet the Banking system's requirement relating to the loan.

Own capital can come from personal money or saving, or reserves, while borrowed capital refers to that obtained from external parties [48]. Borrowed capital possesses advantages from its unlimited and tremendous amount of availability [49]. Kasmir also states that borrowed capital, as one of the sources of funding, refers to providing a sum of money based on an agreement between creditors and other parties, which oblige the borrowing parties to return the fund in a certain period in a profit-sharing system.

Capital is one of the factors that should present before performing any business activity is. Its size may affect the business' development [48]. Capital does not only deal with money; according to Riyanto, in addition to money, an individual needs courage, experience, knowledge, networks to start a business [48]. However, most people face problems due to difficulties in obtaining money for their capital. In his account, Uno also talked about capital, such as:

"..This millennial' energy should be well-managed. The government should present. Real opportunities must present until the lowest layer of the community. Access to capital should be enjoyed by any party, both big parties and small and micro-parties. Legal certainty must be enforced to create a sense of safety for entrepreneurs. We cannot maintain youths with only one-sided claims when success is attained. The government should present in the middle of their effort to gain success."

The issues on capital that are narrated involve three matters; first, the provision of capital becomes the government's commitment; second, capital as a result of collaboration with banks, and promises to provide funding. Regarding the first point, it was not clear to whom the word 'government' refers to either central or regional government. If it was the regional government's commitment, the concrete form of capital was not clearly described. When a narration showed that OK OCE serves as the channel to provide access to capital, it was not followed by a narration related to collaboration with banks for building a scheme that facilitates access to capital for the entrepreneur.

MSMEs should pay more attention to business financial management to have an efficient financial allocation, which allows them to access sources of capital more easily from the bank and non-bank institutions. Besides, Rapih argues that having better knowledge and skills related to financial aspects may lead to better financial management skills, thus increasing MSMEs' ability to access financial institutions. Accordingly, it is recommended to develop the human resources' quality of MSMEs through pieces of training [47].

Financial literacy influences a business; as argued by Draxler, Fischer, and Shoar (2014), it supports a person's tough financial decisions and supports a business's sustainability. Krishna, Rofaida, Sari Bushan & Medury assert that financial literacy is pivotal. It may help an individual pass difficult periods; financial difficulty may occur when a mistake occurs in financial management.
This fact is in line with previous studies conducted by Rapih; the study found that MSMEs with better networks possess better financial management skills and possess wider opportunities to access fundings from various financial institutions [47]. Besides, based on Sengupta’s study, the information network developed by entrepreneurs (including MSMEs) plays an essential role in accessing sources of funding. In this case, an information network refers to exchanges of information among entrepreneurs within a field of industry (social capital).

3.4. Entrepreneurship and sustainability

In the context of sustainable development, it should be clear that entrepreneurship can, for example, leads to a reduction in poverty through an increase in financial performance, or greater access to education through efficient market competition, or cleaner access to water through a process that encapsulates the discovery and exploitation of new ideas. Entrepreneurship, however, can also be an amoral tool that may lead to productive or destructive ends. As such, it requires guidance through supportive frameworks and institutions. We need to understand what needs to be sustained, what needs to be developed, and how entrepreneurial actions can be utilized in this direction.

In this research, entrepreneurship ideas that are presented are not long-term, only focus on getting people to become entrepreneurs. However, entrepreneurship can be the engine for transforming our world and overcoming the diverse nature of these global challenges. In the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, entrepreneurship’s role in improving the quality of life for ordinary people, including disadvantaged groups, is recognized, as it contributes to building resilient infrastructure, promoting inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and fostering innovation. Concerning the SDGs under review in 2019, entrepreneurship is linked to SDGs 4 and 8. SDG target 4.4 aims to substantially increase youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment and decent jobs and entrepreneurship. Concurrently, SDG target 8.3 sets out to promote development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity, and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small, medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs), including through access to financial services. MSMEs are a crucial part of the equation as agents for and beneficiaries of inclusive development. In most countries, MSMEs are the main drivers of employment and essential facilitators of income generation, poverty eradication, and inequality reduction for most of the population, including disadvantaged groups.

4. Conclusion

In the face of global fragility, social inequality, and (youth) unemployment, entrepreneurship could be essential for sustainable socio-economic empowerment. However, this is difficult to achieve without education that employs the proper methods, tools, and objectives and equally targets all society segments. Uno's campaign narration focused more on hopes. Entrepreneurship narration he built focused on motivating millennials to be an entrepreneur without explaining the risks. The campaign also did not explain how to maintain and develop the business and access sources of capital. The Digital era does not necessarily mean that all MSMEs use technology. The narration should also be focused on entrepreneurs who do not use technology to compete in this digital era. Uno's narration of entrepreneurship serves as learning that Uno did not highlight long-term sustainability. The basis of his campaign content only touches the “surface” of the idea.

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