



The gendered effects of entrepreneurialism in contrasting contexts

Journal:	<i>Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy</i>
Manuscript ID	JEC-12-2020-0208.R2
Manuscript Type:	Academic Papers
Keywords:	women's entrepreneurship, context, welfare state, market, Sweden-Tanzania

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

The gendered effects of entrepreneurialism in contrasting contexts

Structured abstract

Purpose

Contrasting Sweden and Tanzania, we explore the experiences of women entrepreneurs affected by entrepreneurialism. We discuss the impact on their position in society and on their ability to take feminist action.

Design/methodology/approach

We analysed interviews conducted in the two countries over 15 years, using a holistic perspective on context, including its gendered dimensions.

Findings

Our results amount to a critique of entrepreneurialism. Women in Sweden did not experience much gain from entrepreneurship, while in Tanzania results were mixed. Entrepreneurialism seems unable to improve the situation for women in the relatively well-functioning economies in the global north, where it was designed.

Originality

The paper adds to the understanding of context in entrepreneurship studies: Africa is largely an underexplored continent, and contrasting North and South is an underexplored methodological approach. We further extend and develop the model of gendered contexts developed by Welter et al. (2014).

Research implications

In mainstream entrepreneurship studies, there is a focus on the institutional context. From our analysis, it is apparent that equal attention must be given to the social and spatial contexts since they may have severe material and economic consequences for entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. The paper raises questions for further studies on the gendering of markets in different contexts, as well as questions on the urban-rural dimension.

Policy implications

In Sweden, marketisation of welfare services led to more women-owned businesses, but the position of women did not improve. Our results strongly convey the need for a careful analysis of the pre-existing context, before initiating reforms.

Key words: gender, context, women's entrepreneurship, entrepreneurialism, welfare state, market, Sweden-Tanzania

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurialism is part and parcel of neo-liberal policy, which implies new forms of political-economic governance premised on the extension of market relationships (Larner, 2000). Entrepreneurialism sees entrepreneurship – in the narrow sense of start-ups and SMEs – as the solution to a large variety of problems (Harvey, 1989), but how it affects the position of women in society has been a matter of debate. Proponents talk about results such as more viable economies and increased independence for women (cf Brush et al., 2006, Allen et al., 2008). Critics say that the reliance on entrepreneurship in lieu of public sector jobs and a tax-funded safety net has the opposite effect (Sundin, 2011, Kantola and Squires, 2012, Ahl and Marlow, 2019, Ahl and Nelson, 2015). The cited critics have, however, studied effects of neo-liberal reforms in industrialised, developed states. Like others before us (Welter, 2011, Gaddefors and Anderson, 2017) we argue that analysis of such effects must take the context into account. To add to our knowledge of how outcomes of entrepreneurialism depend on context, this paper aims to explore the experiences of women entrepreneurs in two different and highly contrasting countries: Sweden, known for gender equality and an encompassing welfare state, and Tanzania, where gender equality is low, and the state is weak. Indeed, entrepreneurship studies in general need to be extended from the European and North American context (Jaim and Islam, 2018, Mazonde and Carmichael, 2016, Palalić et al., 2020)

Both Tanzania and Sweden have been deeply affected by neo-liberal agendas, including entrepreneurialism, but in different ways. In Tanzania, we have seen the state and also the donor countries conform to the neo-liberal ‘Washington Consensus’, which includes the liberalisation of domestic markets through privatisation and deregulation. In Sweden, we have witnessed the adoption of New Public Management (Hood, 1991) and a movement away from the ‘Scandinavian welfare state regime’ (Esping-Andersen, 1990). A previous study (Authors, forthcoming) outlined and contrasted the different economic reforms that resulted from the implementation of the neo-liberal agenda in Sweden and Tanzania. The study proposed that neo-liberal agendas would have negative effects on the position of women in society in Sweden, and more mixed effects in Tanzania. The main reason for the proposed difference was the pre-existing institutions, for example the women-friendly welfare state in Sweden and the absence of such in Tanzania.

1
2
3
4
5 In this paper, we explore the experiences of women entrepreneurs affected by
6 entrepreneurialism, and discuss the impact on their position in society and on their ability to
7 take feminist action, i.e. to improve the situation for themselves and for other women. We do
8 so by revisiting over 70 interviews with women entrepreneurs conducted during the 15-year
9 time period of neo-liberal reforms in the two countries. Methodologically, the study is
10 interpretative and inductively driven (Dana and Dana, 2005), and we use contrasting as an
11 analytical approach (Marcus, 1986, Dana, 1997). In analysing the interviews, we use a holistic
12 perspective on context, including its gendered dimensions (Welter et al., 2014).
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

20
21 The article concludes, in line with the propositions resulting from the literature study
22 (Authors, forthcoming), that women in Sweden did not experience much gain from
23 entrepreneurialism, while results were more mixed in the case of Tanzania. Women in
24 Tanzania reported gaining economic independence from men and opportunities to support
25 other women, but resilient, patriarchal – even abusive – gender regimes were still recreated.
26 From a feminist perspective, the results amount to a critique of entrepreneurialism. Ironically,
27 entrepreneurialism seems unable to improve the situation for women in the relatively well-
28 functioning economies in the global north, where neo-liberalism was designed. This was
29 particularly the case in a Scandinavian welfare state such as Sweden. Only in a context
30 characterised by a weak state, high levels of corruption and unbridled patriarchy did neo-
31 liberalism benefit (some) women entrepreneurs. With regard to policy, our results strongly
32 convey the need for a careful analysis of the pre-existing context, before initiating reforms.
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42

43 The article is structured as follows. Below, we outline our frame of reference in terms of the
44 contextualisation of women entrepreneurs. Then follows a description of our methodology,
45 before the empirical section, which is followed by discussion. The paper ends with our
46 conclusions with regard to theoretical developments, policy implications and avenues for
47 further research.
48
49
50
51
52

53 **2. Contextualising women entrepreneurs**

54 Entrepreneurship scholars have increasingly called for the need to attend to context (Steyaert
55 and Hjorth, 2006, Welter, 2011, Dana and Ramadani, 2015), not least its gender dimensions
56 (Ahl, 2006, Jennings and McDougald, 2007). Calls have also been made for extending the scope
57 of research to areas other than developed nations in North America and Europe (Salamzadeh
58
59
60

1
2
3 and Kawamorita Kesim, 2017, Jaim and Islam, 2018). Building on the framework and previous
4 studies outlined below, this article contributes to that endeavour.
5
6
7

8 **2.1 Definitions and framework**

9
10 Entrepreneurship, broadly defined as enabling social change (Steyaert and Hjorth, 2006, Calás
11 et al., 2009), is a phenomenon that is affected by, but also affects, the context. This
12 complexity has been termed “the paradox of embedded agency” (Battilana, 2006) or the
13 “double sociability of entrepreneurship” (Steyaert and Hjorth, 2006). Scholars have long
14 recognised the contextual embeddedness of entrepreneurship (Granovetter, 1985). In
15 accordance with Johns (2006), we understand context as situational opportunities and
16 constraints that affect behaviour. The dimensions of context are multiple and multi-faceted,
17 which is why Welter (2011) argues that an interdisciplinary perspective is needed. Drawing
18 on Whetten (2009, 1989), she distinguishes between the *where* context (business, social,
19 spatial and institutional) and the *when* context (historical and temporal).
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28

29 Within the field of women’s entrepreneurship studies, many steps have been taken in the
30 directions suggested by Ahl (2006). Research avoids essentialist assumptions and recognises
31 the impact of context. Special issues and books in the field have focused on context (Díaz-
32 García et al., 2016, Yousafzi et al., 2018, Knezović et al., 2020, Achtenhagen and Tillmar,
33 2013). Risks of US-centric approaches and comparisons without consideration of contextual
34 differences have been brought to attention (Marlow et al., 2008, Dana and Ramadani, 2015).
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 Context studies on women’s entrepreneurship include studies on the social context in terms of
42 household and family context (Jennings and McDougald, 2007) and everydayness (Rehn and
43 Taalas, 2004, Welter and Smallbone, 2011). Drawing on the framework outlined by Welter
44 (2011), Welter, Brush, & De Bruin (2014) argue that the gender dimension is central not only
45 within the social context but also within the institutional, spatial and temporal contexts. By
46 ‘gender’ we refer to social constructions. In this article, gendered dimensions of context imply
47 dimensions of context that affect men and women differently. We take a feminist perspective,
48 which is broadly defined as the recognition of women’s subordination and the desire to rectify
49 this.
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57

58 Referring to geographical and feminist studies, Welter et al. (2014) re-conceptualise the
59 spatial context into encompassing *physical space* (location) and *place* (norms and values
60

1
2
3 dominating the particular space). The authors also highlight women's agency in changing
4 their spatial and institutional context while at the same time problematising the argument that
5 entrepreneurship empowers women. To quote Al-Dajani & Marlow (2013), "we are in danger
6 of celebrating entrepreneurial activities as an idealised solution to poverty, marginalisation
7 and subordination". Careful contextual analysis is called for, in order to understand the pre-
8 conditions and possible 'gender entrepreneurship gaps' (Piacentini, 2013) that may hinder the
9 empowerment of women through entrepreneurship. Both interview studies in Zimbabwe
10 (Mazonde and Carmichael, 2016) and Tanzania (Langevang et al., 2018) and a quantitative
11 survey of Nigerian women entrepreneurs (Sajuyigbe and Fadeyibi, 2017) found socio-cultural
12 context, work-home conflict and other gender oriented factors hindering such empowerment.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21

22 Welter et al. (2014) recognise the need to understand under what circumstances women
23 experience the different dimensions of context as enabling or constraining for their agency. In
24 this paper, we extend the framework and ask under what circumstances contextual dimensions
25 also enable feminist agency, i.e. action that improves women's situation in society on a level
26 beyond the single individual. Feminist agency through enterprise was coined "FemInc.ism"
27 by Ahl et al. (2016), based on cases in which women had used the business form to enable
28 institutional change (Tillmar, 2009, Berglund and Johansson, 2007). The concept FemInc.ism
29 can be used to analyse the potential for men and women to use the organisational form of
30 enterprise and markets not only to enable change, but also to analyse potential pitfalls and
31 constraints on this route.
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 ***2.2 Women's entrepreneurship in the studied contexts***

42 Since Scandinavian research on women's entrepreneurship has often focused on the
43 institutional context, including the gender order (Ahl and Nelson, 2015, Sundin and Tillmar,
44 2010, Sköld and Tillmar, 2015, Pettersson et al., 2017, Sundin, 2011), there is a body of
45 knowledge on how women's entrepreneurship has been affected by neo-liberal reforms,
46 particularly by the privatisation of former public services. Since many entrepreneurs start
47 businesses in their former profession (Shane, 2000) and since public welfare is heavily
48 female-dominated in these countries, the number of women entrepreneurs was expected to
49 increase when public welfare was privatised (Blomberg et al., 2011). However, things did not
50 turn out the way neo-liberal politicians had expected; the outcomes were heavily gendered
51 and dependent on class (Sundin, 2011). Most of the business opportunities on publicly funded
52 markets for welfare services went to male-owned businesses, according to database studies on
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 national level (Sköld, 2015, Sköld and Tillmar, 2015) as well as case studies on the local level
4 (Sundin and Rapp, 2006, Sundin and Tillmar, 2010). The result has been explained by the
5 resilience of the gender order, which was reproduced in the business context. The impact of
6 the gender order on self-employed women, their incomes and career choices also in western
7 countries is neither unknown (Hundley, 2000, Marshall and Flaig, 2014, Thébaud, 2016,
8 Klyver et al., 2013), nor given adequate attention in mainstream entrepreneurship studies and
9 policy-making (Pettersson et al., 2017).

10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17 In the East African, and hence Tanzanian, context, the view of women's entrepreneurship as
18 the 'untapped resource' for economic development (cf. Ramadani et al., 2013, Ratten and
19 Jones, 2018) still holds strong among development agencies. There is a long list of initiatives
20 promoting women's entrepreneurship and market-driven development (Vossenber, 2013).¹
21 Yet self-employed women as a group belong to the poorest of the poor (Tindiwensi, 2007).
22 Among the recognised constraints are a heavy domestic workload (Kibera & Kibera, 1999),
23 lack of social capital (cf. Komugisha Tindiwensi 2007), lack of access to finance (Kibera and
24 Kibera, 1999) and lack of access to commercial justice (Ellis, 2007, Tillmar, 2016a). Studies
25 suggest that many donors are over-optimistic about the anticipated gender equality resulting
26 from neo-liberal initiatives. Unless indigenous values such as communal values are
27 incorporated into entrepreneurship thinking (cf. Ratten and Dana, 2017), the individualisation
28 inherent in the business form risks having adverse effects on solidarity among women (Sigalla
29 and Carney, 2012). Studies have shown that when women in a patriarchal context venture into
30 entrepreneurship, there is a 'work/home conflict' and a 'lack of moral support from the
31 family' (Sajuyigbe and Fadeyibi, 2017, Kibera and Kibera, 1999). Qualitative and
32 ethnographically inspired studies have revealed such terms to be euphemisms for increased
33 domestic violence, because husbands feel threatened (Tillmar, 2016a, Vyas et al., 2015). The
34 effects of entrepreneurialism for women in the East African context are still under debate and
35 research results are inconclusive. Kinyanjui (2012) argues that women in the neo-liberal era
36 redefined their investment in local-level development into self-organising social alliances that
37 provided a livelihood for the women and confronted the patriarchal system in solidarity.
38 There are also shining examples of women using gendered constraints to create business
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57

58 ¹ Among the agencies focusing on this are UN Women, the OECD, the World Economic Forum, the
59 World Bank, USAID and the Africa Development Bank, alongside international NGOs. Of all the
60 initiatives only ILO has a partially feminist perspective (Vossenber, 2013).

opportunities (Tillmar, 2016b) and other strategies to handle gendered constraints (Langevang et al., 2018).

3. Methods and data

3.1 Methodological approach

In order to understand the contextual dimensions, we follow Dana and Dana's (2005) call for entrepreneurship studies to use a qualitative and interpretative approach starting from empirical observations. The research question emerged by contrasting empirical results from the Tanzanian and Swedish context. We grew increasingly puzzled by what appeared to be divergent results in the two contexts, and decided to systematically re-analyse interviews from previous studies, using contrasting as an analytical strategy (Dana, 1990, Dana, 1997, Tillmar, 2006). A cumulative understanding was built by contrasting the countries in an iterative process of re-analysing our data set, theories and previous studies. We aimed for a theory-method fit in our literature review (Gehman et al., 2018) and focused on seminal work on context and entrepreneurship, including gender and previous studies on the two countries. The overall approach is hence not purely inductive, but best characterised as 'abductive' (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000, Dana and Dana, 2005).

We make no claims regarding the comparability of the two countries in the more positivist sense or on a 'surface level' (Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2000). 'Comprehensive research' like this (Dana and Dumez, 2015) serves to highlight mechanisms, challenge existing knowledge and redefine, or improve, existing models (cf. Whetten, 1989). More specifically, we improve an existing model on contextual dimensions affecting women entrepreneurs and challenge existing knowledge on entrepreneurialism. Contrasting different cases is powerful not only for providing important theoretical conclusions, but also for uncovering social phenomena and for understanding the reasons for different outcomes (Ragin, 2014). A context is better understood when an alternative pattern is used to provide a contrast (Brislin, 1980, Stewart et al., 1994, Marcus and Fischer, 2014, Dana, 1997). Being able to contrast a country with a high level of gender equality with a country with a low level of gender equality has been an advantage in this study.

3.2 Interview material

1
2
3 We revisited primary data from our own studies consisting of unstructured and semi-
4 structured interviews collected by the first author during ethnographically inspired qualitative
5 studies over a period of 15 years, between 1997 and 2012 (see Appendix 1). This was a period
6 when many neo-liberal reforms geared towards entrepreneurialism took place in the two
7 countries. All the projects concerned gender and entrepreneurship/SMEs. Hence, we had a
8 pre-existing data set which could help us answer previously unexplored research questions.
9

10
11
12
13
14
15 The 73 interviews in our data set had the character of free-flowing open-ended conversations,
16 and the interviewer also noted non-verbal communication (Groenland and Dana, 2019). All
17 the interviews addressed conditions for women entrepreneurs in the context at hand. Parts of
18 the interviews were specific to the project within which they were conducted, as specified in
19 Appendix 1. Interviewees were selected through purposive snow-ball sampling with initial
20 assistance from local collaborating universities and business support organisations. We
21 analysed 36 tape-recorded and transcribed interviews with women entrepreneurs affected by
22 the implementation of neo-liberal policies in Sweden. The interviews were conducted in
23 Swedish. The author resides in Sweden and is familiar with the context. In Tanzania, we used
24 37 interviews with women entrepreneurs. The first author lived in Tanzania for a year and a
25 half and learned to speak the local language, which was vital for access to rich data. As
26 interviewees in Tanzania were generally not comfortable with tape recorders, and interviews
27 were conducted in noisy environments, detailed notes were taken.
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38

39 ***3.3 Analytical procedure***

40
41 We selected ten interviews from each country for further structured in-depth analysis on the
42 basis that they provided especially rich data with regard to the current research questions.
43 The transcripts and notes from these 20 selected interviews comprised the subset of the
44 original primary data which were subject to a qualitative secondary analysis (QSA) (Irwin,
45 2013, Gladstone et al., 2007). Appendix 2 gives an anonymised overview of these
46 interviewees in terms of age and line and size of business. In both countries, the studies were
47 conducted in urban areas and in female dominated sectors. Most Tanzanian firms were in
48 handicraft, trade, or food processing, and in Sweden they were in health and care sectors,
49 which were directly affected by the privatisations.
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57

58 As our data was collected with the same epistemological approach as employed in this paper
59 and, of course, within the contexts we discuss here, we avoid the major drawbacks of using
60

1
2
3 secondary data (cf. Irwin, 2013). Quality is also ensured by the “fit” between the new
4 question and the original data, since the question arose from the primary data as well as the
5 participation of the researcher who conducted the original studies (Gladstone et al., 2007).
6
7 Employing commonly used methods of analysing qualitative data is yet another route for us to
8 ensure quality.
9
10

11
12
13 The selected subset of data was subject to a thematic document study (Groenland and Dana,
14 2019) using the rigorous, structured approach to analysing qualitative material called the
15 Gioia methodology (Gioia et al., 2013, Gehman et al., 2018). It enables a structured approach
16 which also helps to identify and visualise the link between first order concepts in the
17 informants’ terms (in our case quotes) and the aggregate theoretical dimensions, using second
18 order themes (Gioia et al., 2013). Presenting the first order concepts as quotes gives the reader
19 the illustration dosage (Glaser, 2003) needed to gain a sense of the empirical material
20 underpinning the inductively driven theory development. The data structures which were
21 generated by the analyses are presented in Table 1 (Tanzania) and Table 2 (Sweden).
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

30 Selected quotes were also used in the empirical descriptions below, for illustration purposes
31 and for providing an understanding of how we arrived at the second order themes generated
32 by the analysis (Siggelkow, 2007, Gioia et al., 2013). The overall patterns and conclusions
33 reflect the interview material in total, that is, all 73 interviews.
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 **6. Results of interview analysis**

42 Behind each of the 20 interviews in our qualitative secondary analysis (QSA), there is a life
43 history of a woman who ventured into entrepreneurship and self-employment, with its joys,
44 opportunities, sorrows and obstacles. When contrasting the ten stories from Tanzania and the
45 ten stories from Sweden, we were surprised to find the sorrows and obstacles more common
46 in the stories from Sweden. Narrating each of the stories is outside the scope of this paper, and
47 we refer to the original studies listed in Appendix 1. Below, we present the results of our
48 structured Gioia-inspired (Gioia et al., 2013) re-analysis of this selected subset of our data.
49
50
51
52
53
54
55

56 **6.1. Women entrepreneurs in Tanzania**

57 Gendered constraints in entrepreneurship and feminist agency through entrepreneurship
58 emerge as aggregate dimensions in the analysis, as illustrated in the data structure in Table 1.
59
60

1
2
3 The second order themes generated represent different forms of gendered constraints and
4 feminist agency, respectively. In Table 1, we have inserted representative quotes from the ten
5 selected interviews. In the text below, one quote is chosen to illustrate each second order
6 theme.
7
8
9

10 *Insert TABLE 1 here.*

11 **Gendered constraints in entrepreneurship**

12 There is no doubt that there are many gendered constraints to women's entrepreneurship in
13 Tanzania. The entrepreneurs report that there is a strong gender bias among business contacts,
14 affecting not only the price they can obtain on the market and the respect they are given
15 within their own companies, but also their ability to defend their rights in cases of theft or
16 fraud.
17
18
19
20
21

22 "Some partners or workers are not afraid of women, they see that there is
23 nothing you can do." Aumn
24

25 The difficulty single women face in defending their business interests and rights against
26 collaborators and employees is even higher. Fatima, a 45-year-old spice trader whose husband
27 left her to live with his second wife when she pursued her business, had her property
28 vandalised by neighbouring youngsters. Others narrate that without the support of a husband,
29 business contacts can cheat them in many ways.
30
31
32
33

34 "If you are not married, they are not afraid of you at all, they can do anything."
35

36 Barika

37 Gendered constraints could also come from within the household, in cases where the
38 husbands were not supportive of the business. Intimate partner violence against women was
39 another theme raised in the interviews.
40
41
42

43 "I was in the batik business. He started to scream and fight. So I stopped that
44 business and started with vegetables. The business grew a bit, then he started big
45 fights and destroyed everything in the field and destroyed the vegetables." Mary
46
47
48
49

50 **Feminist agency through entrepreneurship**

51 Many Tanzanian women perceived that membership in a *chama* – women's group – is vital
52 for their ability to run their business. The enabling aspect of chamas for women's
53 entrepreneurship has previously been highlighted by Kinyanjui (2012). Within a chama,
54 women help each other practically, economically and socially/emotionally. A common
55 example is the help they give each other to attend to the home and children when it is
56 necessary to travel on business, as illustrated by the quote from Linda. In a chama, it is
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 common to have a savings and credit scheme where five to ten women take turns in giving
4 and receiving funds; for example, everyone contributes a sum of money each week and they
5 take turns to receive those funds (Table 1). At times, it is a way of saving and being able to
6 make investments without interference from husbands.
7
8

9
10 “We can help each other. To give each other information, for example if there is
11 exhibitions somewhere everyone can get the information. The ‘chama’ is very
12 lively.” Barika
13

14
15
16
17 “I have started a group with people from here. We give each other advice and
18 we have started to lend each other small sums of money. We meet every
19 Saturday from 9 to 10. If you are a woman, you always have certain kinds of
20 problems.” Mary
21
22
23

24
25 Hence, membership of a business-oriented chama is a strong enabling factor for women
26 entrepreneurs and for their agency, and the membership can itself be seen as a form of
27 feminist agency.
28
29

30
31
32 What is enabled by entrepreneurship is also independence from individual men. Women’s
33 entrepreneurship not only sustains the livelihoods of the women themselves and their
34 children, but also funds a good education not only for sons, but also for daughters. Patricia, a
35 case in point, has a small shop in the outskirts of Dar es Salaam, practises small-scale food-
36 processing, breeds chickens and keeps a few cattle from which she sells milk. She lives
37 behind the shop with her children. It is afternoon and her daughter takes care of the shop-
38 keeping during the interview. Patricia is very proud that she has been able to bring her
39 children up by herself.
40
41
42

43
44
45
46 “I have struggled to put my children [my daughter and her little brother] through
47 [private] school right up to university.” Patricia
48

49
50 A few of the interviews have explicit business goals to develop younger women and girls, and
51 not only chama members and daughters. Karen challenged the gender order when faced with
52 the choice between her business and her husband (Author 2016a). She chose the business,
53 took out a divorce and now lives on the proceeds of a business in a male-labelled industry.
54 Karen has had countless problems related to the institutional and social contextual
55 dimensions, being a single woman in need of access to title deeds and proper contracts. Yet
56 she is determined to carry on, and to contract rural female farmers as her suppliers in order to
57
58
59
60

empower them as well. Karen uses her business and coaching skills to support other women, especially those who are subject to intimate partner violence.

“I’m coaching women who keep poultry, backyard poultry. We see these problems.” Karen

Jasmine, an economically independent upper-class woman educated in the US, uses her business as a vehicle to empower young girls. She gives them both professional and business training as well as microcredit.² Other examples include a woman whose husband is no longer supporting her, who breeds rabbits in order to fund the education of her adolescent daughters, who also work on the rabbit farm, and a widowed market vendor who is the sole provider for her own six children and three other dependants who are orphans of relatives.³ These cases show how entrepreneurship has enabled women to engage in feminist action beyond the subsistence of themselves and their children.⁴

6.2 Women entrepreneurs in Sweden

In the case of Sweden, gendered constraints in entrepreneurship also emerged as a dominant aggregate dimension in the interviews (see Table 2). Business as a tool for social change was another theme, although less dominant. In contrast to Tanzania, feminist agency was not a dimension. The second order themes are even more dissimilar from the case of Tanzania than are the aggregate dimensions. The representative quotes are presented in Table 2. In the text below, we have chosen one quote to illustrate each second order theme.

Insert TABLE 2 here

Gendered constraints in entrepreneurship

The formal obstacles concerned the contractual conditions in the female gender-labelled health and care sector. Not only do public procurement procedures for running elderly care homes, for example, require larger organisations, but the contract periods are also very short.⁵

² See further Author, 2017

³ For a further elaboration of this case, see Author 2016a.

⁴ Two of the cases have been narrated in more detail in a book chapter on women’s innovations, Author 2016b.

⁵ See further Author, 2004.

1
2
3 “We have received 6 months at a time, and to be able to find more opportunities
4 for this target group, who are disabled...I have had lots of ideas, but
5 consequently not been able to pursue them.” Barbara
6
7

8 As municipalities realised that the public procurement procedures did not favour SMEs as
9 intended, new systems such as customer-choice models were introduced. However, these
10 models also required a providing organisation to have large resources in order to be able to
11 navigate and compete strategically and successfully and place the right bids on the right units,
12 and so on.⁶
13
14
15
16
17

18 Sweden might be one of the most equal countries in the world, but there are still gendered
19 norms constraining women as entrepreneurs, which was clear from the analysis of the
20 interviews. Table 2 highlights some of the quotes where women talk about the attitudes that
21 they meet from business partners and employees. While, in contrast to Tanzania, open
22 discrimination is not an issue, nor are there widely acknowledged issues of domestic violence,
23 there are still issues with, among other things, legitimacy.
24
25
26
27
28

29 “It is still the case that if you meet an older man, he’ll say ‘Oh, you are the CEO
30 – I thought you were the secretary.’ Well, that’s the kind of thing we hear.”
31

32 Maria
33

34 Whilst policymakers have portrayed success stories of women entrepreneurs in the era of
35 public sector downsizing in Sweden, our analysis reveals disempowerment, rather than
36 empowerment, as a theme. In one mid-sized municipality, Siv, who owns an elderly care
37 home in a mid-sized municipality, found it impossible to maintain the professional quality and
38 home-like atmosphere which was her business idea. She cannot compete against the
39 multinational corporations and has given up hope.
40
41
42
43
44

45 “At first, it was good to have these small [firms] but then gradually the large
46 ones come in and then you are pushed out. [...] No, I have put in my last
47 bid. I won’t bid again [...] I have not received anything in seven years, so
48 there is no point.” Siv
49
50
51
52

53 In another municipality, four nurses started a care home at the beginning of the 1990s. They
54 ran it for ten years with good results in terms of quality, satisfied users, and excellent
55 cooperation with the municipality. The nurses had offers to sell to larger companies but
56
57
58
59

60 ⁶ See further Author, 2010.

1
2
3 refused. When we met them a few years into the new millennium, they had lost the contract to
4 one of the large companies by the lowest possible margin. Of the four nurses, one had passed
5 away, one was on long-term sick leave due to over-work, and the remaining two were
6 unemployed. The latter were not interested in working in elderly care or with the municipality
7 ever again.
8
9
10
11
12

13 **Social change through entrepreneurship**

14
15 On the brighter side, the analysis also revealed that some women entrepreneurs saw their
16 business as a means to enable social change, in Sweden too. In contrast to Tanzania, our data
17 did not include any cases where social change was related to gender equality. Rather, the women
18 took on a high level of social and societal responsibility for their target groups, i.e. those
19 receiving care, striving to improve the services for their benefit. This was the case in the
20 residential home for children and young people who could not live in their home environment,
21 as illustrated in the quote from Katarina (Table 2). The same applied to the elderly care
22 entrepreneur (Barbara) and the yoga instructor (Lisa) respectively. The midwife interviewed
23 (Erika, Table 2) was working both in the regional hospital and with her own business. She found
24 initiating change in the maternity care in the regional organisation difficult and decided to
25 initiate change via the mothers themselves, and hence started a business where she could meet
26 them on her own terms.
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35

36 “...and when I found yoga, I was home. And then I wanted to pass on to others
37 what I had been fortunate to receive – and to do that I had to start my own
38 business.” Lisa
39
40

41 In sum, our analysis shows that women entrepreneurs in the era of public sector downsizing in
42 Sweden have made important efforts and contributions. However, the stories do not convey
43 any messages of an improved position for women in society or for feminist agency. Rather, it
44 is primarily a story of constraints in various contextual dimensions leading to the destruction
45 of creativity.
46
47
48
49
50

51 **Discussion: The irony of entrepreneurialism**

52
53 During the time period for this study, i.e. 1997-2012, the temporal dimension of context was
54 characterised by the implementation of neo-liberal agendas in both countries. But the
55 institutional, social and spatial contexts (Welter et al., 2014) into which the neo-liberal agenda
56 was implemented were completely different. This meant that the resulting institutional
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 reforms differed (Author et al., forthcoming), and that the consequences for the position of
4 women in society and their ability to take feminist action also differed. On an overall level,
5 the constraints experienced by the entrepreneurs mirror these differences.
6
7
8
9

10 Based on our interview analysis we can confirm the propositions of Author et al.
11 (forthcoming) which suggested that in the Swedish context entrepreneurialism was not a step
12 forward for the position of women entrepreneurs in society. Neither did entrepreneurialism or
13 cuts in the public sector promote women's ability to take feminist action. There were cases in
14 our empirical material where the enterprises were used as vehicles for social change, but not
15 patently feminist social change. Loss of income, creativity and energy were more common
16 stories in our material, as demonstrated in previous studies (Sundin and Rapp, 2006, Sundin,
17 2011). Women entrepreneurs went from low-wage labour to low-income business ownership.
18 The shift has been from a situation where the temporal, institutional, social and spatial
19 dimensions of context were all relatively conducive for women in general, and hence also for
20 the women who were entrepreneurs. Sweden had a welfare state, where women with a high
21 level of trust in fair institutions and markets ventured into entrepreneurship careers that
22 crashed because markets were not as fair and equal as they expected; rather, they privileged
23 men and were geared towards large (male-owned) businesses. The women entrepreneurs
24 experienced a destruction of creativity rather than creative destruction (cf. Schumpeter,
25 1934/1983, Sundin and Tillmar, 2008). From the perspective of women entrepreneurs, the
26 Swedish case hence illustrates the dark sides of neo-liberalism and entrepreneurialism (cf
27 Wright and Zahra, 2011).
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 In Tanzania, on the other hand, there is no trusted welfare state that redistributes
42 resources to women, children and the elderly. As to the institutional context, the level of
43 corruption and lack of resources was reflected in the lack of trust for the institutions. The
44 gendered social context which also favoured men in business relations was taken for granted
45 by the interviewees. There were no expectations whatsoever among the interviewed women
46 that any institution, organisation or relationship would be gender neutral. In Welter et al.'s
47 (2014) terms, the physical space of urban Tanzania offers a much smaller place for women
48 entrepreneurs than does urban Sweden. Welfare provision, another part of the institutional
49 context, was seen as the responsibility of family and kin. A social context categorised by
50 patriarchal norms also implied unpaid labour by women. Hence, the place for women's
51 entrepreneurship and feminist agency was constrained.
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Entrepreneurialism is clearly not a miracle medicine for gender equality in Tanzania.
4
5 Our results are in line with previous studies from Tanzania (Langevang et al., 2018) as well as
6
7 Nigeria (Sajuyigbe and Fadeyibi, 2017) and Zimbabwe (Mazonde and Carmichael, 2016)
8
9 with regard to the numerous gendered socio-cultural constraints. Our analysis showed how the
10
11 gendering of the institutional, social and spatial contexts was reproduced in the world of
12
13 entrepreneurship, in marketplaces, in banks and in the judicial system. Another salient theme
14
15 in the analysis was how men strived to conserve the gender order within the home by means
16
17 of intimate partner violence against the women entrepreneurs. Within social science and
18
19 medicine this is a well known phenomenon (Vyas et al., 2015), yet this obstacle is rarely
20
21 discussed explicitly in the entrepreneurship literature.

22
23 At the same time, a strong theme was the positive effects on the living standards and
24
25 opportunities for feminist agency for many women entrepreneurs. Business ownership among
26
27 women has become socially accepted and it has given women opportunities to support
28
29 themselves and their children independently of the patriarchal social context. Compared to the
30
31 temporal context (Welter, 2011, de Bruin et al., 2014) prior to entrepreneurialism, the room
32
33 for feminist agency among urban women entrepreneurs appears to have increased. We
34
35 analysed cases where women used the enterprise form to improve their own position and take
36
37 feminist action for other women, i.e. cases of FemInc.Ism (Ahl et al., 2016). The collective
38
39 women's support groups – chamas – were, for example, used creatively for entrepreneurship
40
41 support in relation to overcoming gendered obstacles, in line with previous studies
42
43 highlighting women's agency (Kinyanjui, 2012). The Tanzanian case hence illustrated a –
44
45 comparatively – brighter side of neo-liberalism and entrepreneurialism, at least from the
46
47 perspective of urban women entrepreneurs.

48
49 To illustrate the complexity of the contextual dimensions we propose a theoretical model
50
51 which has been informed by Welter et al. (2014) as well as by the current analysis (see Figure
52
53 1).

54
55 *Insert FIGURE 1 here*

56
57 Like Welter et al. (2014), we propose a model of context where gender is placed at the centre,
58
59 impacting every other dimension. But whilst Welter et al. illustrated the four dimensions of
60
context on an equal basis, we argue that the temporal context should be seen as harbouring the
whole process of social, spatial, and institutional interaction. This can be interpreted to mean

1
2
3 that the institutional, social and spatial interaction will be different at different times, but in
4 the current analysis it is actually the other way around: the same temporal dimension
5 (entrepreneurialism) resulted in different reforms in different, and differently gendered,
6 institutional, social and spatial contexts. Because of the differences in these dimensions
7 between the two countries, the effects for women entrepreneurs also differed. Figure 2
8 summarises the effects for women entrepreneurs in the two contexts. The double-headed
9 arrows used in the model also illustrate, in line with the paradox of embedded agency, that
10 women's entrepreneurship in turn affects the context, not the least its gender dimension. For
11 example, women's increased independence through entrepreneurship in Tanzania may affect
12 women's position in society.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21

22 *Insert FIGURE 2 here*
23
24
25

26 **8. Conclusions and contributions**

27

28 In this paper, we have contributed to entrepreneurship studies in three ways.

29 First, we add to the understanding of how and why contexts matter and are differently
30 gendered. We propose a model illustrating the dimensions of context in which we place
31 gender at the centre. Gender influences and is influenced by the social, spatial and
32 institutional contexts, and all these dimensions are harboured by the temporal context (Figure
33 1). We also develop a model illustrating how these contextual dimensions impact women
34 entrepreneurs and their agency (Figure 2).
35
36
37
38
39
40
41

42 Second, by contrasting a well-functioning welfare state in the global North with a developing
43 state in the Global South – on the immense and underexplored African continent – we
44 broaden the empirical base of spaces studied when theorising gendering and entrepreneurship.
45
46
47
48

49 Third, we challenge existing assumptions on the benefits of entrepreneurialism. In these neo-
50 liberal times, it is frequently taken for granted that increased business ownership among
51 women – and privatisation in female-dominated industries – improves not only economic
52 development but also gender equality. By analysing two contrasting countries affected by
53 entrepreneurialism, we show that such a development is not necessarily the case. While we do
54 not take a stance in the discussion of whether women entrepreneurs are 'untapped resources'
55 for economic development (Ramadani et al., 2013, Ratten and Jones, 2018), our analysis
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 shows that entrepreneurialism far from always improves the position of women themselves.
4 Based on our empirical analysis, we can confirm that *“how neo-liberalism impacts pre-*
5 *conditions for women entrepreneurs is highly dependent on the local institutional framework*
6 *in terms of a trustworthy women-friendly state and gender equality”* (Author et al.,
7
8 forthcoming, p. X). Whilst entrepreneurship can be seen as a means to give women
9
10 independence and wealth, it can also be seen as a new way of exploiting women and
11
12 maintaining their subordination. It depends on which alternatives are available in the context
13
14 at hand. The analysis further demonstrates that reforms must be analysed through all
15
16 dimensions of context, including gender, if the consequences are to be understood.
17
18
19

20
21 Ultimately, our analysis amounts to a criticism of neo-liberalism in general and
22
23 entrepreneurialism in particular, also from an entrepreneurship perspective. Neo-liberal
24
25 entrepreneurialism, stemming from the Anglo-Saxon world, was not a success in our case of a
26
27 functioning state with well-aligned and trusted formal and informal institutions; at least, not
28
29 for the position of women entrepreneurs and feminist agency. Only in our example of a poor
30
31 developing country in the global south, struggling with institutional malfunction, could we see
32
33 positive effects for the position of women entrepreneurs and feminist agency.

34 **8.2 Policy implications**

35
36 If policy measures are to support not only economic development but also gender equality,
37
38 our results indicate the importance of valuing and protecting a women-friendly welfare state
39
40 such as in Sweden, and of carefully analysing the value of market solutions for welfare
41
42 provision. State-owned welfare services may simply be better for gender equality. The
43
44 Tanzanian case, however, shows that a scenario with a women-friendly welfare state requires
45
46 a different institutional and social context than what is at hand. Based on this paper, and
47
48 Author et al. (forthcoming), we argue that such a scenario is not realistic until there is an
49
50 economically independent state, which is well-integrated with local norms and traditions, as
51
52 well as a certain level of economic development and well-being in the community. Otherwise,
53
54 the result, as in Tanzania, is likely to be corruption and subsequent distrust. Given that
55
56 Tanzania does not have a women-friendly welfare state, we argue that entrepreneurship on the
57
58 market may currently be more, or at least equally, conducive to feminist agency than the state.
59
60 Yet, since the analysis also showed the reproduction of gendered discrimination in
entrepreneurship also in Tanzania, we cannot conclude that market solutions will suffice.

1
2
3 Entrepreneurship alone will not enable gender equality. Based on our studies, we argue that a
4 multi-level approach to feminist change is necessary.
5
6
7

8 **8.3 Further studies**

9
10 As Welter et al. (2014) recognise, the dimensions of context are highly intertwined and
11 interdependent and must be analysed holistically. In mainstream entrepreneurship studies,
12 there is a focus on the institutional context (Bosma, Jones, Autio, & Levie, 2008, Klofsten,
13 Malmström, & Jones-Evans, 2016). From our analysis, it became apparent that the social and
14 spatial context can have severe material and economic consequences for entrepreneurship.
15 The norms and values that discriminate against women entrepreneurs in Tanzania lead to
16 domestic violence and destroyed and cancelled business activities.
17
18
19
20
21
22
23

24 The place for women in entrepreneurship was constrained in both countries, although the
25 gendered constraints were less materially visible in the physical space in Sweden than in
26 Tanzania. Women entrepreneurs in Sweden met obstacles which destroyed their creativity and
27 motivation – not their property and bodies. Hence, a further analysis of how contexts are
28 differently gendered could contrast also material and immaterial consequences in different
29 spatial and temporal contexts.
30
31
32
33
34
35

36 Since the traditional kinship structures are stronger in the rural areas in Tanzanian society, and
37 the economy is agriculture-based, there is reason to believe that the entrepreneurialism
38 promoted by the neo-liberal policies has different effects on women (and men) in rural areas
39 than in urban (Havnevik, 2015, Otto and Ståhl, 2015). In Sweden, gender roles are often more
40 traditional in rural areas than in urban areas, and there has been an exodus of young women
41 from rural to urban Sweden (Westholm and Waldenström, 2008). Exploring the urban-rural
42 dimension in the field of women's entrepreneurship would hence also be an interesting
43 avenue for further studies.
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 Our critique of entrepreneurialism gives rise to a number of questions for further studies on
52 the gendering of contexts, not least in relation to 'the market'. What happened in Sweden was
53 that the market was not as free as the entrepreneurs had expected. Contrary to their
54 expectations, the entrepreneurial opportunities were heavily skewed towards big business. In
55 Tanzania, there was no expectation that the market would be free from the gendered
56 institutional context, which is why the entrepreneurs did not encounter unexpected challenges.
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Whilst the role of context for entrepreneurship is increasingly acknowledged, the idea that the
4 market is always a liberating force is rarely questioned. Nonetheless, the analysis in this paper
5 gives rise to important questions on markets in relation to gender discrimination.
6
7
8
9

10 11 12 **References**

- 13 ACHTENHAGEN, L. & TILLMAR, M. 2013. Studies on women's entrepreneurship from
14 Nordic countries and beyond. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*,
15 5, 4-16.
16
17 AHL, H. 2006. Why research on women entrepreneurs needs new directions.
18 *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 30, 595-621.
19
20 AHL, H., BERGLUND, K., PETTERSSON, K. & TILLMAR, M. 2016. From feminism to
21 FemInc.ism: On the uneasy relationship between feminism, entrepreneurship and the
22 Nordic welfare state. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 12,
23 369-392.
24
25 AHL, H. & MARLOW, S. 2019. Exploring the false promise of entrepreneurship through a
26 postfeminist critique of the enterprise policy discourse in Sweden and the UK. *Human*
27 *Relations*, 0018726719848480.
28
29 AHL, H. & NELSON, T. 2015. How policy positions women entrepreneurs: A comparative
30 analysis of state discourse in Sweden and the United States. *Journal of Business*
31 *Venturing*, 30, 273-291.
32
33 AL-DAJANI, H. & MARLOW, S. 2013. Empowerment and entrepreneurship: a theoretical
34 framework. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 19, 503-
35 524.
36
37 ALLEN, I. E., ELAM, A., LANGOWITZ, N. & DEAN, M. 2008. Global Entrepreneurship
38 Monitor. 2007 Report on Women and Entrepreneurship. Babson, The Centre for
39 Women's Leadership & Global Entrepreneurship Research Association.
40
41 ALVESSON, M. & SKÖLDBERG, K. 2000. Reflexive methodology: New vistas for
42 qualitative.
43
44 BATTILANA, J. 2006. Agency and institutions: The enabling role of individuals' social
45 position. *Organization*, 13, 653-676.
46
47 BERGLUND, K. & JOHANSSON, A. W. 2007. The entrepreneurship discourse - outlined
48 from diverse constructions of entrepreneurship on the academic scene. *Journal of*
49 *Enterprising Communities: People and places in the global economy*, 1, 77-102.
50
51 BLOMBERG, E., HEDLUND, G. & WOTTLE, M. (eds.) 2011. *Kvinnors företagande - mål*
52 *eller medel?*, Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
53
54 BRISLIN, R. W. 1980. Cross-cultural research methods. *Environment and culture*. Springer.
55
56 BRUSH, C. G., CARTER, N. M., GATEWOOD, E. J., GREENE, P. G. & HART, M. M.
57 (eds.) 2006. *Women and entrepreneurship: contemporary classics*, Cheltenham, UK:
58 Edward Elgar.
59
60 CALÁS, M. B., SMIRCICH, L. & BOURNE, K. A. 2009. Extending the Boundaries:
61 Reframing "Entrepreneurship as Social Change" Through Feminist Perspectives. *The*
62 *Academy of Management Review*, 34, 552-569.
63
64 DANA, L.-P. & DUMEZ, H. 2015. Qualitative research revisited: epistemology of a
65 comprehensive approach. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small*
66 *Business*, 26, 154-170.

- 1
2
3 DANA, L.-P. & RAMADANI, V. 2015. Context and uniqueness of transition economies.
4 *Family Businesses in Transition Economies*. Springer.
- 5 DANA, L. P. 1990. Saint Martin/Sint Maarten: a case study of the effects of culture on
6 economic development. *Journal of small business management*, 28, 91.
- 7 DANA, L. P. 1997. A contrast of Argentina and Uruguay: the effects of government policy on
8 entrepreneurship. *Journal of Small business management*, 35, 99.
- 9 DANA, L. P. & DANA, T. E. 2005. Expanding the scope of methodologies used in
10 entrepreneurship research. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small*
11 *Business*, 2, 79-88.
- 12 DÍAZ-GARCÍA, C., BRUSH, C. G., GATEWOOD, E. J. & WELTER, F. 2016. *Women's*
13 *entrepreneurship in global and local contexts*, Cheltenham, UK
14 Northampton, MA, USA : EE, Edward Elgar Publishing.
- 15 ELLIS, A. 2007. *Gender and economic growth in Tanzania: Creating opportunities for*
16 *women*, World Bank Publications.
- 17 ESPING-ANDERSEN, G. 1990. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*, Cambridge, UK,
18 Polity Press.
- 19 GADDEFORS, J. & ANDERSON, A. 2017. Entrepreneurs and context: when
20 entrepreneurship is greater than entrepreneurs. *International journal of*
21 *entrepreneurial behavior*
22 *research*, 23, 267-278.
- 23 GEHMAN, J., GLASER, V. L., EISENHARDT, K. M., GIOIA, D., LANGLEY, A. &
24 CORLEY, K. G. 2018. Finding theory–method fit: A comparison of three qualitative
25 approaches to theory building. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 27, 284-300.
- 26 GIOIA, D. A., CORLEY, K. G. & HAMILTON, A. L. 2013. Seeking qualitative rigor in
27 inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organizational research*
28 *methods*, 16, 15-31.
- 29 GLADSTONE, B. M., VOLPE, T. & BOYDELL, K. M. 2007. Issues encountered in a
30 qualitative secondary analysis of help-seeking in the prodrome to psychosis. *The*
31 *journal of behavioral health services & research*, 34, 431-442.
- 32 GLASER, B. G. 2003. *The grounded theory perspective II: Description's remodeling of*
33 *grounded theory methodology*, Sociology Press.
- 34 GRANOVETTER, M. 1985. Economic action and social structure: The problem of
35 embeddedness. *American journal of sociology*, 91, 481-510.
- 36 GROENLAND, E. & DANA, L.-P. 2019. *Qualitative Methodologies and Data Collection*
37 *Methods: Toward Increased Rigour in Management Research*, World Scientific.
- 38 HAVNEVIK, K. 2015. The current Afro-optimism—A realistic image of Africa? *FLEKS-*
39 *Scandinavian Journal of Intercultural Theory and Practice*, 2.
- 40 HOOD, C. 1991. A public management for all seasons. *Public Administration*, 69, 3-19.
- 41 HUNDLEY, G. 2000. Male/female earnings differences in self-employment: The effects of
42 marriage, children, and the household division of labor. *ILR Review*, 54, 95-114.
- 43 IRWIN, S. 2013. Qualitative secondary data analysis: Ethics, epistemology and context.
44 *Progress in development studies*, 13, 295-306.
- 45 JAIM, J. & ISLAM, M. N. 2018. Context specificities in entrepreneurship research. *Journal*
46 *of Entrepreneurship, Business and Economics*, 6, 59-77.
- 47 JENNINGS, J. E. & MCDUGALD, M. S. 2007. Work-family interface experiences and
48 coping strategies: Implications for entrepreneurship research and practice. *Academy of*
49 *management review*, 32, 747-760.
- 50 JOHNS, G. 2006. The essential impact of context on organizational behavior. *Academy of*
51 *management review*, 31, 386-408.
- 52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 KANTOLA, J. & SQUIRES, J. 2012. From state feminism to market feminism? *International*
4 *Political Science Review*, 33, 382-400.
- 5 KIBERA, F. N. & KIBERA, L. W. 1999. Challenges and prospects of female
6 entrepreneurship in small-scale enterprises in Kenya.
- 7 KINYANJUI, M. N. 2012. Vyama: Institutions of Hope-Ordinary People's Market
8 Coordination & Society Organization Alternatives. *Oakville, Ontario, Canada:*
9 *Nsemia Inc.*
- 10
11 KLYVER, K., NIELSEN, S. L. & EVALD, M. R. 2013. Women's self-employment: An act
12 of institutional (dis)integration? A multilevel, cross-country study. *Journal of Business*
13 *Venturing*, 28, 474-488.
- 14 KNEZOVIĆ, E., PALALIĆ, R. & DANA, L.-P. 2020. Women's Entrepreneurship in the
15 Former Yugoslavia: An Introduction. *Women's Entrepreneurship in Former*
16 *Yugoslavia*. Springer.
- 17
18 LANGEVANG, T., HANSEN MICHAEL, W. & RUTASHOBYA LETTICE, K. 2018.
19 Navigating institutional complexities: The response strategies of Tanzanian female
20 entrepreneurs. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 10, 224-242.
- 21
22 MARCUS, G. E. & FISCHER, M. M. 2014. *Anthropology as cultural critique: An*
23 *experimental moment in the human sciences*, University of Chicago press.
- 24
25 MARLOW, S., SHAW, E. & CARTER, S. 2008. Constructing female entrepreneurship
26 policy in the UK: is the USA a relevant benchmark? *Environmental Planning C:*
27 *Government and Policy*, 26, 335-351.
- 28
29 MARSHALL, M. I. & FLAIG, A. 2014. Marriage, children, and self-employment earnings:
30 An analysis of self-employed women in the US. *Journal of Family and Economic*
31 *Issues*, 35, 313-322.
- 32
33 MAZONDE, N. B. & CARMICHAEL, T. 2016. The influence of culture on female
34 entrepreneurs in Zimbabwe. *The Southern African Journal of Entrepreneurship and*
35 *Small Business Management*, 8, 10.
- 36
37 OTTO, O. & STÄHL, M. 2015. Private or customary—whither land tenure in East Africa?
38 *Looking back, looking ahead*, 134.
- 39
40 PALALIĆ, R., KNEZOVIĆ, E., BRANKOVIĆ, A. & BIČO, A. 2020. *Women's*
41 *Entrepreneurship in Former Yugoslavia*, Springer.
- 42
43 PETERSSON, K., AHL, H., BERGLUND, K. & TILLMAR, M. 2017. In the name of
44 women? Feminist readings of policies for women's entrepreneurship in Scandinavia.
45 *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 33, 50-63.
- 46
47 PIACENTINI, M. 2013. Women entrepreneurs in the OECD: Key evidence and policy
48 challenges.
- 49
50 RAGIN, C. C. 2014. *The comparative method: Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative*
51 *strategies*, Univ of California Press.
- 52
53 RAMADANI, V., GËRGURI, S., DANA, L.-P. & TAŠAMINOVA, T. 2013. Women
54 entrepreneurs in the Republic of Macedonia: waiting for directions. *International*
55 *Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 19, 95-121.
- 56
57 RATTEN, V. & DANA, L.-P. 2017. Gendered perspective of indigenous entrepreneurship.
58 *Small Enterprise Research*, 24, 62-72.
- 59
60 RATTEN, V. & JONES, P. 2018. Bringing Africa into entrepreneurship research. *African*
entrepreneurship. Springer.
- 61
62 REHN, A. & TAALAS, S. 2004. Crime and assumptions in entrepreneurship. In: HJORTH,
63 D. & STEYAERT, C. (eds.) *Narrative and discursive approaches in*
64 *entrepreneurship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

- 1
2
3 SAJUYIGBE, A. S. & FADEYIBI, I. O. 2017. Women entrepreneurship and sustainable
4 economic development: Evidence from Nigeria. *Journal of Entrepreneurship,*
5 *Business and Economics*, 5, 19-46.
- 6 SALAMZADEH, A. & KAWAMORITA KESIM, H. 2017. The enterprising communities
7 and startup ecosystem in Iran. *Journal of enterprising communities.*, 11, 456-479.
- 8 SCHUMPETER, J. A. 1934/1983. *The Theory of Economic Development*, New Brunswick,
9 Transaction Publishers.
- 10 SHANE, S. 2000. Prior knowledge and the discovery of entrepreneurial opportunities.
11 *Organization science*, 11, 448-469.
- 12 SIGALLA, R. J. & CARNEY, S. 2012. Poverty reduction through entrepreneurship:
13 Microcredit, learning and ambivalence amongst women in urban Tanzania.
14 *International journal of educational development*, 32, 546-554.
- 15 SIGGELKOW, N. 2007. Persuasion with case studies. *Academy of management journal*, 50,
16 20-24.
- 17 SKÖLD, B. 2015. *Vad hände? Kvinnors företagande och de strukturella villkoren - en studie*
18 *i spåren av den offentliga sektorns omvandling*, Linköping, Linköping University.
- 19 SKÖLD, B. & TILLMAR, M. 2015. Resilient gender order in entrepreneurship: the case of
20 Swedish welfare industries. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 7,
21 2-26.
- 22 STEWART, R., BARSOUX, J.-L., KIESER, A., GANTER, H.-D. & WALGENBACH, P.
23 1994. *Managing in britain and germany*, Springer.
- 24 STEYAERT, C. & HJORTH, D. (eds.) 2006. *Entrepreneurship as social change*,
25 Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- 26 SUNDIN, E. 2011. Entrepreneurship and the reorganization of the public sector: A gendered
27 story. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 32, 631-653.
- 28 SUNDIN, E. & RAPP, G. 2006. Städerna som försvann, Individerna i den offentliga
29 sektorn [The cleaners who disappeared: The individual in the public sector]. *Arbetsliv*
30 *i omvandling*. Stockholm: Arbetslivsinstitutet.
- 31 SUNDIN, E. & TILLMAR, M. 2008. Creative Destruction or Destruction of Creativity.
32 SUNDIN, E. & TILLMAR, M. 2010. Masculinisation of the public sector: Local-level studies
33 of public sector outsourcing in elder care. *International Journal of Gender and*
34 *Entrepreneurship*, 2, 49-67.
- 35 THÉBAUD, S. 2016. Passing up the job: The role of gendered organizations and families in
36 the entrepreneurial career process. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 40, 269-
37 287.
- 38 TILLMAR, M. 2006. Swedish tribalism and Tanzanian entrepreneurship: preconditions for
39 trust formation. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 18, 91-107.
- 40 TILLMAR, M. 2009. Societal Entrepreneurs in the Health Sector – Crossing the Frontiers.
41 *Social Enterprise Journal*, 5, 282-298.
- 42 TILLMAR, M. 2016a. Gendering of commercial justice – experience of self-employed
43 women in urban Tanzania. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places*
44 *in the Global Economy*, 10, 101-122.
- 45 TILLMAR, M. 2016b. Self-employed women's everyday innovations in East Africa.
46 *Research Handbook on Gender and Innovation*.
- 47 TINDIWENSI, C. K. 2007. Women in business networks. *Unpacking Globalization: Markets,*
48 *Gender and Work*, Lexington Books, Lanham, MD, 259-68.
- 49 WELTER, F. 2011. Contextualising entrepreneurship: conceptual challenges and ways
50 forward. *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, 35, 165-184.
- 51 WELTER, F., BRUSH, C. & DE BRUIN, A. 2014. The gendering of entrepreneurship
52 context. *Institut für Mittelstandsforschung Bonn (Hrsg.): Working Paper*, 1, 14.

- 1
2
3 WELTER, F. & SMALLBONE, D. 2011. Institutional perspectives on entrepreneurial
4 behavior in challenging environments. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 49,
5 107-125.
- 6 WESTHOLM, E. & WALDENSTRÖM, C. 2008. Kunskap om landsbygden. Dags för en ny
7 agenda! Arbetsrapport 2008:1. Stockholm: Institutet för Framtidsstudier.
- 8 WHETTEN, D. A. 1989. What constitutes a theoretical contribution? *Academy of*
9 *management review*, 14, 490-495.
- 10
11 WHETTEN, D. A. 2009. An examination of the interface between context and theory applied
12 to the study of Chinese organizations. *Management and organization review*, 5, 29-55.
- 13 VOSSENBERG, S. 2013. Women Entrepreneurship Promotion in Developing Countries:
14 What explains the gender gap in entrepreneurship and how to close it. *Maastricht*
15 *School of Management Working Paper Series*, 8, 1-27.
- 16
17 WRIGHT, M. & ZAHRA, S. 2011. The other side of paradise: Examining the dark side of
18 entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Research Journal*, 1.
- 19 VYAS, S., JANSEN, H. A., HEISE, L. & MBWAMBO, J. 2015. Exploring the association
20 between women's access to economic resources and intimate partner violence in Dar
21 es Salaam and Mbeya, Tanzania. *Social Science & Medicine*, 146, 307-315.
- 22
23 YOUSAFZI, S. Y., LINDGREEN, A., SAEED, S. & HENRY, C. 2018. *Contextual*
24 *Embeddedness of Women's Entrepreneurship: Going Beyond a Gender Neutral*
25 *Approach*, London, Routledge.
- 26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1 st order concepts/ representative quotes	2 nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
<p>“It is difficult to sell at the market. The men come and get priority. Sometimes men can cut 10% off the price because they have big businesses.” (Patricia)</p> <p>“Travelling is a problem if you are alone. When you come back, people have stolen and done nothing. It’s a problem for both women and men but there are differences in how it can be tackled. Some partners or workers are afraid of women, they will see that there is nothing you can do.” (Anum)</p> <p>“You have to make a lot of effort to get respect! They do not think you are ok from the start.” (Veronica)</p>	Gender bias in business contact	Gendered constraints in entrepreneurship
<p>Narration of neighbouring youngsters destroying property and goods and causing a fire. (Fatima).</p> <p>“If you are not married, they are not afraid of you at all, they can do anything.” (Barika)</p>	Lack of respect for single women	
<p>Husband left to live with second wife due to the business (Fatima).</p> <p>“Women are being beaten. [...] because not all men want a woman to have access to finance in society. Of course, women are trying hard, but those are the issues that we face and as coaches and as mentors we sometimes have to carry the burden of those women because we receive their calls for [...]... you know... giving them courage.” (Karen)</p> <p>“I was in the batik business. He started to scream and fight. So I stopped that business and started with vegetables. The business grew a bit, then he started big fights and destroyed everything in the field and destroyed the vegetables.” (Mary)</p>	Abuse and power dynamics within household	

<p>1 “We can help each other. To give each other information, for example if there is 2 exhibitions somewhere everyone can get the information. The ‘chama’ is very lively” 3 .(Barika) 4 5 6 7 “I have started a group with people from here. We give each other advise and we have 8 started to lend each other small sums of money. We meet every Saturday from 9 to 9 10.” (Mary) 10 11 “All women have problems, if you tell others you will see that your own [worries] 12 decrease.” (Mary)</p>	Chamas – women’s groups – as enabling	Feminist agency through entrepreneurship
<p>13 “My husband died but I have struggled to put my children [my daughter and her little 14 brother] through [private] school right up to university.” (Patricia) 15 16 “My own knowledge is very different now [that I am running my business alone] from 17 when I was married. It is better to be self-dependent. You think better alone and are 18 more clever. Before, I had to think about him, and he had to agree to truly 19 everything.” (Veronica)</p>	Economic independence from individual men	
<p>20 “I’m coaching women who keep poultry, backyard poultry.” (Karen) 21 22 “I take interns. [...] Schoolgirls from Form Six. They work for me and they learn, you 23 see. I train them and eventually I end up helping them out with tuition, school fees, 24 food or whatever.” (Jasmine)</p>	Developing younger women and girls	

Table 1: Data structure Tanzania

1 st order concepts/ representative quotes and references	2 nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
<p>“We have received 6 months at a time, and to be able to find more opportunities for this target group, who are disabled...I have had lots of ideas, but consequently not been able to pursue them.” (Barbara)</p> <p>“I think it will be very difficult for small businesses [...] The competition is not fair. There are no small businesses that can place zero-sum bids, to take a chance and see how it goes. You have to know what you’ve got.” (Ingegerd)</p>	<p>Formal obstacles in female-dominated sectors (regulations, procurement procedures, disfavouring SMEs)</p>	<p>Gendered constraints in entrepreneurship</p>
<p>“It is still the case that if you meet an older man, he’ll say ‘Oh, you are the CEO – I thought you were the secretary.’ Well, that’s the kind of thing we hear.” (Maria)</p> <p>“It’s like it is in the air, and then if you need to be someone’s boss as well, then...well, they do not accept that you are their superior.” (Maja)</p> <p>“Finally, you get so tired you say ‘I don’t give a shit’. Perhaps we should have an old man making the decisions around here... then everything would be fine... That is exactly where I didn’t want to end up, what I have been fighting for since I was a teenager, that I would be in the situation where I have been through it all and am back where I started.” (Maja).</p> <p>“I have felt [the attitude] that kind of ‘can she, that girl, really do this?’”(Barbara)</p>	<p>Informal obstacles (incl. gendered norms)</p>	
<p>“It doesn’t help that I have lots of energy and willingness and that I bring up clear ideas... We are not getting anywhere. So now, I say that I have used up my stock of willingness.” (Barbara)</p>	<p>Disempowerment in female-dominated sectors</p>	

<p>1 “At first, it was good to have these small [firms] but then gradually the large ones 2 come in and then you are pushed out. [...] No, I have put in my last bid. I won’t bid 3 again [...] I have not received anything in seven years, so there is no point.” (Siv) 4 5 6 7 “We have exhausted it, if you like, we haven’t the energy to do it all over again. I will 8 never work for the municipality ever again.” (Margret)</p>		
<p>9 10 “We have a pedagogical approach which is very unusual [...] we do not regard these 11 kids as sick [...] we have a burning interest in these kids and what we can do to help 12 them.” (Katarina) 13 14 “The most important thing is that the target group has some security [...] I do not 15 want to leave when there is a crisis. I want to see it carried on. It is that sense of 16 responsibility one has.” (Barbara) 17 18 “And when I found the yoga, I was home. And then I wanted to pass on to others what 19 I had been fortunate to receive – and to do that I had to start my own business.” (Lisa) 20 21 “There was far too little room for the woman and her individual needs.” (Erika)</p>	<p>Strong motivation to take social responsibility</p>	<p>Social change through entrepreneurship</p>

Table 2: Data structure Sweden

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41

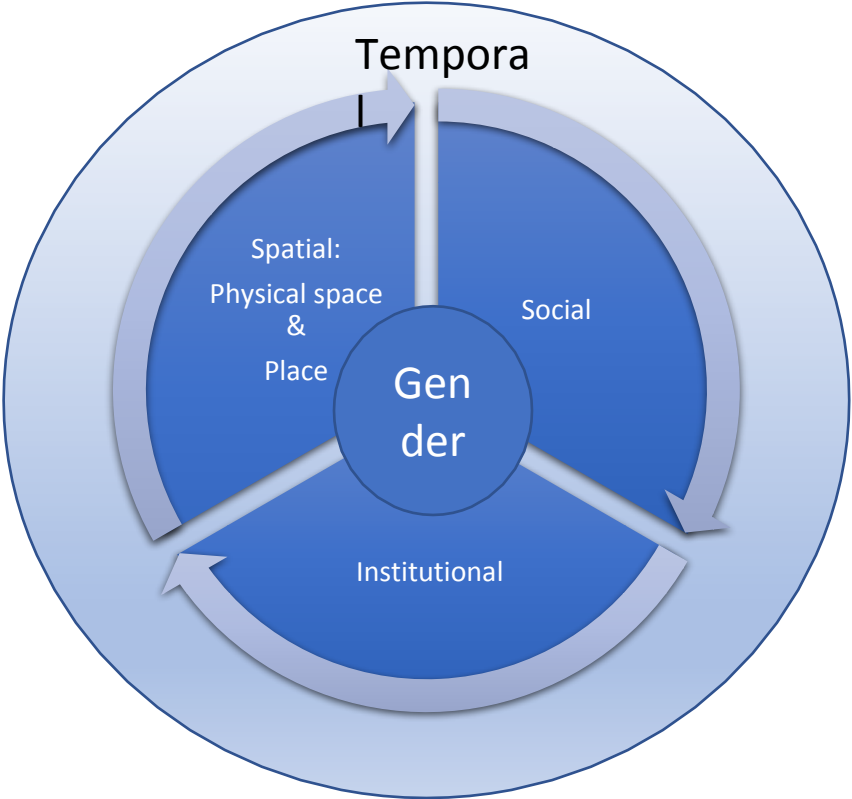


Figure 1: The dimensions of contexts

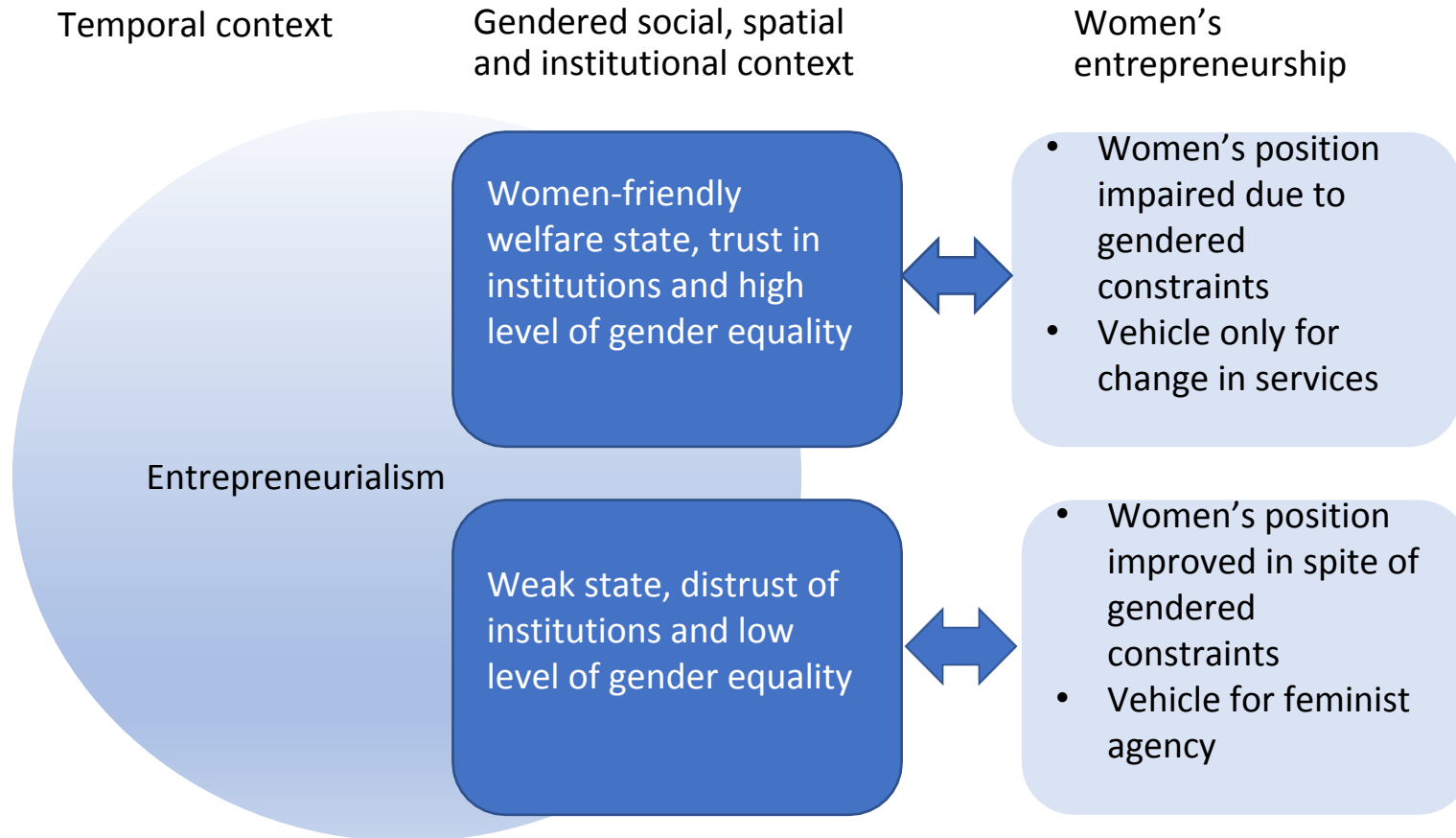


Figure 2: Contextual effects for women entrepreneurs

Appendix 1: Formal face-to-face interviews with women entrepreneurs

Year	Language /Country	No.	Average duration	Mode of documentation ¹	Type of Business	Project	Reported also in
1997	English (via interpreter to Swahili)/ Tanzania	5	1.5 hours	One recorded, then detailed notes	Restaurants, Hotel, Dispensaries, Poultry farming	Column left blank for blind review	Column left blank for blind review
1998-1999	Swedish/ Sweden	12	2 hours	Recorded and transcribed	Tourism, Restaurants, Hotels		
2000-2001	Swahili/ Tanzania	20	2 hours	Detailed notes	Retailing in spare parts and textiles, Handcraft, Hair salons, Tailoring		
2002-2004	Swedish/ Sweden	8	1.5 hours	Recorded and transcribed	Physiotherapy, Social services, Rehabilitation,		

¹ Respondents were not comfortable with tape recorder.

					Nursing, Elderly care		
2002- 2003	Swedish/ Sweden	6	2 hours	Recorded and transcribed	Whole-sale Education, Cleaning, Manufacturing , Design		
2008	Swedish/ Sweden	10	2 hours	Recorded and transcribed	Care-work, Nursing, Cleaning, Catering		
2012	Swahili/ Tanzania	10	1.5 hours	Detailed notes	Food- processing, Retailing, Handcraft, Construction, Office services		
2012	English/ Tanzania	2	1,5 hours	Recorded and transcribed	Manufacturing Organic farming		

Appendix 2

Re-analysed interviews from Sweden

<i>Name alias</i>	<i>Line of business</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Size of business</i>
Barbara	Rehabilitation and work integration	45	Small (10-49 employees)
Katarina	Residential care home for children	65	Micro (1-9 employees)
Margret	Elderly care home	50	Small
Ingegerd	Elderly care home	65	Micro
Siv	Elderly care home	60	Small
Lisa	Yoga	40	Micro
Erika	Midwife	40	Micro
Lotta	Cleaning services	60	Small
Maria	Cleaning services	35	Micro
Maja	School	55	Small

Re-analysed interviews from Tanzania

<i>Name alias</i>	<i>Line of business</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Size of business</i>
Mary	Food processing	40	Micro
Patricia	Retail	45	Micro
Karen	Chicken breeding	35	Small (10-49 employees)
Jasmine	Cosmetics production	40	Small
Fatima	Spice trade	45	Micro
Veronica	Construction	40	Small
Barika	Handcraft	30	Small
Kaisa	Handcraft	50	Micro
Anum	Food processing	55	Small
Olivia	Printing	25	Micro (1-9 employees)

erprising Communities: People and Places in the G

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46