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MASTER THESIS

Female Entrepreneurship in Uganda: Manoeuvring gendered spaces

by

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This thesis is written
in dedication to the critical goal of a world with gender equality, where women and men, boys
and girls enjoy equally their human rights

Abstract

Sub-Saharan Africa is a region currently facing the problem of sufficient job creation due to the young population steadily entering the labour market. A key role can be played by women, who seize economic opportunities and contribute to essential job creation through their entrepreneurial activities. Sub-Saharan African countries, and Uganda in particular, have the highest entrepreneurship rates in the world. In fact, more women than men engage in entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, women in Uganda also spend twice as much time on unpaid care work, putting them in a disempowered position vis-à-vis men. As a result, promoting female entrepreneurship has become a key policy focus of national governments and international development organisations. It is intended to support the equal participation of women in productive employment and correspondingly foster their empowerment process. Therefore, this thesis explores the empowering effects of female entrepreneurship and the contributions of national governments and cooperation agencies.

The thesis is based on a policy analysis consisting of the strategies of the Ugandan government as well as the measures of the Women Entrepreneurship for Africa (WE4A) programme of the German development agency GIZ to analyse contextual obstacles in the empowerment process. The study offers an outlook on policy implications and measures for possible application in future programs. Beyond that, it uncovers sociocultural norms that influence the empowerment process through an in-depth qualitative analysis of ten interviews with female entrepreneurs and selected experts. The study offers insight into the empowerment process triggered by women's entrepreneurship by reporting on individual experiences and social practices regarding the gendered division of unpaid care and household tasks. In doing so, areas of women's agentic independence and their contribution to the collective empowerment process are explored. The study highlighted the multidimensionality of the empowerment process and addressed women's views and interpretations of empowerment through entrepreneurship. The findings revealed both empowering effects for women entrepreneurs and remaining challenges due to discriminatory structures and entrenched power dynamics.

Keywords

Female entrepreneurship; Gender; Empowerment; Uganda; Motherhood

Official statement of original thesis

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List of Abbreviations

BMZ: German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development

COVID-19: Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2

EAC: East African Community

ECCE: Early Childhood Care Education

EU: European Union

EUR: Euro

E4D: Employment and Skills for Development in Africa

GAD: Gender and Development

GBV: Gender-based Violence

GEM: Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

GIZ: Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

ICT: Information and Communication Technology

MIWE: Mastercard Index Women Entrepreneurs

MoES: Ministry of Education and Sports

MoGLSD: Ministry of Gender, Labour, Social Development

MSMEs: Micro-, Small-, Medium Enterprises

MTIC: Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives

NDP III: National Development Plan III

NPA: National Planning Authority

OACPS: Organisation of African, Caribbean, and Pacific States

PAD: Postmodernism and Development

SAP: Social Adjustment Programme

SAFEEM: Swiss Association for Entrepreneurship in Emerging Markets

SDG: Sustainable Development Goals

SPD: Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

SSA: Sub-Sahara Africa

TEF: Tony Elumelu Foundation

UBOS: Ugandan Bureau of Statistics

UCDW: Unpaid Care and Domestic Work

UGP: Uganda Gender Policy

UN: United Nations

UNHS: Uganda National Household Survey

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UWEAL: Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Association Limited

WE4A: Women Entrepreneurship for Africa

WID: Women in Development

1 Introduction

With a rapidly growing labour force, Uganda – like many other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa – is facing the challenge of creating sufficient jobs for youth and women while simultaneously increasing the average labour productivity. Since the 2010s, the country registered rates of decreasing labour force participation of women and youth (Merotto, 2019). However, there is much potential to harness – Ugandan women are highly entrepreneurial, with one of the highest rates of female entrepreneurship worldwide (MIWE, 2022). With their entrepreneurial activities, women business owners contribute substantially to economic development and social progress (Bullough et al., 2021). Therein, women-owned businesses play a pivotal role in job creation and poverty alleviation (Andom et al., 2018). Unfortunately, prevailing gender norms and cultural perceptions about women's role in society lead to negative implications for women's economic participation and entrepreneurship, holding back women's empowerment. Especially the expectation of women's intensive involvement in unpaid care and domestic work (UCDW) often remains an unrecognised factor (Brush et al., 2009). In their mutual goal to enhance women's empowerment, the Ugandan government and international development organisations are joining forces and aligning their efforts in promoting female entrepreneurship to catalyse the process of gender equality.

Nevertheless, the characteristics of women-owned businesses vary to a great extent. While compared to men, women operate relatively small ventures, the number of women with an altering profile is emerging in Uganda. Equipped with higher levels of education and working experience, they seek opportunities in an emerging market economy (Aterido et al., 2011; Singh et al., 2010). Those small and medium-sized woman-led enterprises in emerging market economies represent a relatively new phenomenon in academic research respectively and are topic of this thesis.

Despite the increasing rates, little is known about the interplay between the empowerment process and the entrepreneurial activities of those women (Ng et al., 2022) in Uganda. Although discriminatory practices in the economic domain and social space negatively affect women-owned businesses, they are seemingly not holding them back from following their business objectives. Furthermore, national and international efforts are put in place to support women in their ventures. Therefore, the empowering potential should be seen in close connection to the gendered environment, women's entitlement to act, and entrepreneurial support measures. Keeping in mind that empowered individuals are enabled to lead processes of social transformation (Rowlands, 1997), thus, additionally requires closer examination of interplays between women's entrepreneurship and its reinforcing effects on other community members.

1.1 Research Aim and Questions

The thesis aims at making the following scientific contributions. Analysing their entrepreneurial process through a feminist lens provides a better understanding of the relationship between the entrepreneurial experiences of women and their individual empowering effects.

Therefore, women's entrepreneurship and empowerment are conceptualised as socially embedded processes (Brush et al., 2009) that can initiate further social transformation (Rowlands, 1997). Hence, women's entrepreneurial experiences regarding their potential for individual and collective value creation are studied by applying the empowerment approach (Rowlands, 1997). Accounting for the intersectional aspect of the social background supports the investigation of the relationship between female entrepreneurial activities and the empowerment process specifically for the women entrepreneurs selected for that study, which show the above-defined characteristics (Ng et al., 2022).

In conducting a policy analysis of national and international strategies for entrepreneurship promotion using a gender-sensitive approach (Brush et al., 2009), the activities of venturing women will be embedded into the context of Central Uganda. Especially the division of unpaid labour will be examined as a potential breaking point for women's empowerment using the Triple R framework (Esquivel, 2014). Due to the interplay of national and international interests, the alignment of their pursuits is analysed to highlight joint efforts regarding female entrepreneurship promotion and its contribution to empowerment, using a German development cooperation project as a case study. Correspondingly, the potential for job and public value creation as well as pathway to gender equality, not only in Uganda but also in other countries, is examined, including areas for future action.

Therefore, this study engages with the following research question and respective sub-questions:

How do the female entrepreneurial process and its encountered barriers affect individual and collective forms of empowerment in Central Uganda considering women's entrepreneurship promotion?

(1) What individual and collective accomplishments in the empowerment process can be derived from women's entrepreneurship?

(2) How do women entrepreneurs in Uganda perceive the gendered challenges in following their business activities, and how do they approach them?

(3) To what extent does the gendered division of care and domestic work represent a challenge to women's entrepreneurship journey?

(4) How does development cooperation contribute to Uganda's governmental strategy to strategically further enhance the empowerment of female entrepreneurs in Uganda?

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

The remainder of this thesis is organised as follows. In chapter two, the theoretical foundation is outlined, building on a short literature review to provide insights into current research on the topic of female entrepreneurship in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and Uganda. The subsequent chapter three elaborates on the methodological approach and the research process. It gives insights into limitations, ethical considerations, and positionality aspects. Chapter four entails context descriptions to build the regional framework. This is followed by an outline of the political framework conditions and the project used as a case study. Chapter five reports on the empirical findings and critically discusses the empirical research results. The thesis closes by laying out scientific contributions and further research directions in chapter six and gives concluding remarks in chapter seven.

2 Review of Relevant Theories and Literature

This chapter will describe key theories concerning unpaid care work, women's entrepreneurship, and empowerment. First, it will elaborate on how the topic of unpaid care work became part of the thinking in gender and development studies. Second, the debate on women's empowerment will be described. Thirdly, the concept of entrepreneurship and 'opportunity-driven' entrepreneurship is introduced, including the aspects of embeddedness theory and the family dimension in female entrepreneurship research. Lastly, a short literature review is executed to

present the current state of research. The analysis will use those concepts and inform the interpretative discussion of data.

2.1 Feminist theory: The Recognition of Global Gender Inequalities

With the rise of feminism in the early 1960s, women's unrecognised contribution to unpaid care work received increased attention in political discussions. Women's movements of that time demonstrated against discriminatory social institutions, socio-economic gender inequalities, and stereotypes of gender roles (Ferrant et al., 2014). Consequently, feminist and economist theories addressed in the academic debate not only women's role in the household but also their position in the political system and economic markets (Nelson, 1995). As a result, women's unpaid care and domestic work (UCDW) was recognised as a crucial economic activity and social good that contributes to the well-being of individuals, families as well as social welfare (Ferrant et al., 2014).

The Women in Development (WID) debate which emerged during the 1970s, picked up the topic of women making productive contributions to society. Emphasising women's engagement in domestic work and agriculture, WID enhanced the visibility of women's work by pointing out their essential role in society. Even more, the potential of increasing production by bringing women into the labour force was emphasised. Ignoring the role of women in the reproductive realm, however, WID built its framework to include women in economic activities only on their expected contribution to economic development (Koczberski, 1998). Nonetheless, the time spent on UCDW was not declining. On the contrary, today, women worldwide spend two to ten times more hours on UCDW than men (Ferrant et al., 2017). As a result, women see themselves confronted with a "double burden" consisting of paid work and UCDW, as additionally, the value of care work remains undervalued. Furthermore, women's entrance into the labour force did not simultaneously enhance their position in society. Women are exposed to prevailing discrimination, which can be explicitly demonstrated by the gender pay gap, women's limited representation in managerial positions or boards of directors, as well as incidences of sexual harassment in the workplace (Okille, 2020). Due to this, women can still not harness the full benefits of productive work as experienced by men.

More radical feminist voices called for a new understanding that acknowledges the subordinate position of women and the resulting impediment to participating, for instance, in the economy or decision-making processes, additionally placing value on their social contributions and responsibilities. Consequently, feminist economics emerged, representing discontent with male-dominated neoclassical economics (Nelson, 1995). Foremost, they criticised the basis of neoliberal economics, hence, the rational choice model. Additionally, they illustrated the limited attention that is paid to non-monetary economic operations by simultaneously pointing out the importance of social relations. It became clear that neoliberalism did not recognise the relevance of subsistence and care work carried out by women (Koczberski, 1998). Feminist scholars criticised the impact of international politics following the Social Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) during the 1980s and 1990s on women, as state expenditure dramatically decreased. As a result, the neoliberal approach of the SAPs reduced public spending in developing countries, mainly affecting the distribution of social security, public healthcare, and education. The simultaneous privatisation left women with diminished welfare and a significant burden regarding UCDW.

A significant addition to the debate was made by Marxist feminism in connecting women's subordinate position to the patriarchal system as well as capitalism. The Marxist perspective therein elaborates how institutions such as marriage sustained the dominant male position and the capitalistic mode of production. Household and domestic work were seen as a parallel system that reproduced the prevailing capitalist structure through women's unpaid reproduction

work at the service of men. These aspects should unite women beyond social classes to actively engage in overthrowing the capitalist system. Demanding women's access to the labour market, Marxist feminists expected a rise in women's emancipation through the increase in women's economic independence and decision-making power.

Besides economic causes, the following feminist movements called Gender and Development (GAD) added institutional factors, such as social values, norms, and broader power relations, to the discussion on women's subordinated position in society, expanding feminism to the discipline of gender studies (Folbre, 2006). Additionally, it was emphasised how the gender system constructed the feminisation of care work by defining the responsibilities and roles of women and men (Folbre, 2006). The male breadwinner model illustrates a common form of a persisting construction that shows the sexual division of labour. While men dedicate more time to paid labour, women are urged to fulfil the tasks of care work despite their increased labour participation (Folbre, 2006). It was recognised that women are not a homogenous group and that the sexual division of labour affects women differently depending on belonging to a class and ethnicity. The Black feminist, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, introduced and elaborated the term 'intersectionality', which is today commonly used within feminist theory (Carastathis, 2014). It recognises the simultaneity of multiple, intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender systems. Depending on the social structure and individual background, the lived experience of discrimination and exclusion can vary (Carastathis, 2014).

The GAD scholar argued that those gender relations, such as the universal breadwinner model (Folbre, 2006), resulted in disadvantages in the labour market due to women's time poverty. Instead, it also highlights that women are deprived of other capabilities such as education, political participation, and citizenship, further affecting their personal life choices. Responding to the discussion on gender inequality, post-modern feminist scholars stressed the importance of disconnecting the human need for care from feminine attributes. Therefore, the emerging Post-modernism and Development (PAD) scholar encouraged to challenge intrahousehold relations and allocations of tasks by transforming 'traditional' notions of masculinity and femininity (Parpart, 1993). Adhering to post-modernist and post-colonialist scholars, PAD criticised the previous attempts in development for their missing transformative approaches. They argued that previous liberal pursuits were unaware of women's systematic injustices and disempowerment by imposing the double burden of paid and reproductive work on them. Pointing out the power of discourse and Eurocentric construction of "Third World women", PAD promotes a collective dialogue (Parpart, 1993).

Becoming a policy issue on the international development agenda (Esquivel, 2014), a framework with a transformative approach to care was proposed. This approach aims to change care provision following the concept of recognising, reducing, and redistributing care, also called the Triple R Framework (Esquivel, 2014). The framework considers the private and economic dimensions of caregiving. Firstly, as achieved through WID, women's care work obligations were recognised and made evident. Secondly, in line with GAD, impediments for women arising from the unequal distribution of care work also reflecting on the underlying power relations are considered. Lastly, it is interested in achieving a reallocation of care work responsibilities among gender and institutions by transforming social norms and gender values which matches the claim of the PAD movement (Esquivel, 2014).

The dimension of *recognition* acknowledges not only who contributes to care work in each context but also how much time is dedicated and what nature the caretaking tasks are. Moreover, it is avoided to take the provision of UCDW for granted. It also means that attention is paid to underlying norms and values that impose the responsibility for care on women. Respectively, *reduction* in care work can be achieved by implementing time and labour-saving technologies,

thus providing a gain to the caregiving individual in time and health. Finally, the *redistribution* of care work can manifest in the private space through the equal engagement of women and men in care work. Redistribution, however, goes along with shifts in laws, institutions, norms, and regulations. By supporting the provision of care services and the possibilities for households to access them, the distribution of care has a public dimension (Esquivel, 2014). With the support of public institutions, possible measures are the provision of quality public care services and universal access to them. In understanding the background, the discourse can be entered to challenge those social norms resulting in improvements in women's empowerment (Esquivel, 2014). However, "care continues to be considered a women's issue" (Esquivel 2014, p. 425).

As outlined above, different strands of knowledge shed light on the issue of persisting gender inequalities that the social organisation of care perpetuates. Assembling all their lines of thought, the Triple R Framework was established and is now commonly used in international development. The debate recognises caregiving as an essential social good for the development of human capabilities and highlights how women's unpaid care work obligations affect their own capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000). The relevance of challenging sustaining structures and promoting women's empowerment is highlighted in emphasising the complex roots of women's subordination.

2.2 The Concept of Empowerment

As an important contributor to the development of the empowerment approach, Moser (1989) worked on a detailed description of the social realities of women in countries of the Global South. In this context, Moser coined the term triple burden, which describes women's engagement in productive labour, reproductive care, and communal work and thus, highlighting the prevailing gender norms and power relations (Esquivel, 2014). Another established perspective on female UCDW is included in Martha Nussbaum's Human Capabilities Approach (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000). It deals with enabling people to live a life they perceive as worth living and emphasises the interdependence of humankind. Hence, it points out the indispensability of care work provision as precondition to human capabilities. Albeit important, Nussbaum stressed that care responsibilities should not be performed at the expense of the caregiver's capabilities. She argues that the unremunerated care activities of women reduce their capabilities in education, income, leisure, and social and political participation (Nussbaum, 2000).

The early conceptual work done by feminist authors such as Kabeer (1994), Rowlands (1997), and Batliwala (1993) provided important insights into the contemporary approach to women's empowerment in development. In general, empowerment describes a process of an individual being empowered (Huis et al., 2017). Individual empowerment therein enhances capacities and increases decision-making power. As such, empowerment should be about changing power relations and giving women access to means of power. In exercising individual choice, three elements are required: resources, agency, and achievements. While resources describe the individual's equipment with different forms of capital, it also captures the expectations associated with it (Serrat, 2008). Agency refers to the ability to set own goals and follow them (Huis et al., 2017), hence, addressing the ability to convert capabilities into functionings (Sen, 1999). Lastly, achievements are used to express the specific outcomes achieved using resources and agency. It is emphasized, however, that access to assets and economic resources alone as development intervention is insufficient. Consequently, empowerment is "not something that can be done *to* or *for* anyone else" (Cornwall 2016, p. 344). Instead, confidence and critical consciousness about their position must be built. Creating collective awareness about the roots of social subordination, respectively motivates collective action to induce social change (Cornwall, 2016). Further, it is articulated that the concept is at risk of losing its transformative character if these relational and processual trades are not acknowledged. Empowerment should not be captured

in a simple metric as it would undermine that empowerment is neither a fixed condition nor completed at a fixed value but rather an ongoing process.

Correspondingly, defining power as coming at the expense of others (*'power over'*) was not conducive to the concept of empowerment, as feminist scholars argued. Instead, they used several nuances of power to define the empowerment concept. The expression *'power to'* was adopted to describe its transformative potential to challenge existing power structures. Fighting internalised oppression, Rowlands (1997) pointed out that empowerment is more than just given to an individual; insistently, it is about perceiving oneself as having those decision-making capacities and feeling entitled to act. This can be related to the individual and woman as a group pointing toward the relational quality of power. Described with the concept *'power with'*, it should capture women's encouragement to collective action motivated by a critical consciousness about their position (Cornwall, 2016). The term *'power from within'* mainly reflects confidence and self-respect, which is extended to other individuals in collective forms of engagement (Rowlands, 1997).

According to Ng et al. (2022), empowering dimensions are inherent to entrepreneurship promotion as it entails livelihood improvements in equipping people with business capabilities. However, entrepreneurship scholars highlight a mixed outcome for social change derived from female entrepreneurs operating in discriminating environments (Ng et al., 2022). To account for those differences, scholars began to apply an intersectional perspective on the topic. They included influences such as gender, socio-economic class, and patriarchy in the research on women entrepreneurs, highlighting further the impact of formal and informal institutional contexts (Ng et al., 2022). As pointed out, the environment is an influential factor for female entrepreneurial activities, hence, the following section describes contextual conditions and elaborates on different notions of female entrepreneurship in this regard.

2.3 Contextualising Female Entrepreneurship

The current understanding of entrepreneurship in social sciences is predominantly based on the institutional approach of embeddedness (Hansen, 1995). This section derives the origins of the entrepreneurial concept and reflects on the different typologies of entrepreneurship. Subsequently, the embeddedness approach in entrepreneurship research is outlined, providing another vital research concept for this thesis.

2.3.1 Entrepreneurship as a research concept

The research field on entrepreneurship is characterised by its multidisciplinary recognition (Landström & Benner, 2010). As a complex phenomenon, entrepreneurship emerged in the 19th century as a broad field of study with several theoretical lenses, initially originating in economics and was extended by social sciences (Landström & Benner, 2010). The most influential contribution to entrepreneurship theory in the economic discipline came from Josef Schumpeter. Schumpeter's initial input stimulated further research placing entrepreneurship into a social, cultural, and economic context. He defined the entrepreneur as essential to economic growth by creating innovations and disrupting the market equilibrium (Schumpeter, 1934). Tracing back economic activity to individual action, the economist Menger emphasised that "economic changes do not take place in a vacuum but are created by individuals' awareness and understanding of a given situation" (Landström & Benner, 2010). Bringing those ideas together, Kirzner developed the concept of the entrepreneur being an 'agent of change', "who alters to imperfections in the market thanks to information about the needs and resources" (Landström & Benner 2010, p. 24).

In the mid-twentieth century, entrepreneurship as an empirical phenomenon was taken up by other social sciences. Sociology dealt foremost with the social impacts of entrepreneurship, whereas psychology was interested in the personality traits of entrepreneurs (Landström & Benner, 2010). Max Weber (1930) identified specific working and income earning attitudes, which he traced back to the Protestant work ethic. He described them as facilitators of entrepreneurial forces and capitalism in society (Landström & Benner, 2010). Research in the 1940s further elaborated structural factors of entrepreneurship, drawing on Talcott Parsons' structural-functional theory, which emphasizes the historical context as well as social, cultural, and institutional factors that shape the entrepreneurial force in a particular national setting (Landström & Benner, 2010). With the emergence of agency-centred theories such as network approaches (Granovetter, 1973), the individual was brought back to the centre of research. In this context, research concentrated on entrepreneurs' structural and network embeddedness (Landström & Benner, 2010).

Until the 1990s, entrepreneurship research was dominated by the perspective of being masculine, following a male business model. Additionally, most research was conducted in a setting of developed economies. Understanding entrepreneurship from a feminist perspective reveals the phenomenon as highly gendered, with differences between male and female business owners (Yadav & Unni, 2016). Splintered research on the issue without a clear theoretical focus laid open a gender gap in academic research (Brush et al., 2009). Bird and Brush (2002) described previous entrepreneurship research as a “‘man’s domain’” (p. 41) celebrating male entrepreneurs and business hierarchs. Moreover, it revealed the need for a separate theoretical framework to study women’s entrepreneurship (de Bruin et al., 2007).

2.3.2 A gender-aware framework of female entrepreneurship

Building on existing literature, Brush et al. (2009) proposed a gender-aware framework for furthering a holistic understanding of female entrepreneurship. The framework consists of five dimensions. The so-called 3M framework is articulated through the dimensions ‘market’, ‘money’, and ‘management’. Brush et al. (2009) added the constructs ‘motherhood’ and ‘meso/macro environment’, extending it to a ‘5M’ framework. Bates et al. (2007) derived the framework from the different themes of entrepreneurial activities that mainly originated in the discipline of economics. They highlighted market, money, and management as the building blocks of entrepreneurial activity and how encountered barriers can limit enterprise formation. Firstly, the dimension ‘market’ refers to the capability of accessing underserved markets and exploiting niches that offer profitable returns (Bates et al., 2007). Secondly, the term ‘management’ entails the equipment of the entrepreneur with all kinds of knowledge and skills, including work experience. Lastly, the term ‘money’ represents the financial dimension of business operations, capturing the possibility to access capital and credit to satisfy financial needs. Together, they build the prerequisites for successfully venturing and operating a business (Bates et al., 2007).

Offering a gender-aware framework of female entrepreneurship, Brush et al. (2019) explained female entrepreneurship beyond the economic dimension drawing on feminist approaches. The authors emphasised that the discussion on women’s UCDW, which emerged in development studies, mainly informed the two added categories of the 5M framework. The dimension ‘meso/macro environment’ positions women’s entrepreneurship activities in a social context. It captures the role of “‘expectations of society and cultural norms (macro), and intermediate structures and institutions” (Brush et al., p.9). Furthermore, attention is paid to “‘the roles society ascribes to women and difficulties female entrepreneurs (perceive to) face in entering entrepreneurship and growing their business” (Brush et al., 2009, p. 18). This can be traced back to Polanyi (1944), who developed the model of embedded economies and markets, stating that the

social context and non-economic institutions shape economic activities. Hence, social embeddedness also relates to the values and norms immanent to society and the socio-political system.

Additional insights into female entrepreneurship can be generated by using the ‘family embeddedness perspective’, which was proposed by Aldrich and Cliff (2003) and informed the category ‘motherhood’. The authors highlighted the interrelatedness of the family and the entrepreneurial processes. They found that family dynamics are essential in the process of business creation by affecting the opportunities recognised and the actual realisation of the business (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Newman et al., 2021), which can stimulate changes in family values, norms, and attitudes. The fourth dimension, ‘motherhood’, thus, highlights the “household and family context of female entrepreneurs” (Brush et al., p.8).

Overall, operationalising the household composition and the institutional environment can be used to reveal gendered power relations within households and society that affect female entrepreneurship (Brush et al., 2009). Gendered power relations in the family can manifest through unequal division of labour and access to household assets. Resulting time constraints and verifiable collateral can subsequently impact the level of access to markets, financial capital, and equipment with skills (Brush et al., 2009). Referring to the macro environment, which is defined as policies, laws, culture, and the economy exerts a strong external effect on women-owned businesses. Women have little means to control the macro environment. Overarching policies and societal norms affect women by framing prevailing gender roles and socialisation in the first place. Brush et al. (2009) elaborated on the importance of institutions in the analyses of women's entrepreneurship. They state that “institutional frameworks signal acceptable choices and determine which norms and behaviours are socialised into individuals and organisations in particular societies” (Brush et al. 2009, p. 11f.), further impacting different decision-making contexts. This is a reciprocal mechanism, as it affects not only women's perceptions of their own opportunities but also how others perceive their businesses. Overarching institutions are complemented by structures on the intermediate level, such as occupational networks (Granovetter, 1973) and business associations, representing the meso environment (Brush et al., 2009). Separating social relations and networks from the macro institutional structures emphasised especially “non-economic gender differences that pose unique challenges to women's enterprise” (Brush et al. 2009, p. 12).

As indicated in the introduction, various forms of female entrepreneurship exist in Uganda. This research engages with a specific group of entrepreneurs labelled ‘opportunity-driven’ entrepreneurs in the literature. Accounting for differences in the vast entrepreneurial ecosystem, the characteristics of female entrepreneurs are contrasted in the following section. Here, intersectionality plays an important role, as, besides gender, the class of the female entrepreneur can impact the characteristics of enterprises.

2.3.3 The emergence of female opportunity-driven entrepreneurship

In emerging market economies, micro-, small-, and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) contribute to most of the employment in the private sector. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) revealed that throughout sectors, in comparison to men, women operate relatively small ventures out of the necessity to earn additional family income (Hallward-Driemeier, 2013). However, women-led business performance varies greatly (World Bank, 2019). For instance, as highlighted in a study by Ellis et al. (2006), “rural women, poor women, and formal sector entrepreneurs” (p.74) differ in their needs and characteristics. Cultural factors undermining women's legal emancipation are especially prevalent in rural and poor communities.

Furthermore, families living in poverty put less emphasis on girls' education, instead grooming them for marriage. This leaves women from low-income families with lower levels of education

and little preparation for the labour market. Moreover, women receive limited information about their land rights, further perpetuating their landlessness. Hence, the limited economic independence of rural women and the need for income-generating activities make them increasingly dependent on their husbands and put them into the category of ‘necessity-driven entrepreneurs’ (Ellis et al., 2006).

Less emphasis in research was put on entrepreneurial activities of women from different backgrounds, which are captured under the term ‘opportunity-driven’ entrepreneurs. However, their contributions are considered especially relevant for poverty reduction, employment creation, and economic growth. Firstly, they are characterised by their ability to identify and use business opportunities for reaching financial independence and creating new or better products and services as well as employment opportunities (Mersha et al., 2010). Compared to ‘necessity-driven’ entrepreneurs, they also have higher levels of education, organisational and managerial skill, and capital available to them. Both classes of entrepreneurs, however, might engage in additional part-time employment to supplement business and family income. According to the definition of GEM (Reynolds et al., 2002), they differ significantly in the perception of the purpose of their business activities. Opportunity entrepreneurs seem to be driven by personal interests, wealth accumulation, and job creation aspirations rather than meeting ends (Mersha et al., 2010). The knowledge gap on ‘opportunity-driven’ female entrepreneurs in Uganda makes this an interesting area of research. The following chapter, therefore, explores the academic findings on women's entrepreneurship as yet available.

2.4 Literature Review: Female Entrepreneurship in African and Uganda

The literature review revealed that most information on female entrepreneurs in Uganda is about challenges women business owners encounter during the entrepreneurship journey. Specifically, gender-related challenges were identified and highlighted in the literature. For instance, Akanji (2016) found that encouraging policies are essential to women's entrepreneurship performance. Institutional support, hence, is a crucial success factor for female entrepreneurship. Mugabi (2014) engaged deeply with the barriers for women entrepreneurs facing gender norms in Uganda. He showed that they have difficulties accessing finance as cultural practices prohibit women from owning land, thus, missing out on required collateral. As a result, women rely on informal financial sources, including pitching grants, international donors, savings, family resources, or money lenders (Ojong et al., 2021).

Another institutional factor highlighted in the literature is corruption. The Corruption Perception Index for Uganda ranked 144/180 in 2021 (Transparency International, 2021). Therefore, operating in an environment of prevailing corruption makes it difficult for female business owners to find trustworthy business partners. Researching barriers for women-led businesses in Uganda's informal economy, Guma (2015) found that significantly more female-owned than male-owned businesses were confronted with corrupt practices such as bribery. Besides, women entrepreneurs are challenged by negative societal attitudes. Work, including entrepreneurship, is not perceived as an acceptable component of women's social roles (Mugabi, 2014). Acting against it, women even have to fear social devaluation, as shown in the study by Mulu et al. (2021).

Studying female entrepreneurship in Kampala, Monteith and Camfield (2019) discovered that young women followed entrepreneurship to generate income to provide for younger siblings or own children after formal education ended. Patriarchal norms and cultural attitudes are reinforced on the micro and macro-level, putting specific expectations on women. The study by Delecourt and Fitzpatrick (2021) examined the childcare constraints of female microentrepreneurs in Uganda. They found that 37% of women included in the study brought their children

with them to the store, resulting in a “baby-profit-gap”. Compared to this, 0% of men had children present in their shops (Delecourt & Fritzpatrick, 2021). Men are seen as breadwinners while women should stay home, responsible for the family's well-being and the household (Mugabi, 2014). Guma (2015) pointed out that demands about women's social roles are impediments to business operations, restricting them in mobility and time. Time and mobility impediments occur specifically when women take up care and domestic responsibilities when entering marriage and motherhood. Furthermore, contributions to the community are highly expected from both men and women, which can represent a time constraint but also holds some advantages (Mulu et al., 2021). According to Durston (1999), the community can provide a particular form of social capital to the individual, “which comprises the informal content of institutions that aim to contribute to the common good” (p. 103). The community as a social network can be an essential source of information and a provider of resources. Societal norms, however, were reported to reinforce gender roles (Mulu et al., 2021). Additionally, the acceptance of Gender-based Violence (GBV) in many African societies increases the risk for women entrepreneurs to experience inappropriate sexual approaches or even have to fight sexual harassment (Ojong et al., 2021). Overall, it is reported that female entrepreneurs are working more hours to meet business demands as well as social and familial responsibilities. In general, the effects of gender stereotypes are specifically exacerbated if women seek to start up their businesses in a male-dominated sector (Campos et al., 2018). Following the predominant view in the literature, entrepreneurship is connected to characteristics perceived as masculine, which is negatively affecting the credibility of female business ownership, as pointed out by Guma (2015).

Different forms of capital, such as human, social, and financial capital, are crucial preconditions and can be mobilised resources for the entrepreneurial journey (Bates et al., 2007). In the literature, it is emphasised that many women entrepreneurs have lower education levels than men (World Bank, 2019). Positive impacts of entrepreneurship training for female entrepreneurs are reported in Uganda (Gavigan et al., 2020). Hence offering women's entrepreneurship training is crucial to equip women with skills to manage their businesses (Ojong et al., 2021). Furthermore, accessing social capital through a broader network of peers, kin, and business relations enables women to realise opportunities, including skills and access to capital, get childcare support, or market their products. Being embedded in and coming from a specific social context can further impact the idea of the business and the kind of enterprise created (Ojong et al., 2021).

Findings regarding the empowerment aspect results remain vague. On the one hand, it was highlighted that female entrepreneurship affects women's empowerment in Africa (Ojong et al., 2021). It was emphasised that income generates independence from the husband because personal needs can be met by it. Furthermore, it affects women's self-esteem positively and also impacts their position in the community (Langevang & Gough, 2012). On the other hand, many women are still required to meet the care needs of the nuclear family, close relatives, and the community, decreasing the quality of work-life balance. Furthermore, women might face negative attitudes from communities and their husbands who are resentful about the women's entrepreneurial success. These standpoints are connected to the ingrained gender roles and characteristics assigned to the female gender by society (Guma, 2015). Beyond personal gains, women contribute to job creation and the well-being of society. Literature found that women-owned businesses employ more women than men. It was highlighted that entrepreneurial success is a source of inspiration. Other women are sometimes seeking advice from those female role models. It was further observed that female business owners give back to the community (Ojong et al., 2021). Bringing together the theoretical concepts outlined above, in the next subchapter, the conceptual research model will be presented.

2.5 Conceptual Research Model

The theoretical framework informs the research model in connecting the concepts of embedded entrepreneurial activities of female businesses (Brush et al., 2009) and the Triple R Framework (Esquivel, 2014) to infer the effects of individual and collective empowerment. The gender-aware framework of women entrepreneurship is operationalised to analyse relevant policy strategies as well as the case study of the Women Entrepreneurship for Africa (WE4A) programme, which is, among others, implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) . Additionally, it is used to explore gendered challenges experienced by women entrepreneurs and elaborate on the strategies women use to deal with them. Therefore, attention is paid to the unique local environment of women entrepreneurs in the Central Region of Uganda. For instance, due to social norms and cultural beliefs, women are seen as responsible for the family's well-being and functioning. Gendered power relations in general and, more specifically, regarding care work in society and the household thus, represent the nodal point of the gender-aware and the Triple R framework. It deepens the understanding of the societal roles and involvement of women entrepreneurs in care and domestic work. Correspondingly, it can be analysed how the family dimension is a distinct variable in women's entrepreneurship journeys and impacts the empowerment process.

The concept of empowerment (Rowlands, 1997) is operationalised to determine the empowering effects of the entrepreneurial process. Following the definition of Rowlands (1997), different forms of power are distinguished to highlight both individual and collective forms of empowerment. The results are used to derive policy implications and further cooperation potential regarding women's entrepreneurship and empowerment promotion.

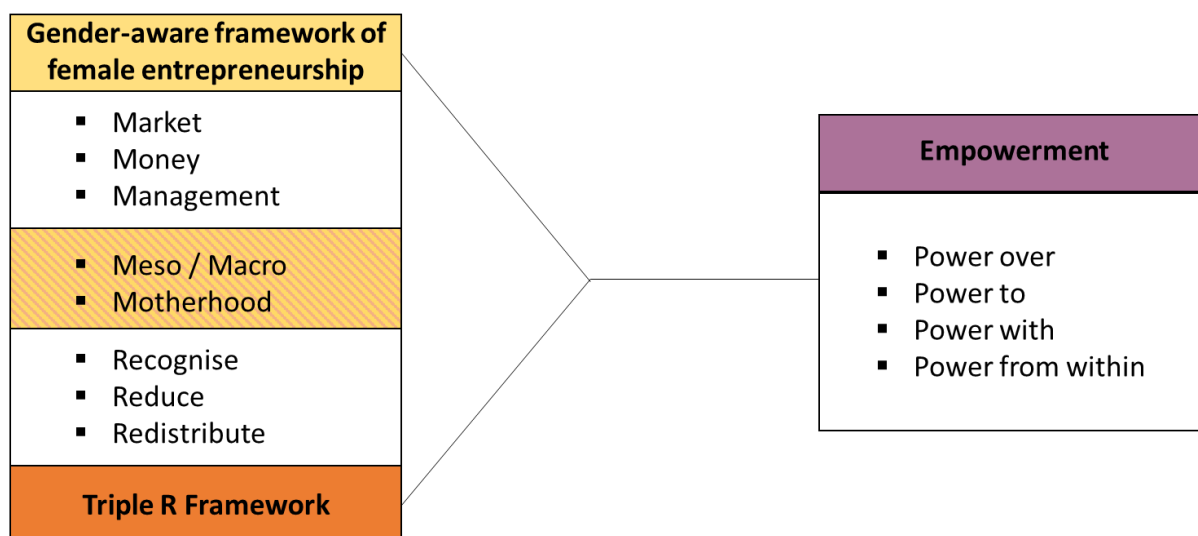


Figure 1: Conceptual Research Model (self-generated)

The next chapter describes the research design and the applied research methods in detail. It further includes the operationalisation of the theoretical concepts. Reporting essential steps in data collection and analyses, sub-section four critically reflects on ethics and the researcher's positionality.

3 Methodology

In alignment with the research questions, a qualitative research methodology was adopted. The investigation is based on the WE4A case study in Uganda, through which the research participants were found. Emphasis is placed on the individual experiences linked to each woman's

business to derive an understanding of women's entrepreneurship and empowerment in the specific social context of Uganda.

3.1 Justification of research design

The goal of this research is to obtain a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the entrepreneurial environment and its impact on women's social and economic empowerment, with a particular focus on childcare practices and entrepreneurship promotion measures. Situated within a qualitative research paradigm, this study operates from a constructivist position. The constructivist perspective apprehends interpretation as being understandings based on human-made constructs of reality (Hennink et al., 2020). Hence, meanings are highly context-specific as they are shaped by the social realities of the people involved.

In order to draw policy recommendations for the development practice, a qualitative approach is applied within this study as it allows for observing people's social realities. Correspondingly, qualitative research approaches are especially valuable when the perspective and experiences of the study participants are the focus of the research (Hennink et al., 2020). Furthermore, it is suitable for studies with an exploratory character. As only limited research on female entrepreneurship exists beyond the focus on microenterprises, an explorative case study suits the underlying research questions. In the following, the applied research methods are outlined.

3.1.1 Operationalisation of Concepts

Drawing on three theoretical building blocks, the conceptual research model (Figure 1) particularly investigates the links between entrepreneurship and individual and collective empowerment in a specific context. Therein, it emphasises the reciprocity of micro, macro and meso level factors in the empowerment process, paying specific attention to the household dimension. The operationalisation of the theoretical concepts is based on the previous insights from Chapter 2. The short literature review, found in Chapter 2.4, was conducted using the Scopus Document Search function. The search terms "Uganda" and "Entrepreneurship" were applied to generate an overview of existing reliable research. Uganda is a relatively new context of female entrepreneurship research. With the applied search terms, it was guaranteed to keep the literature exploration broad, thus, not missing out on crucial sources.

Furthermore, without doing ethnographic fieldwork, on-site observations of the context female entrepreneurs are embedded in could not be gathered. Hence, the regional context analysis of Uganda, specifically the central region, was conducted as a desk study in the subsequent chapter. Desk studies are used as a first step in the process of site appraisals and entail the collation as well as a review of information about a region (ST Consult, 2022). This form of research can also be captured under the term of ethnographic content analysis. Given (2014) describes the method as beneficial for the "description of contexts, underlying meanings, patterns, and processes" (p. 287). Therefore, these insights informed the operationalization found in column three of the table below. Correspondingly, the operationalisation facilitated the formulation of the interview questions and the subsequent development of the codebook.

Concept	Themes	Operationalisation
gender-aware framework of female entrepreneurship	Money	Access to financial means
	Market	Access to markets and information
	Management	Education
		Business skills
		Working Experience
	Meso/Macro	Social norms, culture, laws relevant for women's venturing
		Perceptions in the community about women's role in society
	Motherhood	Domestic work and Childcare
		Time Management
Women Empowerment	Individual empowerment	Individual goals and objectives
		Confidence/ self-esteem
		Perceived change of position in family/ community
	Collective empowerment	Female employment
		Mentorship
		Social enterprising
Triple R Framework	Recognition	change in underlying social norms
	Reduction	Time-saving strategies/tools
	Redistribution	State-led care facilities
		Father's involvement in care

Table 1: Operationalisation of Theoretical Concepts

3.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The process of data collection and analysis consists of two qualitative research steps. First, remote interviews with women entrepreneurs in Uganda and GIZ personnel connected to the WE4A project were conducted and analysed. Secondly, relevant policy documents were examined to accompany and give context to relevant national and international strategies to promote female entrepreneurship and enhance women's empowerment.

3.2.1 Conducting and Analysing In-depth Interviews

To engage with the underlying research questions, the method of in-depth semi-structured interviews was applied. Two interview guides were developed, which can be found in Appendix 3 and Appendix 4. The method is characterized by preparing an interview guide consisting of open questions based on operationalising the theoretical framework. Furthermore, having open questions allows for more flexible answers by the respondents. This prevents the researcher from guiding the interviewees to give a desirable answer (Hennink et al., 2020). Therein, developing a semi-structured interview design makes it possible to follow unanticipated topics if they arise during interviews (Newman et al., 2021). A guide is further guaranteeing the conciseness of the interviews. All interviews were conducted in English and took about 60 to 90 minutes. The data collection process of the interviews started end of April 2022.

An invitation letter to participate in the research was circulated via an email distribution list to reach out to female entrepreneurs in Uganda. Due to high data security standards, the participant list of the female entrepreneurs that took part in the WE4A programme could not be accessed. The response to the invitation was very limited, however, three women replied to the request. Difficulties with conducting online interviews occurred as the MS Teams environment was not an appropriate channel. To solve this problem, the messenger service WhatsApp was identified as being in common usage among female entrepreneurs in Uganda, thus, the interviews were conducted via WhatsApp video call. After the first interview, the participant proposed to share the invitation letter among her peers in some WhatsApp Groups. Afterwards, some more female entrepreneurs reached out and gave consent to participate in the research. The interviews with female entrepreneurs from Uganda were conducted to engage with sub-questions one to three. Thus, insight into the entrepreneurship journey of the women and their involvement in family work was gathered. In asking women entrepreneurs about their everyday life and experiences around business operations, including participation in the WE4A project, the entrepreneurial life course is reconstructed to understand the complexities of their lived realities. This provided the basis for analysing how entrepreneurship affects them regarding the empowerment process. Overall, six female entrepreneurs from Uganda were interviewed. An overview of basic characteristics of the interviewees regarding their business and family situations be found in Appendix 1.

Additionally, four expert interviews with GIZ employees were conducted. Two of them are in charge of the project management and implementation of the WE4A programme. Furthermore, one person working in the competence centre on gender and employment promotion and one gender focal person was interviewed. A participant list can be found in Annex 2. The interviews provided in-depth information about the WE4A project in Uganda. The expert interviews aimed to engage with the perspective of development cooperation, gain knowledge about current practices and learnings, and discuss ways to enhance the gender-sensitive planning of entrepreneurship projects. The expert interviews were relevant to elaborate on sub-question four which engages with the policy dimension.

The application of in-depth interviews as a research method in an online environment posed the following challenges. As discussed by Engward et al. (2022), remote research offers, on the one hand, a time-saving way of coming together without needing to travel across distances, especially in the light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Also, the recruitment of interview respondents can be facilitated through online communication. On the other hand, the process of establishing rapport and building an intimate relationship with the respondent was described as challenging. Without physical interaction, the closing of the meeting abruptly stops any interaction between researcher and participant (Engward et al., 2022).

Before analysing the data, all interviews were partially transcribed using Microsoft Office Word. The data was anonymised to ensure data security. Correspondingly, the data was coded using codes and subcodes that were created based on emerging themes related to the operationalised conceptual research model. Following the first coding round, categories were formed to continue the coding process iteratively. The qualitative data analysis software Nvivo was used to organise the codes and generate overviews of relevant re-emerging patterns. The categories that reflect the theoretical concepts are presented in the table below.

Statements	Code Categories	Theoretical Concept
Personal goals and achievements/ impacts, business objectives/ ambitions as well as expression of collective support	Power over, power with, power to, power from within	Individual and collective Empowerment as outcome
Identified barriers and sources of strength	Family, institutions, knowledge, finance, culture/ norms	Gender-aware entrepreneurship framework
Childcare and household responsibilities as well as external support received for care and domestic work	Recognition, Reduction, Redistribution	Unpaid Care and Domestic Work; Triple R Framework
Perception of gains from external support received for enterprise development	Skills, networks, finance	Empowerment as process

Table 2: Coding Table

3.2.2 Policies

To contextualise the premise of women's entrepreneurship and empowerment in Uganda, the data collection and analysis of the interviews are supported by an examination of the current aims and objectives followed by the Ugandan government. Public policies are instruments to address social issues through the implementation of strategies which, simultaneously, are meant to govern a system (Milovanovitch, 2018). The systematic investigation of existing policies supports this research by showing areas in need of improvement through the assessment of structural factors and socioeconomic environments (Milovanovitch, 2018). This step is undertaken to engage with the fourth sub-question and analyse how development cooperation contributes to the policy objectives of the country and identify further possibilities for cooperation.

The time frame of the policy strategies selected for the analysis starts with the approval of the vision statement “A Transformed Ugandan Society from a Peasant to a Modern and Prosperous Country within 30 years” (NPA, 2013) by the Ugandan Cabinet in 2007. Relevant policy documents found during a web search include the Gender Policy, the MSME policy, and the policy regarding early childhood care and education.

The information from the policy documents was used to saturate the insights about the context that were collected during interviews with female entrepreneurs and experts. Doing policy analysis is important to highlight how the national government approaches removing barriers

women face during their entrepreneurship journey. Challenges are categorised using the dimensions of the gender-aware framework for female entrepreneurship. In this way, relevant fields of action are identified, which are considered by national policies as well as the German development cooperation. For this purpose, the WE4A project is used as a case study example. An overview of the relevant policies and dimensions can be found in the table below.

Policy	Dimensions
The Uganda Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) Policy (MTIC, 2015)	Macro/Market/Money/Management: Consideration of the gendered challenges regarding the institutional facilitation and promotion of entrepreneurship
The Uganda Gender Policy (MoGLSD, 2007)	Meso/Macro: Consideration of gender equality as policy objective to end discriminating legal and social practices
The Early Childhood Care and Education Policy (MoES, 2018)	Micro/Macro: Provision of childcare support as means for recognising, reducing, and re-distributing childcare responsibilities

Table 3: Overview of Relevant Policies

In reflecting on current policy strategies and the involvement of international cooperation, policy implications can be identified. Taking together the experiences of female entrepreneurs and the policy objectives can help to improve further the action of relevant stakeholders in the field of empowerment. By catering specifically to the needs of the target group, this can contribute to the process of empowerment.

3.3 Limitations of the Study

The sample of women entrepreneurs represents a distinct group that can draw on high educational backgrounds and working experiences. The target group of the WE4A programme, however, is more diversified. The project included women entrepreneurs operating in different sectors and stages of business creation. Hence, the findings are not generalisable for the whole programme. Further, this study contains only a small sample size. Among WE4A colleagues, it was discussed that, in general, low response rates to requests or invitations might be due to women struggling with their businesses or already dropping out of business activities. Hence, many women might not follow entrepreneurship anymore and, correspondingly, could not be reached. As a result, their entrepreneurship experience and if they connect it with empowerment could not be captured. For instance, having trouble talking freely about their businesses' performance could further indicate a deference effect (Hennink et al., 2020).

Generally, sample sizes in qualitative research are relatively small based on the in-depth character of the analysis and the information richness of the interviewing method (Vasileiou et al., 2018). It was tried to mitigate the low response rate from female entrepreneurs in reaching out to local organisations for key informant interviews. Unfortunately, the contacted organisations, Akina Mama Wa Africa, Lionesses of Africa, and the Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Association (UWEAL), were unavailable for interviews. Due to the scope of this study and the time constraints, triangulation was applied by adding a policy analysis component to the study de-

sign. Triangulation implies using multiple data sources to provide a comprehensive understanding (Carter et al., 2014). Through the policy analysis, additional valuable information on the institutional context could be provided to support the qualitative analysis of the interviews.

3.4 Positionality of the Researcher and Ethical Considerations

Interacting as a researcher with research participants creates a unique relationship and raises ethical issues associated with the research methodology. Conducting interviews as “an outsider” of an ethnic community places the researcher in a more distant position. This can both be considered positive and negative. It places the researcher, on the one hand, in a more objective position. This has, however, been criticized as it also entails a power position of the researcher within the research process. On the other hand, being considered an outsider can make the process of accessing the target population more challenging, as well as building an initial state of rapport necessary. Furthermore, an outsider might formulate research questions, not of social relevance to the research population. This can evoke feelings of inadequate representation by the researcher (Woods, 2019). As Hennink et al. (2020) emphasised in qualitative research, the researcher's positionality, including personal background, appearance, gender and attitude, can impact the conversation and the answers given. How the interviewer is perceived impacts the degree of rapport that is developed, thus, the quality of the data.

Additionally, it is important to consider power relations that are established depending on how the researcher makes its introduction. The relationship between interviewer and respondents was subjectively experienced as happening on equal terms with respect and curiosity for each other's work. Women entrepreneurs seemed to be pleased about the interest of a researcher from a different background and talked openly about their personal lives, thoughts, and experiences. Despite the differences in age, culture, and social background, being female as a researcher and talking about inequality and gendered norms might have been more comfortable for the exclusively female interviewees. Reflection on those similarities and differences was an important internal and thoughtful process for the researcher. Although the interviewees had no financial or material gain from participating, it appeared valuable to them to share their experience and support in raising awareness of the gendered dimension of entrepreneurship in Uganda.

The following ethical considerations were consciously followed that were outlined by Arifin (2018). First, the research participants were adequately informed about the data use, purpose, and process of the research. After this step, orally informed consent was obtained from all participants. The interviewees were guaranteed their voluntary participation and informed about their right to refuse to give answers to questions they felt uncomfortable with. Furthermore, they were given the possibility of terminating the interview process at any point. Interviews were carried out under the chosen condition of the respondents by letting them set the date and time of the interview. Lastly, to ensure anonymity, personal data such as names, which could indicate the identities of respondents, has not been revealed in the process of analysis or reporting. Transcripts and interview notes were stored and secured to respect personal privacy. Thus, the data gathered could not be accessed by any third party during the stages of the thesis project.

Cultural as well as linguistic barriers were considered before starting the interview process. Interviewing experts and doing a desk study on the context before conducting the interviews with women entrepreneurs provided at least a basic understanding of the participant's cultural backgrounds. It increased the awareness of vulnerabilities many Ugandan women might face and how to approach them best not to impose potential harm on the participants. Common languages are the local language Luganda as well as English and Swahili as the two official lan-

guages of the country. The research population, consisting of participants from the WE4A projects, guaranteed that all female entrepreneurs had English language skills, as the training was in English.

During an interview, one participant experienced higher level of emotional distress due to her personal background situation. She started crying while talking about her feelings and insecurities regarding the future of her business. In this case, she was repeatedly informed about the possibility of withdrawing from answering further questions or pausing the interview. Expressing compassion helped calm her, and she wanted to continue the interview.

The following chapter will elaborate on the regional context of Uganda and its Central Region. With all female entrepreneurs either living in Kampala or the surrounding region, detailed information, if available or general data, will be presented. Furthermore, the chapter will introduce the national policy context and the case study, which will be used to illustrate the engagement of international development cooperation in women's entrepreneurship promotion.

4 Regional and Political Context: Introduction to Uganda and the Central Region

In 2019/20, the Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS) estimated Uganda's population to be 40.9 million. Although the urban population is constantly growing and accounted for 27% in 2019/20, most of the population (73%) live in rural areas.

The sex ratio of 97 females per 100 males indicates that more males than females currently live in Uganda. Strikingly, 44% of the population is younger than 14 years old (UBOS, 2021). Correspondingly, also entrepreneurship is followed by a relatively young population group. Namatovu et al. (2012) reported that the majority of the female entrepreneurs (43.8%) were aged between 25-34. This is in line with the general demographics stated by GEM, with 41.1% of Ugandan entrepreneurs in the 25-34 age bracket (Balunywa et al., 2015).

Uganda's Constitution guarantees the right to primary education for six years between the ages of six and twelve. Secondary education covers additional five years for children ages 13 to 18. Whereas the net primary school enrolment is 80%, the secondary school enrolment amounts only to 27%. However, enrolment figures show that nearly equal amounts of males and females are enrolled, with a slightly higher number of females, with 29% compared to 26% for males (UBOS, 2021). Analysing the educational levels of business owners, Nathan Associates and TNS (2015) reported that 28% attended school at least until the completion of secondary education, closely followed by those holding a university (26%) or college degree (20%). According to Namatovu et al. (2012), most women (38%) completed at least secondary education, but only a minority hold a university degree (2.4%).

A gender gap is showing in labour market participation. While more females (53%) than males (51%) are part of the working-age population, fewer women (71%) than men (78%) were working. Women predominately work in the agricultural sector (73.1%), followed by work in the service sector (21.1%). In Uganda, the private sector comprises approximately 90% Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), contributing significantly to economic development, employment, and domestic income (Nathan Associates & TNS, 2015). Predominant sectors of operation are the agricultural sector (14%) as well as the education and health sector (13%). The MSME landscape is dominated by micro-enterprises, with less than four employees adding up to 71% of established businesses. According to the latest Mastercard Index of Women Entrepreneurs, Uganda, Botswana, and Ghana have the highest number of female entrepreneurs, with three in every ten women pursuing entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurial spirit among

women in Uganda is rated as very active, with 77.8% following opportunity-driven entrepreneurialism (MIWE, 2022). Entrepreneurship being a widespread phenomenon in Uganda, the activities of women even surpass that of men.

Furthermore, in 2019 the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics published a report on the issue of gender equality comprising the topics GBV, asset ownership, and employment. Asset and income ownership among women contribute significantly to economic security and independence. The survey disaggregated asset ownership by dwellings, land, livestock, businesses, as well as other material assets related to the household (UBOS, 2019). In Uganda, property of land is ranked most important, especially in rural areas where it is predominately used for agriculture. Men-only land ownership was reported at 34% in 2016/17, and women-only ownership at 27%. Despite more women, girls, and boys working in agriculture, the land predominately remains in the hands of men. The figures for joint ownership of land and dwellings, however, increased from 23% in 2012/13 to 40% in 2016/17 for land and from 25% to 41% for dwellings, respectively. The report explains the figures with the increased reinforcement of the law, which recognises joint ownership after marriage (UBOS, 2019). In the survey by Nathan Associates and TNS (2015), MSME business owners stated that access to capital from financial institutions is difficult due to the lack of collateral. As a result, most businesses started with private funds (86%). If loans are granted, the dominant collateral used is land. As only a small proportion of business owners have the possibility to access finance, it is reported as the primary constraint to doing business together with the cost of finance due to high interest rates (Nathan Associates & TNS, 2015). With fewer women having legal land ownership, this indicates an exacerbated situation, especially for this population group.

Furthermore, GBV against women remains prevalent and inflicts women's human rights in Uganda. The Oxfam research report "Gender Roles and the Care Economy in Ugandan Households", published in 2018, revealed a widespread acceptance of violence against women expressed by men and women alike (Ahikire et al., 2018). It was emphasised that cultural norms, social beliefs, and attitudes towards women and men perpetuate gender roles and exacerbate women's vulnerability. Especially cultural practices such as child marriages and bride prices influence how males perceive their roles in the household and sense of ownership towards their wives (Ahikire et al., 2018). In 2016, women were giving birth to an average of 5.4 children, according to the Demographic and Health Survey (UBOS, 2017). 43% are married by the age of 18. Another key figure worth reporting is the median age at first birth, which was stated to be 19.2 in 2016. (UBOS, 2017). Similar patterns are viewed among women entrepreneurs. Regarding their marital status, up to six out of ten women were married. Most women reported having between one and five children (70.8%). This corresponds to the typical life pattern of Ugandan women regarding the age of first birth and marriage (Namatovu et al., 2012).

The social norm of UCDW being a 'woman's task' is highly ingrained in the whole population, equally among women and men. Engagement in UCDW often starts at a young age for females. Overall, 39.2% of girls and 19.5% of boys engaged in looking after younger siblings. Not only do Ugandan women spend more of their time on UCDW than men, but the time also remains unchanged despite increasing involvement in paid labour. Especially in urban areas, more women are responsible for childcare and spend more time on related activities, as more males are engaged in paid work. Although women and men are overall satisfied with the division of household tasks, women express that they perceive childcare as the main burden. However, women rarely ask their partners for help; in such cases, only a few men would react to such requests (Ahikire et al., 2018). Hence, a woman's family obligation is time constraining in the first place. Furthermore, it puts a tremendous physical and mental burden on women. Culturally in Uganda, society raises certain expectations to the role of a woman. It is expected that a

woman carries the responsibilities for their family's well-being and accepts being a wife and mother as her primary role (Guma, 2015).

4.1 The Emergence of (Female) Entrepreneurship in Uganda

Looking back at entrepreneurship activity rates in Uganda, the country consistently scores high. Since the 1980s, Uganda has had one of the highest rates of entrepreneurship in the world, with one in three citizens in the early stages of business consolidation (Balunywa et al., 2015). The country is known not only for the high number of micro and small businesses but also for some prominent entrepreneurs operating on a large scale. Until the independence from the British colonial Government in 1962, entrepreneurship was not a common practice. Still, 90% of the African population was mainly engaged in subsistence farming and generated products for self-consumption (Balunywa et al., 2015). The Non-African population consisted of Indians who lived in Ugandan towns. They primarily engaged in trade and services while Africans supplied them with products such as coffee and cotton. Early entrepreneurial activities among Africans were observed locally, selling foods and crafts in tiny shops or local markets. During the rule of Idi Amin, the Indian community was expelled from Uganda, and business ownership was transferred to Africans based on the criteria of loyalty and kinship. However, due to a lack of managerial skills of the new owners that filled the vacuum, most of the businesses closed before 1979, resulting in a tremendous decline in Uganda's economy. In 1987 under the rule of Yoweri Museveni, who has ever since ruled the country, economic liberalisation was initiated to spur economic growth. As a result, high growth rates in the private sector could be reported. The revision of the expropriation of the Indian community let them re-emerge as a critical player in the economy. A multiplier effect promoted the emergence of supplying companies in the service and manufacturing sectors. Moreover, micro and small enterprises grew in urban areas, with women making up a significant part of vendors and business owners, "creating a new unlikely entrepreneurial class" (Balunywa et al. 2015, p.60).

Historically, women in Central Uganda showed entrepreneurial attributes in precolonial times to escape the patriarchal institution of marriage. In doing so, they engaged in domestic labour for other women or even men to whom they were not married (Monteith & Camfield, 2019). Those activities gave them the necessary financial independence and the possibility to acquire a certain lifestyle, providing them with "new ideas, clothes and methods of food preparation" (Davis, 2000). However, the phenomenon of single women was increasingly stigmatised, starting during early colonialism. Continuing from that period, "women were 'valued for their contributions within the family' and expected to be 'submissive and deferential' to men" (Monteith & Camfield 2019, p. 114). After independence, the picture of women working in cities without being married was exacerbated by being publicly scapegoated for the deteriorating moral values of rebellious younger generations against the political authority. As a result, many women were retreating to the role of the 'married housewife'. This concept is still in place, serving "as a normative framework for the comportment and respectability of women" (Davis, 2000). The collapse of Uganda's formal economy during the 1970s was picked up by the emergence of the informal economy, an area where most women in Uganda are currently pursuing their work. Women began selling products in markets and from their households with marriage as "an important institution in which the entrepreneurial activities of African women were embedded" (Monteith & Camfield 2019, p. 114) in. Monteith and Camfield (2019) elaborated that the development of women's social networks among female entrepreneurs in Kampala contributed to the partial deconstruction of male dominance. More women would resist or simply not listen to their husbands' orders concerning their work involvement, correspondingly striving for more independence.

The detailed description of the regional context revealed the prevalence of gender inequalities in Uganda. It highlighted how women's situation is perpetuated in society based on socio-cultural norms and values in a patriarchal society. Especially in the domain of higher educational attainment and labour market participation, women are disadvantaged due to the high and time-constraining involvement of girls in UCDW. Recognising the issue of gender inequality as hindering factor to sustainable development, international organisations and national governments set gender equality as their goal. Therefore, the following sub-section will outline the national and international approaches to entrepreneurship and empowerment promotion.

4.2 National and International Involvement in Entrepreneurship and Empowerment

National governments, as well as international development organisations such as the United Nations (UN), “see entrepreneurship as a catalyst to women empowerment and as a pivotal antecedent to gender equality and human development” (Ng et al. 2022, p. 155). Correspondingly, entrepreneurship promotion was established as a principal policy objective and development tool. To shed light on the objectives of Uganda's national government, the country's current National Development Plan regarding entrepreneurship and women empowerment will be described. Furthermore, the German development cooperation and the project used as a case study for this thesis are introduced.

In 2020, the Ugandan National Planning Authority (NPA) published the country's third National Development Plan (NDP III) to achieve its goal of increased well-being for its citizens as well as inclusive and sustainable growth. The NDP III lays out the strategic plan for implementing the Uganda Vision 2040 with the overall objective to transform the “Ugandan Society from a Peasant to a Modern and Prosperous Country within 30 years” (NPA, 2007). The goals are aligned with the EAC Vision 2050, the Africa Agenda 2063, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One cornerstone to accelerate the process of socio-economic development comprises the enhancement of Uganda's entrepreneurship capacity. Furthermore, the Uganda Vision 2040 recognises the equality of men and women as precondition for sustainable economic growth.

Regarding the development of the private sector, it is recognised that successful businesses represent a growth engine in creating more jobs and generating tax revenues. Therefore, the NDP III emphasises the importance of developing policies that promote entrepreneurship and reduce structural barriers to private sector development. Through those policies, the constraining factor of access and cost of finance shall be addressed. Moreover, enterprise capacities shall be strengthened by investing in skills development. Gender is identified as a cross-cutting issue in the NDP III relating to the field of human capital development. To increase productivity, education throughout several life stages shall be supported, with a unique challenge recognised in Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE).

The NDP highlights the national government's willingness to cooperate to reach the national development goals. The policy document states that, among others, “Development Partners have a significant role to play in the realization of the development aspirations” (NPA 2020, xiv). One longstanding partner in Development Cooperation is Germany, starting their bilateral cooperation in 1964, focussing on human rights, agriculture and rural development as well as job creation, among others (German Embassy Kampala, 2022). GIZ is Germany's leading provider of development cooperation services, supporting the government in the objectives for international cooperation for sustainable development (GIZ, 2022). In the region of SSA, GIZ is currently implementing the “Employment and Skills for Development in Africa (E4D)” programme, which focuses on promoting labour market participation with a particular focus on youth and women. As one main area of engagement, E4D supports the development of the

private sector by implementing entrepreneurship projects. The Women Entrepreneurship for Africa (WE4A) project is a central part of the regional programme of E4D. It is jointly co-financed by the European Union (EU), the Organisation of African, Caribbean, and Pacific States (OACPS), and the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

4.2.3 Women Entrepreneurship for Africa (WE4A) in Uganda

The WE4A project will be implemented over 32 months, from February 2021 until September 2023. The overall budget of the Action is 20,600,000 EUR, with a contribution from the EU of 20,000,000 EUR and a contribution from the BMZ of 600,000 EUR. The programme aims to increase women's economic inclusion by supporting them in their aspirations to become self-employed. With the prospect of women expanding their businesses, it is also hoped to create more decent jobs in African communities, with Uganda representing one implementing country.

Three components will be implemented during the project period. The first component contains gender-sensitive entrepreneurship training and the provision of one-time seed capital for African women entrepreneurs. Implementing partner of the first component is the Tony Elumelu Foundation (TEF). TEF is an African non-profit organization that is engaged in entrepreneurship training and funding entrepreneurs across Africa. Due to their experience and widespread connections across public and private sectors in African countries, TEF is a valuable partner with expertise in entrepreneurship training, mentoring, and capacity building (TEF, 2022). The second component is oriented to link African women entrepreneurs to private sector initiatives to enhance their network and access to relevant markets for their products and services. Additionally, technical assistance will accompany those networking activities that equip women with presentation skills and confidence to win subsequent financiers and connect to relevant stakeholders in the supply chain. For this component, GIZ takes over the lead in the partner countries Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Uganda. Lastly, the third component supports African women entrepreneurs in accelerating and growing their businesses. With the necessary technical assistance and second-stage financing, women entrepreneurs should be enabled to operate their businesses profitably, become fully bankable and capitalise on the employment potential of their businesses. The Swiss Association for Entrepreneurship in Emerging Markets (SAFEEM) was selected for implementation. The Swiss non-profit organisation is specialised in supporting entrepreneurs in emerging market economies.

The WE4A programme in Uganda conducted a baseline survey in which 115 female entrepreneurs gave information on the following characteristics. 101 answered the question of the location. The female-led enterprises are concentrated in the Central Region Kampala, which is shown in the table below:

Region	Number of enterprises	Percentage
Central Region	76	75,7%
Northern Region	8	8,1%
Eastern Region	12	11,7%
Western Region	5	4,5%
Total	101	100%

Table 4: Distribution of WE4A female Entrepreneurs

In the sample, business size varies, with 66 out of 115 enterprises reporting the number of contracted employees. With 37 enterprises, most are defined as small enterprises, having at least five to 19 employees. Micro enterprises were second, with 24 businesses counting up to four employees. Lastly, five enterprises with more than 20 employees are defined as medium-sized

businesses. On average, companies have existed for 3.7 years (since with business formation date).

In line with the GEM report (Balunywa et al., 2015), most prominently, female entrepreneurs have established their businesses in the agricultural sector, including agri-business in processing, input provision and farming. Subsequently, healthcare, manufacturing, ICT, waste management, and fashion were likewise represented.

Sector	Number of enterprises	Percentage
Agriculture	48	41,7%
Healthcare	11	9,6%
Manufacturing	8	7,0%
Tourism/Hospitality/Food	7	6,1%
ICT	7	6,1%
Waste Management	7	6,1%
Fashion	7	6,1%
Education & Training	5	4,3%
Professional Services/Consulting	4	5,3%
Transportation/Logistics	3	2,6%
Energy/Power Generation	2	1,7%
Commercial/Retail	2	1,7%
Financial Service	2	1,7%
Media & Entertainment	2	1,7%
Total	115	100%

Table 5: Distribution of WE4A Entrepreneurs in Uganda by Sector

5 Framework Conditions, women's business activities, and empowering processes

To gain a deeper understanding of the context female entrepreneurs are embedded in current national policies regarding entrepreneurship promotion, gender equality, and childcare will be analysed. Policies aim at addressing social issues through a set of strategic actions. Therefore, policy strategies can provide a convenient source to assess potential challenges and barriers for female entrepreneurs and objectives to improve the context. Therein, this thesis addresses the contributions of international development cooperation using the WE4A project as an exemplary case study. Policy recommendations are formulated by analysing the joint actions to promote women's entrepreneurship. The qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews provided considerable insights into business operations of so-called 'opportunity-driven' female entrepreneurs in Uganda. These are based on the expert interviews and the experiences of female entrepreneurs interviewed as part of the thesis. Specific attention was paid to their entrepreneurship journey, encountered challenges, and contributions to the empowerment process.

The catalytic properties of entrepreneurship for women empowerment are highlighted by international development organisations (Ng et al., 2022). The empowering effects of female entrepreneurship in Uganda will be examined by adopting the theoretical concept of empowerment (Rowlands, 1997). Individual forms of empowerment and the initiation of collective empowerment will be investigated and critically discussed.

The analysis introduces the sample of the female entrepreneurs interviewed in the following sub-chapter. In line with the dimension 'Market' of the framework, the sub-chapter will elaborate on business opportunities and accessibility of markets for female entrepreneurs.

5.1 Markets of Female Entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurship journey of the six female entrepreneurs in this study differs in their ideas, original motivations, and aspirations. During the interviews, some similarities, like the women's academic educational background and working experience, were revealed. However, female entrepreneurs differed, for instance, in business operating markets and sizes. While the enterprises can be assigned to the sectors agriculture, food manufacturing and retail, health services, and education, the number of permanent employees ranges from 0 to 30.

In choosing the sector of operation, entrepreneurs take strategic decisions (World Bank, 2019). According to the Uganda MSME Policy, which was released by the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives (MTIC) in 2015, priority sectors that yield promising opportunities for enterprise development in Uganda are manufacturing, energy as well as the service sector. More specifically, occupations in agro-processing, food and non-food manufacturing, tourism, hospitality, education, and health support were mentioned (MTIC, 2015). Furthermore, the MSME policy identifies limited access to market information as a key challenge to the identification of business opportunities and distribution of products on local and export markets. The policy identifies the following intervention areas to improve access to markets and information. Among others, these entail training in marketing, support in creating business linkages and business networks, as well as the organisation of trade fairs.

To facilitate access to markets, the WE4A programme can also provide female entrepreneurs with supporting measures implemented under the second component. As elaborated in Chapter 4.2.3, the second component aims at linking women entrepreneurs to relevant stakeholders and private sector partners in the supply chain. Network activities are organised to support the creation of sustainable business linkages.

5.1.1 Female-led Businesses: Characteristics, Motivation, Growth Objectives

The motivation of Leticia to start a business was derived from her personal background:

“When I went to school, I struggled a lot when having my periods. [...] When I was volunteering in a project of Comic Relief, I talked to all the girls there, and then I realised this is still a problem. Many parents don't give their daughters sanitary pads or money to buy them. They are unaffordable to many families.”

Setting business objectives according to an identified societal issue was a re-emerging theme during the interviews. Leticia, for instance, voiced her concern about young girls not attending school when they start menstruating. Therefore, with her company, she aims to increase female school attendance rate in secondary school. She developed reusable sanitary pads for different flows, which her company now provides, especially to schools. The distribution of the pads comes along with menstruation education on how to use and clean the pads properly. Working together with UNICEF, Leticia accomplished to expand the provision of her products across the Ugandan border. With the expansion of production, she has set the goal of supplying whole East Africa, or perhaps even the entire continent.

“In the future [...] I hope my company will be able to meet the demand for pads for all the girls in whole Africa.”

Similarities can be observed in the business operation of Angela. She started a business in the service sector for health support together with three female friends from university. The company aims to tackle the lack of medical coverage in rural Uganda and the low employment of trained female medical personnel in the sector. They deliver remote online healthcare services for low-income communities through a combination of a mobile app and e-clinics that enable patients to consult with medical specialists 24/7, either by using the mobile app or accessing

the services via e-clinics in remote areas. Since the start of the business in 2019, the social enterprise opened five e-health clinics in underserved areas and employed 18 female ‘home-based doctors’. In the future, they plan to expand their services to other underserved remote areas. Also, refugee camps were identified as a potential new target group for their business operations.

Female entrepreneurs aspire to contribute to society through their entrepreneurial ventures by orienting their business idea toward those issues. Indeed, Nicolás and Rubio (2016) found that women in developing countries are key players in social enterprising and essential for addressing social problems that are not met through public provisions. Moreover, as highlighted by Carranza et al. (2018), the creation of social value and pursuit of serving the community can be seen as motivational drivers for female entrepreneurs, while males prioritise economic outcomes as success factors for their businesses. Hence, the narrow definition of business performance in terms of profitability alone does not suit the orientation of female entrepreneurs. The environment plays a vital role in individual decisions to venture into an enterprise (Nicolás & Rubio, 2016). This is also shown by Khayesi and George (2011), who connected the social contributions of entrepreneurs in Uganda with the high communal orientation in the local business culture. Thus, female entrepreneurs in this research steer their business not only towards the goal of creating profit for themselves but also show innovative potential to solve social issues.

Overall, the journeys of the women entrepreneurs show their future orientation to expand their businesses further and seize new opportunities for products and services. Gloria, for instance, is operating a small-sized enterprise with 15 employees in the agricultural sector. The main business activities are the breeding of goats and the provision of animal vaccination supply. In addition to animal breeding, she has an agricultural branch, which deals with the cultivation of matoke, an essential staple in Uganda. Being passionate about farming, she started the business after leaving her employment in Kampala as a lecturer in social work to live on the land of her family. Like all other female entrepreneurs in this study, she shares the drive to develop her business further. She expanded her agricultural business to a training centre and information provider for best practices in breeding livestock.

As anticipated by the gender-aware framework for female entrepreneurship (Brush et al., 2009), women entrepreneurs rely on the networks that give them access to information about specific opportunities. A statement made by Angela emphasises the importance of business linkages and the facilitating role the WE4A programme could play in her case. In asking her about the use of the programme for her business, she said:

“Actually, I was brought in contact with my very first business partner through WE4A.”

However, not only was the expansion of the business network expressed as a positive effect, but the possibility to connect with other female entrepreneurs was also perceived as helpful. Among those groups, women discuss experiences, opportunities and share business practices as well as advice on personal life matters. They stay in contact and regularly use their alum networks, predominately through WhatsApp Groups.

“Seeing other women succeed motivates me to push even more. You can learn from mistakes and share experiences and opportunities for finance.”,

was expressed by Gloria. Mutual support from other women entrepreneurs is perceived as helpful support and provides, despite business advice, an empowering resource base. Networks are essential sources of social capital and necessary to strengthen the ability of female entrepreneurs to support each other.

5.2 Important prerequisites: Meso and Macro Context, Money, Management

As it is argued by the embeddedness approach to entrepreneurship (Hansen, 1995), contextual factors play a crucial role in business performance. They can provide an enabling environment for entrepreneurs to seize business opportunities (Bullough et al., 2021). The MSME policy strategy recognises gender inequalities in MSME development as a further impediment to an inclusive business environment. The policy emphasised that women are disadvantaged compared to men regarding legal practices, attitudes, and the established cultural norms system (MTIC, 2015). The literature review of female entrepreneurship in Uganda revealed similar findings. Constraining factors that were identified primarily include discriminating customary practices of inheritance law (Mugabi, 2014) and social expectations about women's role in society (Mugabi, 2014; Guma, 2015).

As already indicated, land ownership is an essential prerequisite to obtaining financial resources in Uganda. The toleration of local practices, especially in inheritance, is an inhibiting factor in women's access to land, however. Although the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda from 1995 has anchored equality and freedom from discrimination in Article 21, the toleration of unjust practices still restricts women's equal rights and welfare (UBOS, 2019). With limited possibilities for land ownership, women are not able to provide the required collateral in the loan procedure.

Complementary, social attitudes can be an inhibiting factor for women's educational attainment throughout their life course. Early pregnancies and various misconceptions about female education can result in permanent school dropouts and early marriages of female teenagers (MoES, 2020). Furthermore, as pointed out in the literature, the disadvantaged position of women in Ugandan society inflicts their ability to access business skills training. Disadvantages for women mainly derive from time impediments in skills attainment due to established attitudes towards the role of women as caregivers (MTIC, 2015). The interplay of the division of UCDW and female entrepreneurship will be closely examined in the following sub-chapter.

As a result of prevailing impediments for women entrepreneurs, the promotion of gender equality in entrepreneurship was adopted as one objective, followed by the MSME policy strategy. Central to the government's strategy is to support the "implementation of gender affirmative programs in addressing geographical, historical and structural disadvantages in entrepreneurship" (MTIC 2015, p. 15).

The WE4A Programme recognises gendered challenges for women entrepreneurs, especially in the areas of business skill training and finance. Skill training is part of all three WE4A components but is mainly covered by the TEF entrepreneurship course, which can be attended online by female entrepreneurs. In the second and third components, business training is included to target more specifically the needs of female entrepreneurs in different stages. While for the acceleration and growth programme of the third component, a mentoring approach is adopted, the second component based its workshops and events on a needs assessment. Alums from TEF that completed the entrepreneurship course were surveyed prior to the initial Kick-off event of the GIZ WE4A component in Uganda to provide targeted business support. In the operational planning of the component, support sessions for investor-readiness training and information about alternative financing sources addressing women's gendered challenges to access financial resources are intended. Another support they offer is the organisation of pitching events with investors that specifically support the female entrepreneurship scene.

5.2.1 Challenges Relating to Gender Norms: Family, Community, Society

In their daily life and business activities, female entrepreneurs reported on the gendered challenges they face. The topic of accessing land and affordable finance was also highlighted as key

challenges for smooth business operations. In the case of Gloria, her father provided her with the land necessary to start her business. However, while revealing the importance of familial relations when it comes to the provision of assets, Gloria also faces the problem of not being the legal owner of this land. Furthermore, she will not be considered in the inheritance of her father. Although Uganda's legal framework provides women with the right to own and acquire land, practices such as patrilineal inheritance are still widely common, ignoring those legal provisions (Mugabi, 2014). Due to this reason, Gloria is confronted with insecurity regarding the future of her business and her family. She explained that

"I want my father to see that there is no difference between his male and female children."

Discriminatory practices also make it difficult for her to buy land as a woman. Land ownership provides for substantial collateral that is required to get loans granted by banks. As a strategy, Gloria uses male brokers to buy her own parcels of land to expand the area of business operations and, in the case of being expelled from the land by her family.

Investigating the entrepreneurship process displayed that those female entrepreneurs could profit to a great extent from the support of the project components of the WE4A. The seed capital provided after completing the TEF entrepreneurship courses equipped the female entrepreneurs with financial resources. Leticia invested in better input materials, while Christina explained that the seed capital was invested in additional equipment to improve production. Christina developed her business idea because of her own health. She reduced her intake of refined sugars and implemented this in her homemade baked goods. With great approval from friends and family, she began developing sugar-free and eventually gluten-free pastries. Her clientele includes people with intolerances who can also buy the specific flour made from sweet potatoes in her shop. She elaborates that

"The grant provided the money for more baking equipment. It was really useful. Before I was asking my husband for money."

The case of Christina implies the importance of access to finance to gain financial autonomy. The TEF programme specifically considers the vulnerable position of women regarding access to larger amounts of money (World Bank, 2019). The transfer of the seed capital includes opening a business account, ensuring that women stay in control over the financial resources. Asking the programme's country manager, Amelia, about challenges for women in society, she mentioned:

"When you earn money as a woman, you are expected to share that with your family. I heard stories from women ending up paying the school bills for other children than her own. Many of them don't know how to talk about boundaries with their family."

Furthermore, women entrepreneurs are struggling to sustain a stable cash flow. This is especially inhibiting their ability to realise their growth ambitions. Leticia missed out on a provision agreement of sanitary pads with UNICEF South Sudan because a loan request to expand the factory was turned down. Hence, her company was not able to deliver the required number of pads. Women are restricted not only in their access but also in the affordability of loans. As described by Gloria,

"taking up a loan as a woman is like committing suicide".

The women, however, do not lose their entitlement to act. Facing a lack of capital, women apply purposeful strategies. They are searching for other grants provided by international donors and applying for them in pitching their business strategies. Other women are still transitioning from

employment to self-employment, using the income partially as investment capital for their venture.

This was observed in the case of June. After studying Business Computing for her Bachelor's, she started working as an ICT Manager in a national media company. Her business is engaged in the trade of organic, high-quality groundnuts and groundnuts-based products such as peanut butter and peanut sauce. She said that employment gives her the necessary security to experiment with different business strategies and is an important source of income:

“my job is providing for my business until it is self-sustaining.”

This finding is confirmed by Ojong et al. (2021), who pointed out several sources of financing for women entrepreneurs, including, among others, international grants, savings, or family resources. Furthermore, Gloria is building on her good reputation in the community to fundraise money informally.

“I am receiving money from people I don't know. But I build a good reputation, and they know they can trust me, that I will pay them back.”

Gloria emphasized her trustworthy position due to corruption representing a further structural challenge in Uganda. This view is shared by Guma (2015), who found that female business owners operating in Uganda's informal economy were more exposed to corrupt practices and harassment than male business owners. Being exposed to bribery can stem from “a range of gender stereotypes that impact the perceptions about women entrepreneur's capabilities” (Cherie Blair Foundation for Women 2021, p.25). Furthermore, the Global Competitiveness Report of the World Economic Forum (2017) assigned Uganda the common practice of bribes and irregular payments, getting favourable judicial decisions in return. Besides Gloria, who emphasises her trustworthy reputation in the light of roaring corruption in Uganda, June and Christina also mention the problem of being confronted with bribery and corruption when working with product distributors. Christina experienced delayed payments or even retention of profits made from her products. She elaborated that due to high corruption in the judicial system, filing a complaint for her is not a step to consider.

“Bigger companies can just buy themselves out of the trial. And then you are left with all the costs.”

Similarly, in trying to find distributors for her product, June received dubious offers from companies demanding payment from her to sell the products. Both mentioned tapping into the network and strategically choosing business partners as the only possibility to avoid being taken advantage of by them.

As the presentation of the individual entrepreneurs has shown so far, all women have a broad skill set and necessary professional experience. However, the women emphasised that although having work experience and a degree in higher education, there was a clear skill gap in business-related capabilities in the beginning. Through participation in the entrepreneurship training and workshops of the WE4A programme, they could accomplish essential entrepreneurship skills. Interviewees mentioned skills in business plan writing as well as essential management and marketing skills to be particularly useful. Women can overcome limiting factors and increase their human capital by gaining these skills. Christina, for instance, mentioned:

“The people around me enjoyed the pastries I made, but I didn't know how to run a business. I spent a long time at home after having my third child. The trainings are online, so I could do them from home.”

Entrepreneurship is perceived as hard work but also as positively challenging as it requires proactive engagement with new topics and the acquisition of work-related knowledge. Angela said,

“doing a job makes you just do the tasks given to you, but the learning processes are different now. I am reading and learning a lot on my own, it pushes me to work.”

Further interesting findings are related to Uganda's ingrained social norms and practices. As pinpointed by the gender-sensitive framework for entrepreneurship, the broader context regarding the interplay of social attitudes and cultural values needs to be considered when examining women's entrepreneurship activities (Brush et al., 2009).

Dianah founded an organisation which provides shelter for homeless girls in Kampala. Before, she made her first working experience in a local non-profit organisation and worked as a counsellor for at-risk youth. Additionally, she is running a farm outside Kampala. The compound is currently used to produce food for the shelter and sell the produce at the local market. At the shelter, the girls receive counselling in case of psychological trauma and health care and get the possibility to follow formal education or skills training. Her organisation addresses the vulnerability of young girls and teenage mothers in Kampala. Living with her sister and brother, she is raising her two children in a home outside the city. She explained that community and extended family members perceived her staying without a husband as negative about her. She elaborated:

“It was a long process for them to accept it. And it took me a while to be confident enough to even stand the criticism from the family when they ask me why I'm not getting married again”.

In talking about gender roles and attitudes in Ugandan society with Amelia, she explained that certain societal expectations are raised, which she described as an “unwritten contract”. With the end of education, women should get married, bear and raise children. Furthermore, she mentioned that the status of marriage is connected to a woman's position and value in society with the possibility of being condemned as a divorced woman. This is in line with findings from current studies (Lovell, 2010) pointing to the perception of ‘misbehaviour’ such as ‘disrespect’ or being ‘untamed’, which can negatively impact a women's social reputation.

Additionally, the confrontation with gender stereotypes was prevalent for women in the interaction with some of their male employees in being not properly accepted as supervisors. Gloria explained that while some of her male workers are reliable, long-time employees, the retention of newly joining male crewmembers is sometimes difficult as they are not used to and do not want to work under a female supervisor.

“I have a lot of employee turnover. The farm workers are mostly male. They come to my farm but don't stay for long. They don't like to take tasks from a woman. They tell me I'm a man born in the body of a woman.”

Also, disrespectful behaviour from male employees is sometimes experienced by female entrepreneurs. Leticia remembered a situation in which a male factory employee was challenging her with his comments:

“He was acting up. Sometimes they forget about who the boss is. He was like, ‘I'm the man I should be the boss’”

The perceived superiority of male employees also displayed itself through inappropriate advances, as this was the case for Gloria.

“I was wearing tight clothes which were showing my body shapes [laughing]. I am a curvy woman. They felt intrigued to approach me, you know, I am a single mother and not married. I had to change the way I dress, wearing loose garments, you see? [stands up]”

The established gendered attitudes that men hold about women's roles in society are clearly expressed through these encounters. The findings are confirmed by Ojong et al. (2021), who found that female business owners are exposed to sexual harassment. Women's leadership in the political arena and economic businesses remains a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is crucial for women's representation. These incidences show that due to patriarchal norms, women's leadership is not widely accepted in Ugandan communities (Mugabi, 2014). However, women know how to avert approaches and build a strengthening barricade. Dianah explained:

“Men even fear me now and back off, they don't like to have an independent woman.”

It was exemplified that women entrepreneurs face gendered challenges in their business journey, specifically when accessing a sufficient amount of capital or land. Moreover, ingrained social norms impact their business activities which can be seen in employee management. However, women entrepreneurs identify spaces of agency to manoeuvre these gendered challenges by making use of different sources of capital, supported land acquisition, leadership skills and building a positive reputation in their communities. Here it should also be noted that education in business skills was perceived as essential to successfully operate their business in the first place while also engaging with knowledge attainment independently.

Returning to the gender-aware framework of female entrepreneurship, the household and family dimension is considered to provide further insights into the social context of female entrepreneurs, which goes beyond purely economic factors. Therefore, the following sub-section engages in more detail with the experiences of female entrepreneurs regarding intrahousehold power relations and the division of UCDW.

5.3 Family Context: Redistributing, reducing, and recognising UCDW

Regarding UCDW responsibilities, research has already demonstrated the unequal amount of time spent on those chores, with women in Uganda spending about three times more hours compared to men (World Bank, 2019). With the Uganda Gender Policy (UGP) from 2007, the government established the overall goal of achieving gender. The policy highlighted certain areas for action to follow the objective of gender parity. Especially universal access and affordability of childcare services are mentioned as essential factors for maternal employment (MoGLSD, 2007).

In Uganda, the institutional provision of childcare programmes for children aged younger than school age is still limited and mostly unaffordable. The Early Childhood Care and Education Policy (ECCE) of the Ministry of Education and Sport (MoES) issued the low uptake of institutional care and provision of services as crucial issues to support healthy child development and lifelong learning (MoES, 2018). With only 6,798 facilities and a net enrolment rate of 15.6% in 2016, Uganda is underperforming compared to other countries, such as Kenya, which provides access to ECCE services for 53.3% on average (MoES, 2018). As a result, families tend to employ domestic live-in workers, which was explained in the expert interview with Amelia and confirmed through the interviews with female entrepreneurs.

The government plans to subsidise the establishment of affordable quality ECCE facilities throughout the country. With this aim, the policy acknowledges closing the allocation gap in childcare provision in rural and urban areas. A resource mobilisation plan was developed with development partners, foundations, and NGOs as essential funding support (MoES, 2018). The

policy defines three age ranges targeted by the programme: Pre-primary education is delivered to children aged three to five years in Uganda, followed by lower primary education for children aged five to eight. Additionally, daycare programmes are planned to target children from zero to three. Interestingly, besides the emphasis on positive outcomes for human capital development in children, the impact of childcare services on households and specifically women who are primarily responsible for care tasks, is not mentioned in the policy document.

The perception of the role of women in society is impeding their time for business management (World Bank, 2019). The provision of childcare is not an explicit measure in one of the WE4A components, however, measures were taken to facilitate women's participation in training and workshops. Amelia explained that female entrepreneurs who participated in the second component workshops expressed concerns about leaving their families and business alone. Training is perceived as a very time-consuming resource that women entrepreneurs have less at hand. Women could not leave their businesses or family alone in cases of unavailability of household support, so they had to cancel their participation in workshops. As a reaction, the project coordinators tried to react accordingly. Amelia elaborated that, if possible, women were invited to come to the workshops covering their travel expenses with the possibility of bringing their children. Furthermore, if training were held in the closer areas of the women's homes, they were given the possibility to go home during the breaks. These learnings were highlighted as essential to consider in a new project set-up.

5.3.1 Care Responsibilities and unbroken Care Chains

The unequal division of unpaid labour evolves around appropriate roles of men and women that are predominant in the society living in Central Uganda. According to Rost (2021), social norms around gendered roles in caregiving tend to encourage men to see caring as conflicting with male tradition. Christina lives with her husband and three children in Kampala, with a domestic worker providing essential household support. During the start-up phase, her youngest child was still an infant. In talking about the division of work in the household, Christina was recalling

“No, my husband is not helping, I would wish for something else, but I can't ask for more. He is supportive and provides financially. I can see myself lucky having a supportive man, I know many other women don't have that.”

Being left with little support from the husband means that childcare responsibilities eventually fall back on the mother. Regarding care, women report extraordinarily long working days, taking together the work for their business as well as domestic and care responsibilities. Dianah describes her daily routine during the week, telling

“I wake up at 5 a.m. having the children ready to go to school. We leave home at around 6:30 to drive there and I drop them off at school. After that, I am doing work [...] between 08-09. After that, I dedicate the time to administrative tasks. I'm usually checking my Emails and do meetings with clients and staff between 09-13. After lunch break, I pick up the kids and take them with me to the farm. We stay there until supper; I make evening tea and do the homework with the boys.”

Despite schools, there is no broad institutionalised childcare support for children younger than school age in urban centres. Families do not take up the existing offer because it is often too expensive, indicating that institutional care services accomplish only little redistribution. Instead, women rely on female family members and apply the strategy to reduce their UCDW load by employing domestic workers that often live in the household. Leticia describes the situation in Kampala as follows:

“in Kampala, there are only very expensive daycare facilities. It is not affordable. I would say, 90% of the families have a house girl or an aunty or a sister.”

This view was also shared in the expert interview with Amelia. In this context, she mentioned that urban women from a higher social class afford live-in house girls who support different tasks. Children that are still too young to go to school are left with the house girls at home while the women entrepreneurs follow their work during the day. Christina experienced her household support being overwhelmed with the work of caring for her three children. As a result, she had given up her employment to support in household tasks. Also, Leticia remains responsible for the organisation of childcare. While her oldest son already attends school, her youngest child is taken care of by a nanny. Sometimes, she spends her lunch break at home checking on her youngest child, whom she leaves in the care of the nanny.

In this way, all women entrepreneurs could arrange support with household and care work and are, hence, reducing their UCDW burden. Nevertheless, women entrepreneurs report falling short in dividing their attention between their businesses and their families. Notably, they associate it with societal pressures that ascribe the responsibility for the family's well-being to women. Prevalent social norms in Uganda put a woman into the reproductive sphere (Franz, 2004). Dianah elaborates on the stand in society that for a woman

“everything is about having children. People see it as the only life reason for a woman – otherwise, people think you’re cursed.”

The same holds for women entering a marriage. For instance, Gloria explained:

“When something is not going tight in your relationship, it is always the woman who takes the blame for it.”

Living in marriage, female entrepreneurs express that husbands feel left out. Angela mentions that especially leaving her children at such a young age makes her feel guilty and puts her in distress. She mentioned,

“I was afraid of losing connection to my husband. I have friends that are now single mothers [...]. My kids are only one year apart. They are three and four years old. I leave them with the house girl. When they complain, I try to stay at home, working there.”

The available support systems consisting of female family members and domestic workers can significantly reduce the workload for female entrepreneurs. In her study on adolescent female domestic workers in Uganda, Namugalla (2015) emphasised their “crucial contribution to the effective participation of women working outside the home” (p. 561). Due to the obtained support from domestic workers or family members, women entrepreneurs are not voicing childcare obligations as a significant constraint to their business activities. However, the analysis demonstrates that the burden on the family's overall welfare remains with the mother. Hence, the gendered social norm is relatively unchallenged for women living in a marriage. Likewise, single mothers carry comparably obligations. In the cases of Gloria, Dianah, and June, the divorced husband is not providing for the family also not financially, showing that women are seen as primarily responsible for childcare. Only Leticia reported that she could rely on her husband to take the children in pressing situations.

The little recognition of the triple burden from the husband or the state, which is reflected in the low level of contributing to the care provision, however, shows the prevailing unequal power relation regarding care (Ahikire et al., 2018). Furthermore, the development of the domestic care sector in Uganda is concerning. In capitalist societies, reproductive labour became a commodity showing a continuous ongoing gendered division of reproductive labour (Lutz, 2018). A recent survey of domestic work in Uganda revealed that 44% of the workers were

younger than 18 (IDAY, 2015). Furthermore, domestic workers are more likely to be female and deprived of educational attainment. With many working children aged 10-14 years, this indicates that they drop out of school, negatively affecting female children specifically (IDAY, 2015; Namuggala, 2015). Being an enabling factor for women to follow employment outside the house, female domestic workers continue to be disadvantaged, often experiencing exploitation (Namuggala, 2015). Those domestic workers, also called “house girls” in Kampala, are differentiated by the women who employ them mainly by socio-economic class and age. As noted in the study by Namuggala, “the decision to take work as a house girl has little to do with individual preference but is grounded in ongoing social crises in Uganda, especially in the rural areas” (2015, p. 568). The high demand for help in the household provides female house girls with employment outside the home. However, it exacerbates the marginalised position of women, given the socio-cultural construction of norms in Uganda’s society around the feminisation of domestic work. This also holds for the support of female relatives that take over household and caregiving tasks. Living together with her sister Dianah states that

“the children are calling her Mama Machu. She is a great help in looking after them and preparing food in the morning.”

As a result, the gendered obligation or even the burden of care work reproduces the inequalities in caregiving by transferring the responsibilities onto another woman and simultaneously releasing other women from this obligation (Lutz, 2018).

Investigating the entrepreneurial context and process of female entrepreneurs provides an understanding of current issues and power relations surrounding their business activities. The literature has attributed the catalytic properties of women's entrepreneurship to the empowerment process (Ng et al., 2022). To answer the underlying research question, the next section will report on the findings regarding the empowerment process and discuss structural barriers and contributions considering entrepreneurship promotion.

5.4 Empowerment Process: Agency, Confidence, Employment Creation

The individual empowerment process is characterised by increased decision-making power (Cornwall, 2016). Asking women about their favourite part of being a business owner, the gain in independence regarding business decisions was repeatedly mentioned, drawing comparisons to paid employment. Angela worked as a financial accountant in a company before venturing into the health-tech enterprise. In comparing her previous and current situation, she said

“I would always choose self-employment. I can decide what I want to do and when, and I decided to spend my time on the business.”

The statement emphasises the independence in decision-making women gain from managing their own businesses. Three women entrepreneurs were employed before starting their own businesses but prioritised their business objective over paid employment. Programme participants voiced that being in employment comes with facing male counterparts, while in entrepreneurship, they can make their own decisions. Amelia explained that in the professional arena, often,

“women’s voices are not respected. It is considered rude to speak up, and often you are not listened to. A woman should rather listen while men talk.”

This description of corporate culture can also be found in the study by (Martinez-Restrepo, 2021). Women’s role in the world of work is pushed to the background based on the role of women in society. Therefore, entrepreneurship gives them the necessary independence to be

agents of their own carriers and detect further possibilities for business growth. The independence in business operations gives women entrepreneurs' 'power over' (Rowlands, 1997) their own decisions.

Furthermore, entrepreneurship provides a tool to challenge female stereotypes in Ugandan society by engaging in productive work. Today's prevailing patriarchal orders on Ugandan territory are anchored in culturally and traditionally constructions of gender as a power relation (Franz, 2004) that originated during the colonial period. In pre-colonial times, a dual sex system was typical with a dual monarchy in which men were responsible for men and women for women (Franz, 2004). Nevertheless, asymmetrical power relations existed in favour of men and laid the foundation for the later deepening of female subordination. For instance, although the respective female ruler was responsible for other women in society, her claim was mainly derived from her relationship with the male ruler. With British rule and colonial capitalism, however, the complementary rule eroded, while the patrilineal property relations persisted. Instead, British colonial rule established a strict division of the social and public sphere. Following a Western understanding, males were assigned the political/public and females the private/reproductive spheres. Hence, profound changes followed as colonialism reinforced existing female oppression mechanisms (Franz, 2004). Dianah is showing a critical consciousness about social subordination and sees the potential for changes in power relations:

"In my parent's generation... women were just staying at home... not mobile at all, not making any decision, women were just quiet. In this generation, women can work, take care of themselves. I never listened to my husband, I didn't want to stay home after birth and not work. If necessary, I took the children with me."

Her differing expectations eventually led to her separating from her husband. Discussing life experiences and expectations with young women in Uganda, Lovell (2010) revealed their opinions about ongoing gender inequalities in Uganda. Young women described their primary family responsibilities as cooking, cleaning, home management, and childcare (Lovell, 2010). Family and societal expectations differ from those of young Ugandan women for their future. While they see themselves well educated and working, the community expects women to get married, become a mother of a large family and contribute as trusted member to the community. Furthermore, families do not expect young women to be educated and withdraw from paying school fees for female children (Lovell, 2010).

In pursuing entrepreneurship, female entrepreneurs additionally find an opportunity to challenge social perceptions about women in family structures. Angela resisted the wishes of her family to give up employment. Her family members were reluctant about her entrepreneurship aspirations, as entrepreneurship is perceived as providing less security and the possibility that the venture might fail. As pointed out by Hamilton (2013), still, entrepreneurship and the ability to take risks are "portrayed as a form of masculinity" (p. 90). She reported strong negative attitudes towards her decision to become self-employed.

"During that time, I experienced a lot of pressure. My family is very traditional. They wished for me to be employed, not self-employed. It is not accepted. Now my family is really happy. Some even ask me for a job."

With her decision, she actively challenged the expectations of her family and the male-dominated perception surrounding entrepreneurship. Resisting the oppressive attitudes and challenging existing power structures are an expression of 'power to' as defined by Rowlands (1997). Complementary, women actively decide to prioritise their businesses which is the case for Angela as well as Gloria, who explained

“my children are attending boarding school. As a full-time working single mother, there would’ve been no other option for me to manage.”

Taking the decision and having the ability to independently make a choice on how to divide their time and realise opportunities further displays the fact that women entrepreneurs dispose of the ‘power to’ (Rowlands, 1997) shape their life outcomes. Hence, entrepreneurship is not only considered a personal achievement but also indispensable to changing the social norm system. Complementary, interviewees are eager to contribute to creating an equitable society by challenging dominant perceptions about women’s abilities and position in society. Women are completing tasks that are considered to be a male profession because of physically demanding work, such as in the case of Gloria:

“My daily work is tough. It is considered as man’s work. I drive heavy machines and carry around sheep. Strong and hardworking women can also do that, I wanted to show it.”

In another case, women try to establish their business in a male-dominated domain. Angela founded a business for medical service provision and emphasised that medical-related jobs are still considered masculine professions.

“In Uganda, many women are trained in medicine, but they are not practising as physicians. Medicine is seen as man’s job, and they are preferred. They don’t trust in the ability of women being good doctors.”

Overcoming occupational gender segregation, furthermore, holds the potential to decrease the remaining gender gap in earnings. Studying female entrepreneurship in male-dominated sectors in Uganda, Campos et al. (2018) showed that female-led businesses made as much revenue as male-owned businesses. Angela’s comment further points out the potential for employment creation of female entrepreneurs. Her company hires explicitly female physicians and enables women trained in a medical profession to follow this occupation, with 18 female home-based doctors now employed at her company. The process of being able to create employment for other people leads not only the social effect but also enhances the self-esteem of female entrepreneurs. For instance, Leticia mentioned that

“I feel privileged to provide work to others and knowing that this might pay their kid’s school and the kid is thriving... [pause] it’s a big honour.”

This indicates Leticia’s strong sense of caring for the well-being of members of her community and their families by offering employment to a team of 30 people, especially women, as she knows this might finance their children’s school fees.

Furthermore, a re-emerging theme during the interviews was the meaningfulness of the business operation, which provides an important motivational factor for women entrepreneurs. Angela expressed that she is satisfied with her entrepreneurship pursuit as she is doing something she is passionate about. Through the health-tech enterprise, the insufficient provision of medical care in Uganda is addressed, making her job very purposeful for her. Similarly, Dianah maintains her motivation by contributing to the improved livelihood perspective of vulnerable girls in Kampala. Moreover, Christina elaborated that the specific gluten-free and allergy-compatible pastries she is producing make her work indispensable for some part of the population which is why she wants to keep the business running while following paid employment.

“The workload is too high for me. [...] I asked another woman to partner with me. She has a restaurant and experience with marketing. My products are essential for some people... [pause] because they have allergies, live vegan or can’t process gluten. They told me I shouldn’t stop baking, and I couldn’t let them down.”

All of them set individual goals and based their business ideas on those specific motivations expressing a certain amount of *'power with'*, capturing women's encouragement to collective action, which is informed by their critical consciousness (Rowlands, 1997). In pursuing entrepreneurship, women are empowered to cater not only to their own needs but also to the needs of society. Wanting to provide collective benefits in creating jobs and offering required products and services, therefore, represents a personal incentive besides the ability to be financially self-sufficient through the creation of profits.

Additionally, women are optimistic about their improved position in the community. They report admiring comments from other women, appreciation for their products or services, and respect due to their hard work. June elaborates on her gained recognition:

"People in the community are recognising me and my product. They call me 'Maido' when they see me in the streets because I sell groundnuts".

But also, acceptance in broader society and acknowledgement from other people is emphasised as a personal gain from female entrepreneurs, who own a respected stand with their business activities. Dianah expressed that her work is also shaping her relationship with society

"People respect me now for my work... now! It was a long process. When you not marrying again, they judge you."

As elaborated in the section about gendered challenges, marriage status is a marker for a women's position in society. Being known for her organisation, Dianah gained appropriate recognition. In this way, entrepreneurship is further representing a source of pride. Being successful in their businesses makes female entrepreneurs feel reassured about their abilities and their accomplished achievements. This increases women's confidence level and confirms their choice of becoming self-employed. Gloria uses social media platforms to promote her business and mentioned:

"In the morning, I like to scroll through my social media and read all the positive reviews under my posts. [...] It is a big motivation for me."

The gain in confidence and self-respect that the female entrepreneurs express is reflected by the term *'power from within'* coined by Rowlands (1997). Furthermore, in earning a reputation in the community, women business owners provide a leading figure to other aspiring female entrepreneurs (Byrne et al., 2019). June, for instance, is getting admiring comments from her female colleagues at the media station where she is still working. She is sharing her learnings from the entrepreneurship training and giving them advice on developing business ideas. Similarly, Leticia connected to a start-up business in Ghana that plans on developing biodegradable menstruation products. As already highlighted in chapter 5.1, women entrepreneurs establish broad networks, especially among their peer group. Leticia shares her experiences and learnings from doing business with the Ghanaian start-up as they share the same objective. She said

"I wish for every girl to have access to pads. Their product will be different, but it is very interesting to see how they will develop it."

Becoming a role model is closely connected to those women's engagement in promoting entrepreneurship and giving advice to or actively mentoring other women entrepreneurs as experienced business owners. Embracing the value of being a female business owner highlights that women not only gain economically from their businesses but also gain experience and pass it on to the next generation. For instance, Gloria supports her oldest daughter, that showed interest in her work with her first ideas:

“During the school breaks, my kids spend time on the farm. My daughter started to make blankets and scarves with the wool of the sheep [shows it into the camera]. She wanted to have her own animals... and also some aubergine plants.”

How gender attitudes develop mainly depends on the demographic background and experiences in childhood. Equitable attitudes often come with the employment of the mother outside the house and higher levels of education. Women entrepreneurs voiced that they especially want to be positive role models for their children. Gloria said:

“I want to show them my independence. You can reach your goals without being dependent on a man.”

As the literature showed, given different contextual conditions, childhood experiences shape gender attitudes (Kågesten et al., 2016). Therefore, in representing emancipation and independence, women entrepreneurs can contribute to developing supportive gender attitudes in the following generation (Vlahovicova et al., 2019).

5.4.1 Empowering outcomes?

Through targeted entrepreneurship promotion measures, female entrepreneurs are equipped with essential resources to manage their businesses. Recognising gendered disadvantages and structural challenges, the MSME policy emphasises improvements in the areas of access to market information, financial resources, and business skills as necessary for successful and competitive businesses. The WE4A programme engages in these areas with women appreciating specifically the provision of seed capital, entrepreneurial training, and business links as important contributions to their success. Therefore, it can be argued that the WE4A programme equips female entrepreneurs with resources that can contribute to an enabling starting position in the empowerment process.

However, empowering effects of the entrepreneurship process are not linear in their results. In line with a recent literature review by Ojediran and Anderson (2020), the analysis shows that although leading to empowering effects, entrepreneurship remains challenging for female entrepreneurs. This study showed that structural and institutional challenges hold back the full potential of female entrepreneurs. Social power relations and the patriarchal organisation of society represent barriers to women's business operations. Specifically, the limited access to sufficient amounts of affordable finance is compromising the visions female entrepreneurs have for their enterprises. Limited access to financial services often has not only a structural cause but is also an expression of gender discrimination. This can be connected to discriminating customary practices that impede women's possibilities of acquiring or inheriting land. Although female entrepreneurs found ways to access other financial resources than those formal financing provided by banks or credit institutions, facilitating a stable flow of capital is a necessary precondition to growth, as mentioned by the interviewees. Enhancing the growth perspective is vital to increase women's contribution to overall economic development and social wellbeing (Bullough et al., 2021) but also to the autonomy of the female entrepreneur.

Furthermore, social gender norms and attitudes are shown in the interactions with male employees. A striking example was reported by Gloria, who was forced to change her style of clothing to avoid unwanted approaches from her male staff. This shows that the leadership role of a woman is not yet widely accepted in society. Patriarchal practices and expectations towards women's role in society predominately put women into the reproductive sphere. However, women entrepreneurs can constructively deal with their employees' adverse attitudes. Furthermore, they actively challenge social perceptions in entering male-dominated domains of work and take over tasks usually executed by men.

Women entrepreneurship in Uganda is a dynamic and diverse phenomenon. In academic literature, entrepreneurs are distinguished by becoming entrepreneurs out of economic necessity or actively following an opportunity (Langevang, 2012). While so-called ‘necessity-entrepreneurs’ see no other employment options, ‘opportunity-entrepreneurs’ are entrepreneurs of their own choice. Following this definition, the women entrepreneurs of this study can be categorised as ‘opportunity-entrepreneurs’, putting particular emphasis on their agency to pursue their occupational passion. However, with their businesses, women entrepreneurs do not only “exploit some identified business opportunity” (Langevang 2012, p. 441), nor are they motivated by “the primacy of individual and economic goals” (Langevang 2012, p. 442). Through the process of business venturing, women entrepreneurs gained ‘*power over*’ by being in a leadership position and having autonomy in decision-making. Compared to employment, this was perceived as an empowering aspect of entrepreneurship. Secondly, women business owners are using entrepreneurship as a tool to challenge social norms. Having a critical consciousness about women’s position in their society, these female entrepreneurs express ‘*power to*’ in resisting oppressive attitudes and going against social expectations. In this way, female entrepreneurs show the potential to become role models to other women in society. They actively engage in the process of networking, a way to collectively organise for the cause of social change (Duflo, 2012). Women entrepreneurs share their knowledge and experience with other entrepreneurs and are willing to mentor other women through the start-up process. Furthermore, in creating jobs, especially for other female members of the communities and directing their business objectives in responding to social issues, women entrepreneurs are agents in support of empowering others (Ng et al., 2022). With a strong orientation toward the community (Lovell, 2010), Ugandan women are not only collaborating but also sharing their achievements in setting meaningful goals to increase the well-being of others.

Overall, the entrepreneurial process is initiating the emancipation of women entrepreneurs from prevalent power systems by providing them with confidence and agency also to lead the process of social change (Ng et al., 2022). This can be seen in the involvement of women in lifting up their communities. In the literature, the orientation to create social benefits plays a central role in women’s decision to start a business. However, it is closely related to the stereotype of female and male business owners. For instance, Nicolás and Rubio state that social enterprising is considered “suitable for women in order to align their interests with the roles that have been attributed to them culturally, closely linked to altruism, care and protection of disadvantaged groups” (p. 56). Personal fulfilment, life satisfaction as well as the desire to gain status and serve the community, however, are providing motivational factors for women entrepreneurs to start a business. Furthermore, social entrepreneurs contribute to addressing specific issues and supporting sustainable development. Thus, as Carranza et al. (2018) highlighted, the narrow definition of success being purely economic should be extended, and the concept of ‘opportunity-driven’ female entrepreneurship critically re-examined (Langevang et al., 2012). In the case of female entrepreneurial success, the definition should include non-economic factors, such as self-fulfilment, status in the community and the contribution to solving social issues beyond mere economic performance (Carranza et al., 2018).

Overall, women entrepreneurs gained independence in the business venturing process and engaged themselves in the collective well-being and the empowerment of communities. However, the individual empowering effects seem to be somewhat limited, excluding defined forms of empowerment in the personal space of the female entrepreneur. Within the family, attitudes towards their role are changing only gradually. They gain respect for their success and draw motivation from being able to care for and be a role model for their children. Although women can actively resist the patronising stands of family members, they are still confronted with being

seen as responsible for the well-being of their husbands and children. With only little involvement and support from the husband or state-led institutions in the care work domain, married women cannot break out of the role of the primary caregiver. Interestingly, Vlahovicova et al. (2019) detected a clear divide between men's perceptions of male engagement in caregiving and domestic work and their perception of social expectation in studying gender norms in Central Uganda. Only 24.1% of men perceive it as shameful, however, they think that 59.8% of the people in the community condemn men involved in UCDW. This offers a springboard to target the promotion of men in overtaking care tasks. Living without a husband is less restricting for women in terms of controlling financial assets and enjoying freedom in mobility and time management, as they can take those decisions themselves (Ng et al., 2022). However, women living separated from their children's fathers even report struggling to receive financial support for raising the children.

Nevertheless, women in this study could reduce their care and domestic burden by redistributing the work. This is important in giving them more freedom in their time management and following their business objectives. They derive support mainly from family members such as sisters or employ live-in domestic workers. Those are mainly involved in caring for children that are not of school age already. With women's active participation in the labour market, new dynamics of domestic care chains emerged in Uganda (Namuggala, 2015). The dynamics show intersectional components. Caregiving and domestic work are done by women of a lower socioeconomic background who are mostly younger and from rural areas. Furthermore, the possibility of sending children to boarding school and paying the tuition for private education is also a clear indicator of the better socioeconomic position of the female entrepreneurs in the study. The empowerment dynamics connected to UCDW that emerge in the study are thus limited to the group of entrepreneurs with similar characteristics as presented here. As a result, the findings cannot be generally applied to the diverse phenomenon of female entrepreneurship. Aspiring women entrepreneurs who do not have the possibility of reducing and redistributing childcare responsibilities might perceive UCDW as a greater barrier to business activities. For instance, Guma (2015) found that female entrepreneurs in Uganda's informal economy report multiple responsibilities as a severe barrier to entrepreneurship. Contrastingly, women in this study did not perceive childcare as main barrier to their business activities, although reporting long days. Moreover, it was indicated that women felt guilty and struggled with finding enough time for family life.

The discussion of the empowering process showed that women are still confronted with barriers primarily deriving from gender norms and attitudes within family and society. Policy implications are discussed in the following sub-chapter to enhance the process of female empowerment further.

5.5 Further Action: Policy Implications

International development agencies can support providing financial resources for national actions or implementing targeted measures supporting women in successfully running a business. The measures should be specifically geared to the needs of women-owned businesses. Demand-oriented action requires the active involvement of the target group. Here, the in-depth interviews with female entrepreneurs and project managers revealed areas for further action. These can represent important lessons learnt for a new programme.

The interviews showed that experienced women entrepreneurs could represent strong role models to other women in the community. Furthermore, it shows that women are networking and sharing experiences and opportunities to encourage young women to venture their business

ideas. Development cooperation can actively collaborate with women's initiatives and organisations to support their efforts and unionisation.

Considering the time constraints that the female entrepreneurs mentioned during the interviews, it should be considered to conceptualise more flexible training. As pointed out by the project manager of WE4A in Uganda, entrepreneurship workshops and training are often time-consuming. Amelia pointed out that it can be helpful to provide training close to the homes and businesses of the female entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it can be considered to split the training so they can quickly come and go home if needed. Discussing further measures with Johanna, a GIZ's gender department representative, and Marcel, as a gender focal person, the following recommendations were derived. For instance, if women have infants, it could be considered to offer breastfeeding rooms, daycare during events, or nursing rooms where mothers can bring their nannies. To reduce childcare responsibilities, women entrepreneurs in Uganda depend on being able to afford a nanny or are reliant on the support of foremost female family members. Although it was not perceived as the most considerable burden by the women in this study, those premises highlight the prevalence of the gendered global care chains and men's minor involvement in care. The predominant responsibility of women for childcare would not change unless underlying causes of inequalities in care are not addressed. Development agencies can support transformative processes by including boys and men as target groups, raising awareness about the triple burden and advocating for their involvement in household and care tasks (Grantham & Somji 2022).

According to Grantham and Somji (2022), solutions to promote childcare for women entrepreneurs that could be supported with development cooperation are diverse. Development actors could support market-based approaches to childcare provision by targeting existing women-led childcare MSMEs with their measures and help them scale up their services and increase the quality of services. Private solutions to meet the childcare needs of female entrepreneurs are, nonetheless, not universally accessible as the affordability might vary depending on the characteristics of the female entrepreneur. It is pointed out that development actors should support investments in public childcare services to address the accessibility constraints of women that might, for example, only run microenterprises. In the case of development projects such as the WE4A that follow a market-based approach, the orientation to "stimulate the creation and growth of childcare MSMEs [...] through impact investment" (Grantham & Somji 2022, p.36), however, seems a suitable approach to include in the project conception. In concluding on the constraint that childcare imposes on female entrepreneurs, it is crucially to say that the provision of institutionalised childcare support was identified to improve women's labour market outcomes. Therefore, investments in public childcare provision are of great relevance for strengthening women's economic empowerment in developing countries.

Further governmental action requires establishing a progressive normative framework, including the abolishment of discriminating laws against women and girls. Further key measurements are protecting women and girls from harmful cultural practices and providing universal access to social and other welfare services (Mwachi, 2022). In particular, weak institutions and legal provisions must be improved. According to the amended Land Act of 2010, women are assigned the right to buy, own, or inherit land. However, the reinforcement of the law is often not ensured, and local practices are applied instead of statutory law (Mugabi, 2014). As pointed out by Mugabi (2014), in Uganda, the "cultural and customary practices discriminate against women and girls in the ownership and inheritance of land, and they have limited resources to protect their legal rights." (p. 7). Limited possibilities to access land are further inhibiting access to finance. Ugandan female entrepreneurs report that the unaffordable interest rates or the denial of loans due to missing collateral are a problem in accessing money. Supporting the develop-

ment of gender-sensitive and affordable finance schemes by commercial banks can be one possible path of engagement by development actors. Furthermore, cooperation with essential partners in the ecosystem could be enhanced. A possibility would be establishing co-investment programmes with business angels that apply a female investment focus. On an overarching level, actors could spread awareness among stakeholders about persistent gender gaps in the financing environment. This way, barriers can further be diminished and create a more inclusive financing system (European Investment Bank, 2020).

After all, international development cooperation can play a crucial role for the Ugandan government to reach their policy objectives in promoting entrepreneurship and gender equality. The policy strategies base the realization on the cooperation with donors and other stakeholders as important partners. However, the government bears responsibility for structural improvements such as establishing the legal enforcement of property rights for women and creating permanent structures that facilitate access to affordable capital.

6 Scientific Contribution and Outlook on Further Research

The study argues from a unique perspective in combining three relevant theoretical approaches into a coherent research model, consisting of the gender-aware framework of female entrepreneurship (Brush et al., 2009), the Triple R framework (Esquivel, 2014) as well as the concept of empowerment (Rowlands, 1997). Therefore, it argues from a feminist perspective which is a relevant angle to take when exploring dynamics around female entrepreneurship and empowerment. Correspondingly, this thesis contributes to the existing literature by adding a new theoretical conception and in-depth insights on the empowerment of female entrepreneurs by investigating its links and effects.

Women entrepreneurship and empowerment are topics followed with great interest by the national as well as the international political arena. Between 2007 and 2019, attention also in academia grew exponentially (Ojong et al., 2020). Generally, the phenomenon of female entrepreneurship was primarily investigated using quantitative approaches (Ojong et al., 2020). In applying a qualitative research design, the study could add in-depth information about female entrepreneurship in Uganda and its leading individual and collective empowering effects. Further research could apply a community-based approach to capture women's voices as part of the collective empowerment effect, such as women employed in female-owned businesses or women that received business mentoring.

Uganda is an interesting case as only a few research activities were detected (Ojong et al., 2020). Furthermore, it has one of the highest numbers of female entrepreneurs, the majority being 'opportunity-driven'. The study selected this distinct group as the main focus of the exploratory research. It represents a group so far unrecognised in many studies concerning women's entrepreneurship in the Global South. Critically reflecting on the term 'opportunity-driven' female entrepreneurship revealed the need for a refined definition. Nevertheless, further research could potentially explore female entrepreneurship in more detail. For instance, focusing on female business owners in male-dominated sectors provides an exciting perspective. In this regard, differences between businesses in different categories and the effects of empowerment could be compared.

Specifically, the gendered challenges and strategies of the studied women were investigated. The study shed light on care work practices and redistribution strategies of female entrepreneurs in Central Uganda and revealed the reinforcement of intersectional care chains. Therefore, diving deeper into the exploration of care dynamics appears to be a promising strand for further

studies. Involving other family members would be a promising approach to uncovering gender attitudes within the household relating to female entrepreneurship and care obligations.

Directing the attention toward gendered challenges of female entrepreneurship, the relevance of adding a policy dimension becomes evident. National policy strategies and measures implemented by international development agencies can contribute to resolving social and structural issues. The pilot project WE4A represents a relevant case as it is uniquely directed exclusively toward a female target group. To gain a long-term perspective, a follow-up study on the interviewed entrepreneurs could be conducted to add more insights into their empowerment achievements and how they proceed with their business. In this regard, it would be interesting to see how the dynamics, for instance, of networking activities continue after phasing out of the project measures.

Therefore, in adding to the already existing picture, the thesis can be further used as foundation for research to strengthen the knowledge base around female entrepreneurship in Uganda, especially among women from a specific socioeconomic background.

7 Conclusion

This thesis investigated the empowerment process of opportunity-driven women entrepreneurs in Central Uganda in the light of gendered challenges and norms as well as national and international policy objectives. The context of the public and private sphere was considered to emphasise the division of unpaid labour. The study applied a qualitative research method, including ten remotely conducted interviews and relevant policy strategies, which were analysed to highlight agentic spaces of women entrepreneurs and their tactics in manoeuvring disadvantageous structures set up by institutions, social norms, and household dynamics. The study revealed both empowering effects for women entrepreneurs as well as remaining challenges due to discriminating structures and entrenched power dynamics. This indicates the slow nature of changing social norms and perceptions. Being engaged in collective well-being, women entrepreneurs contribute not only to their own profit earnings. They recognise and exploit opportunities that emerge around social issues in Ugandan society and cater to their resolution. Furthermore, they can initiate an empowering process by mentoring and giving advice to aspiring female entrepreneurs and being a role model to other women and their children. Hence entrepreneurship can function as “an emancipatory tool to challenge the system of (patriarchal) power” (Ng et al., 2022, p.170).

The study draws attention to the policy dimension and raises policy implications regarding the involvement of international development cooperation in Uganda’s policy efforts. Applying development tools, programmes need to be sensitive to the context when aiming at women empowerment, considering especially local values and social backgrounds. Intertwined with social power relations, the involvement of the broader society and, most importantly, the male partner must be ensured in order to stimulate sustainable social change with the help of development projects. In this way, international development cooperation can not only provide immediate support for women entrepreneurs regarding accessing finance or obtaining relevant business skills but can also contribute to a transformative process to reach gender equality. Therefore, this study not only opens up avenues for future research but also has practical implications for projects beyond Uganda’s context.

Above all, the thesis showed that the division of UCDW sets an additional challenge not only to women’s entrepreneurship but also to its redistribution. The neoliberal restructuring and the rise of capitalism in societies initiated a “trend of care commodification” (Lutz 2018, p. 579). ‘Opportunity-driven’ female entrepreneurs in Uganda are part of a socioeconomic class who

are able to reconcile domestic and paid work by outsourcing these tasks to other women, perpetuating social perception of gendered caregiving responsibilities in families (Lutz, 2018). To make female empowerment processes inclusive, it is necessary to reform care regimes to be more egalitarian. One pathway is to establish universal, institutionally based care services.

Therefore, the study highlighted the multidimensionality of the empowerment process and engaged with women's views and interpretations of empowerment through entrepreneurship by asking them about their individual experiences. This nuanced view on the gendered context and lived realities show that women entrepreneurs are finding spaces of agency, indicating promising developments of women to break with social oppressions.

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Appendices

Appendix I: List of Interviewees

Pseudo-nym	Education	Sector	Employees	Location	Employment	Number Children	Marital Status
Gloria	Higher education	Agriculture	yes	Central Region	entrepreneur	2	Single mother
Dianah	Higher education	Social enterprise and agriculture	yes	Central Region	entrepreneur	2	Single mother

Angela	Higher education	Medical Services	yes	Kampala	entrepreneur	2	married
June	Higher education	Retail of homemade goods	Not permanently	Kampala	entrepreneur & employee	1	Single mother
Leticia	Higher education	Retail of medical goods	yes	Kampala	entrepreneur	2	married
Christina	Higher education	Retail of homemade goods	Not permanently	Kampala	entrepreneur & employee	3	married

Appendix II: List of Experts

Pseudonym	Position
Tamara	GIZ Project Manager WE4A
Amelia	GIZ Project Coordinator WE4A Uganda
Johanna	GIZ Gender Focal Person
Marcel	GIZ Consultant Gender Department

Appendix III: Expert Interview Guide

Pseudonym:	
Date of Interview:	
Duration of Interview:	
Position in GIZ:	

I am doing research on female entrepreneurship in a Sub-Saharan African context. I want to research the challenges they face in their carriers especially when also having to care for their families.

Working for the WE4A, you know much better than I do what challenges women are facing that are taking part in the project. Reflecting on this might also help to develop new strategies in development cooperation to respond to their needs and include them in the implementation of new projects to provide them with further support. This is why your expertise is very valuable to me!

Our interview will take about 30 minutes. I might take a few notes while we are talking, but I can't note down everything you say. So, I would like to ask your permission to record this conversation. I will keep this recording on a hard drive secured with a password and delete it once I have written it out in a transcript. Sections of our conversation may be used in the research report as quotes or through paraphrasing.

Do you have any questions for me before we begin? Do I have your permission to record this conversation?

I. Introduction

I have introduced the research topic and myself a little bit. Now I would like to get to know you.

1) Can you tell me a bit about you and the work you do for GIZ?

Probe: carrier; current tasks and responsibilities; involvement in recent projects

2) Can you tell me something about the project Women Entrepreneurship for Africa?

Probe: what is the overall aim? what activities did take place? What activities are planned?

II. Key questions

I am specifically interested in women entrepreneurs that are at the same time mothers. Due to their role in their families, they might experience increased pressure regarding time management, multitasking, mobility, and social norms. The pressure of family obligations or expectations of family members about their role, were reported to be important factors for women to decide on the amount of time they spend for their businesses or even to exit the labour market completely.

1) How would you describe the role of a woman in her family and her respective position in society in the country you're working?

Probe: traditional; depends on area; progressive; degree of gender equality; did it change recently

2) How do you think woman, and mothers specifically, experience pressure from their families to cope with both family and their business? Do you think they put pressure on themselves to balance family and work?

Probe: taking the time outside the household; negative attitude towards female entrepreneurship or employment in general

3) The project now is already in its final stages as some of the components are already completed. Can you tell me if you came across women that struggled to take part in the project because of their family obligations or resistances in their family? If yes, what was the specific cause?

Probe: can you give a specific example?

4) How did the project team in Uganda incorporate the issue of care work in the conception of the project?
Probe: mobility; childcare arrangements; possibility for women to take the children with her

5) Are there other types of support that can be provided to women and mothers during the programme? Is so, what would you suggest?
Probe: depending on measures taken

6) Do you know if there are some public structures and childcare facilities available for women?

III. Closing questions

1) In your opinion, is entrepreneurship a good way to make women feel more empowered?
Probe: self-esteem and confidence in own abilities

2) Throughout the programme, did other topics came up, where women expressed a need for more support?
Probe: Business; family; skills, institutions

3) What would you say are central lessons learned from the current project phase?
Probe: Did you come across unsolved problems connected to childcare provision?

Thank you so much for your valuable input. Before I stop the recording, I was wondering if there was anything else you would like to tell me.

Specific questions to the GIZ Gender Department and Gender Vocal Persons:

1) What are possible ways to establish childcare arrangements sustainably beyond the project duration?
Probe: Invest in childcare ventures; invest in provision of affordable and good quality childcare facilities, establish communal childcare services

2) Who could be possible project partners in the aim to reach an equitable division of unpaid care and domestic work especially for women entrepreneurs?

Probe: stakeholders private and public; ministries; communities; family members

3) Overall, what could be possible project tools to reach more gender equality and empowerment for women?

Probe: possibilities of changing of social norms; awareness raising equal division of work

Appendix IV: Women Entrepreneurs Interview Guide

Pseudonym:	
Date of Interview:	
Duration of Interview:	
Sector of Business:	
Education:	
Marital Status:	
Children (age):	

Hello, I am Dana, a student from the Netherlands. I am doing research on the management of family and work obligations of female entrepreneurs in Uganda. I would like to have a conversation with you about your experiences as an entrepreneur and mother. The questions I would like to ask you relate to your ways of balancing your business and time with your family, how and what kind of support you receive as a working mother. As participant of the Women Entrepreneurship Programme, I would also like to ask you about how you experienced that time specifically. I am doing this research for my university course in the Netherlands and because I am currently doing an internship at the GIZ in Germany. This is why I was connected to you with the help of my colleagues at GIZ. I am very thankful because I think, your experience can give me valuable insights on this.

I hope you will feel comfortable to share your story and your experience with me and allow me to use it for my research.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Opening questions:

1) Can you tell me a little bit about your business?

Probe: economic sector; business idea; duration; employees

2) What is your favorite part of being a business owner?

Probe: motivation; time management

3) What was most useful for you while you participated in the entrepreneurship programme?

Probes: participation of activities; skills and knowledge obtained; connected to other women entrepreneurs; support received

Deepening knowledge about childcare practices

Thank you so far, now I have the feeling that I gotten to know you a little bit. I would like us to go a little bit deeper into your experiences of taking up the important tasks of care and household chores while also working for your business. I will ask you some questions about factors, that are important for the research. So, let's start!

1) Can you tell me where and with whom you currently live with?

Probe: number of children; husband/partner; other family member besides the nuclear family; age and gender of family members; Urban or rural

2) Can you tell me how a normal day looks like for you?

Probe: working; household chores; taking care of family members; time for oneself

3) Can you guess how much time you spend on household and childcare and how much on work?

Probe: division of time (morning, day, evening); more or less flexible?

4) How is the division of time between family and work affecting your business or family? Do you feel time constrained in your daily life? Did you also feel time constrained while participating in the entrepreneurship programme?

Probe: wish for additional support while enterprise development; how would that look like?

<p>5) How do you feel with having to manage both tasks, work and family? Probe: effects on physical wellbeing, effects on mental wellbeing, guilt</p>
<p>6) Where are your children while you're at work? <i>Probe: changes over time (pre-school aged children; school aged children); involvement of other (female) family members; community; public institutions -> accessibility and affordability</i></p>
<p>7) Are there any barriers for you to take up public childcare services? <i>Probe: general availability, distance, costs, opening times, quality, social norms</i></p>
<p>8) What kind of support do you receive from other family with childcare and household chores for example from your partner (relatives; older children)? <i>Probe: time compared to own time spent on tasks; time relieve or lack of support?</i></p>
<p>9) How would the ideal childcare arrangement look like for you? <i>Probe: children with herself; family members or public institution; distance to home and workplace; available hours of care facility</i></p>

Deepening knowledge about gender norms and empowerment

Thank you for sharing in more detail how you manage your work and family. Now I would like to ask some more questions about your relationship with your family, business network and community and how you experience their attitudes and experienced towards you. If this is in any way too personal for you to share, feel free to stop this interview at any given moment if you feel uncomfortable.

<p>1) How would you describe your partner's attitude towards your business? Your parent's and parent's in-law attitudes? Your community's attitude? <i>Probe: neutral, negative, supportive, proud</i></p>
<p>2) How does their opinion influence you in your business activities? <i>Probe: feelings of responsibility or anxiety; feeling of being limited; feeling of being supported</i></p>

3) Did you experience that you were not taken seriously by potential customer, clients, investors because of you being a woman/mother and entrepreneur?

Probe: example of a specific situation

4) In successfully managing your business do you experience a change in those attitudes or in the way they support you?

Probe: specific tasks in the household?

5) How do you feel as a successful businesswoman?

Probe: happy to provide for the family, independence, power in decision making, feeling of contributing something to the community, fulfilment of a life dream, feeling of guilt, feeling of missing out

6) Before we wrap up, I would like to ask you what your hopes and plans for the future are?

Probes: growing and expanding the business; finding more time for the business; finding more time for the family; gaining more skills

7) Looking back at your journey what were the things that helped you the most?

7.1) What would further help you in your business journey?

Probe: who should help; what should be done

8) Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

Probe: good or bad sides in another area of being a female entrepreneur

Thank you so much for sharing your personal story with me. I know it was very time-consuming. However, your input is very valuable to my research. If you'd like I can make sure to inform you about the results when the research is finished.