



<http://www.diva-portal.org>

Postprint

This is the accepted version of a paper published in *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*. This paper has been peer-reviewed but does not include the final publisher proof-corrections or journal pagination.

Citation for the original published paper (version of record):

Sköld, B., Tillmar, M. (2015)

Resilient gender order in entrepreneurship: the case of Swedish welfare industries

International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship, 7(1): 2-26

<https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-09-2013-0057>

Access to the published version may require subscription.

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published paper.

Permanent link to this version:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:lnu:diva-64147>

Resilient gender order in entrepreneurship: the case of Swedish welfare industries

Birgitta Sköld and Malin Tillmar

Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this article is to use quantitative empirical data to analyse the degree of resilience, as well as change or reproduction of the gender order, in the era of New Public Management. The propositions are constructed based on liberal- and socialist-feminist perspectives, and discussed in light of the empirical results.

Design/methodology/approach – We report from a longitudinal quantitative study of female- dominated welfare industries. Data, available from Statistics Sweden, include the total population of entrepreneurs available on the individual level. However, the level of analysis that was used in the study was in accordance with the industry level. Data were processed from an aggregated level to the most detailed level of classification.

Findings – The findings reveal resilience in the prevailing gender order. The order is being reproduced in the entrepreneurship context, in most of the industries that were studied.

Practical implications – The results may potentially have profound impact on entrepreneurship policy, equality policy and public sector restructuring.

Originality/value – This quantitative longitudinal study shows a complex pattern on the detailed industry level, which can be understood in terms of male gender labelling of entrepreneurship. The results thus support previous qualitative studies that have observed this phenomenon. Methodologically, this paper contributes to the field by showing that without breaking down the analysis into the different female- dominated industries on a five-digit level, the various results of the public sector reforms and the attendant gendered effects would not have been revealed.

Keywords Gender theory, SME, Sweden, Womens entrepreneurship, Public sector, Feminist theory

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Researchers and politicians consider entrepreneurship to be a crucial pre-requisite for economic growth and for the creation of jobs (Birch, 1989; Davidsson et al., 2001; Allen et al., 2007).

However, women are currently under-represented as entrepreneurs[1], a fact gender system/order (Hirdman, 1990) will not change. Although the number of women may increase, it is possible that women will be given their “own rooms”. According to Hirdman (2001), women are at times given their “own rooms”, which are especially delimited for work labelled as female.

The socialist feminist sees gender as constructed in social practices and embedded in power relations, historical conditions and practices of masculinity (Calas and Schmircich, 2006). Gender practices are related to a substructure of gender. Procedures and activities in organisations are gendered and thereby segregate, manage, control and construct hierarchies. Power is played out in processes and practices (Acker, 1990). Gender is also created and recreated in “[...] symbols, images, ideologies that legitimate inequalities and differences” (Calas and Schmircich, 2006, p. 306). There is, for example, gender labelling of occupations and also of entrepreneurship (e.g. Bruni *et al.*, 2004; Sundin, 1998, 2006).

Despite the fact that people often start businesses in industries where they have previous experience (Shane, 2000), there are qualitative studies indicating that men are becoming entrepreneurs to a greater extent than their representation among the industry’s employees would predict (Kovalainen, 1993; Sundin, 1997; Sundin and Tillmar, 2010). The researchers’ interpretations are based on the idea that man is the norm of entrepreneurship and thus “entrepreneurship” is labelled male (Ahl, 2002; Sundin, 2002; Achtenhagen and Welter, 2005). This view is based on analyses of the entrepreneur as a hero (Berglund, 2007); the “economic man” rationality (Foss, 2010); stereotyping of male attributes and behaviours (Ahl, 2004; Achtenhagen and Welter, 2011); the working tasks which are labelled male; and the fact that women are invisible in the official statistics and are seen as a minority among entrepreneurs. To conclude, from a socialist feminist perspective, it is more doubtful that the reforms will have the politically intended effect, as the power dimension of the current gender order/system (Connell, 1987; Hirdman, 1990) is regarded as too deeply embedded in social practices (Thomas and Davies, 2002; Calas and Schmircich, 2006; Connell, 2009; Sundin and Tillmar, 2010; Sundin, 2011, 2012; Neergaard and Thrane, 2011; Sundin and Hedlund, 2012). P2, rooted in socialist feminist perspectives, is thus as follows:

- P2. As numerically female-dominated industries linked to the public sector are opened up to privately owned companies as supplying organisations, women entrepreneurs will:
- (a) increase in terms of absolute numbers;
 - (b) decrease or remain unchanged in terms of their percentage of the total number of entrepreneurs (in relation to male entrepreneurs); and

- (c) remain similarly under-represented or become more under-represented in terms of their percentage of the total number of employees in the respective industries.

Methodology

This article is based on a study which is part of a research project on women's entrepreneurship in the wake of the last transformation of the Swedish public sector (Sköld, 2013). The empirical data were processed in distinct steps, from an aggregated industry level to the lowest level of official industry classification. The extent to which women and men are self-employed or owner-managers in female-dominated industries was studied on the detailed industry level, which was found to be essential for understanding the role of underlying structures, such as the gender order.

In addition to studying the absolute numbers of entrepreneurs, a comparison was made between the percentage of women and men of the total number of entrepreneurs, which enables an analysis of the gender segregation (Hirdman, 2001; Sundin, 2006; Verheul *et al.*, 2006). Furthermore, we also measured the gap between women's representation among the entrepreneurs and women's representation among the employees (c.f. the propositions made above). This under/over-representation illustrates the strength of gendered structures such as the male norm of entrepreneurship (Acker, 1990; Ahl, 2004; Sundin, 2002), since individuals are assumed to start businesses in industries within which they have experience (Shane, 2000). Data were analysed in a descriptive way and the empirical pattern of women and men entrepreneurs in the different female-dominated industries was discussed in the light of theoretical outlined propositions. The study has been abductive in that the theoretical and empirical patterns were compared in a back-and-forth process. This process clarified the importance of making the analysis on the most detailed industry level and the importance of analysing the three different measurements mentioned above used in revealing the gender order:

- (1) the absolute numbers of women and men entrepreneurs;
- (2) the percentages of women entrepreneurs in relation to men; and
- (3) the under/over-representation of women as entrepreneurs in relation to their percentage of the total number of employees in the respective industry.

Data

To study changes in terms of the extent of women and men entrepreneurship (De Vaus, 2001), a longitudinal quantitative study was conducted. This is a relatively rare design in small-business and entrepreneurship studies (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009). The time period that was studied, 1993-2008, was selected and delimited on the basis that a reconstruction of the public markets was implemented in Sweden at the beginning of the 1990s (Norén, 2006). However, there was also a methodologically problematic time-break in the data in 1992, due to a revision of the industry classification system in 1992, which thus made 1993 a suitable starting

year. The final year of study was decided pragmatically, as data from Statistics Sweden was available for the years up to and including 2008.

The data were available from the LISA[5] database, which is connected to the REMESO research institute at Linköping University[6]. This database includes individual-based statistics of integrated registers based on civil registration and labour market registers. The statistics include every person who was registered in Sweden aged 16 years and older (Statistics Sweden, 2008).

The industries studied

The object of study is the population of entrepreneurs found in the various industries. The level of analysis is at the industry level. In Sweden, industries are classified by a standard industry classification system, which is based on NACE[7] and is compatible with the United Nations ISIC system[8]. The Swedish hierarchical code system is organised in five levels of industrial groups, from the lowest level of official classification on a five-digit level, up to the highest aggregated level on a one-digit level.

Businesses are classified on the five-digit level by their main activity, although they may perform additional activities (Statistics Sweden, 2003).

The industries that were studied were female-dominated in terms of employment[9] and include activities financed and regulated by the municipality, county council or state. The industries have gone through changes due to privatisation and the competition now in force in the public sector. The activities of the industries fall primarily within the education, social care and health care sectors, but also within functions that support or are connected to public sector activities.

To decide which industries were relevant to our study, delimitation was made based on the following criteria:

- In the industry concerned, at least 60 per cent of the employees in the public sector in 1993 should be women. That is, the industry should be numerically female-dominated.
- Industries with fewer than 500 employees in 1993, and with fewer than 10 entrepreneurs per year throughout the period studied, were excluded[10].
- Industries were excluded if fewer than 30 per cent of the total number of employees were employed in the public sector in 1993[11] or if no private employees were found throughout the period of study[12].

The population of entrepreneurs (self-employed or owner-managers)

Given the criteria outlined above, the present study is not a total survey of all industries. It is, however, a total study of the population of the entrepreneurs among the industries which fulfil the specified criteria. Consequently, a measure of reliability is introduced to our study. The study includes individuals whose main

employment status was as “employee” or “business owner”[13] in the industries in November of the years that were studied[14]. In the data, there are two categories of entrepreneurs where the gender of the entrepreneur can be determined. The first category includes *self-employment and partnership companies* and the second category is *business owners employed in their own limited company* (Statistics Sweden, 2008). These categories of entrepreneurs are presented in this study as one group and no distinction is made as to whether or not they have employees.

Reflections of the data

The industry classification system is being revised continuously. During the period that was studied, the system was revised in 2002 and 2007. This had an impact on several of the industries that were studied in the health- and social care sectors. Subgroups on the five-digit level were divided or brought together in new constellations (Statistics Sweden, 2003). This entails breaks in the time series, and to make it possible to follow changes in the number of entrepreneurs over time, it has been necessary to handle the reclassification with accuracy and try to maintain the original classifications. The changes that had been dealt with for reclassification in the 2002 are presented in the Table AI. Statistics Sweden has supplied a separate variable to check the changes in 2007.

The industry classification system has been criticised for not being gender-neutral (Nutek, 2006). Male-dominated industries in, for example, manufacturing, are more detailed on the highest industry level compared to female-dominated industries, which often include several different activities. From a gender perspective, this means that it is difficult to investigate conditions in specific female-dominated industries when studying entrepreneurship on the highest industry levels. Thus, the present study’s focus is on the lowest five-digit level. Reports on the extent to which women are entrepreneurs are usually presented on an aggregated level in Sweden (Nutek, 2003, 2005; Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, 2006, 2009). The studies which have been conducted on the five-digit level (Statistics Sweden, 2006; Nutek, 2007, 2008) have been narrower in scope, both with respect to the industries that were included in the studies and the time frame that was considered in this present study.

Part-time entrepreneurs are excluded from this study, as a person’s connection to an industry is based on their main employment status (Statistics Sweden, 2008). As the purpose of the study is to analyse entrepreneurship on the industry level, this exclusion is necessary and justified in terms of the present study’s reliability. Nevertheless, the fact that data are only supplied from the month of November can potentially cause statistical bias, for example, in cases where part-time entrepreneurs receive their main income from their businesses exclusively in November. Another type of bias might be traced to cases where spouses are registered as owners of the firm, although it is their partner who actually manages the business. What is most common in such cases is that it is the woman who is registered as the

business owner (Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, 2010), although in this study the opposite may be true. Such systematic errors could theoretically result in bias, but there is no reason to assume that the extent of these two potential problems would actually cause any bias. *Public companies* and *economic associations* do not provide any information on the individual level (Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, 2010), and consequently owners and representatives of these categories are not included in the study. We note that pre-schools are often registered as *economic associations* and that these constitute about 45 per cent of the organisations registered in the pre-school industry in 2006 (LISA). This may result in an underestimation of the small-scale activities that take place in this industry and may, therefore, be of great interest for further study.

The case of Sweden

In this section, we describe the Swedish context first in terms of the development of gender equality policies and subsequently in relation to the public sector.

Gender equality in Swedish politics

In Sweden, women did not have the right to vote, nor were they seen as legally competent, until the year 1921 (Hirdman, 2001). Gender equality policies and reforms were introduced during the 1940s and 1950s by the Social Democratic Party. The main focus was on issues related to the family and to the labour market, as women's labour was needed to build up the welfare system and to increase growth in society. Women were integrated into the labour market, but were differentiated into special female salary scales (Hirdman, 2001). However, the late 1960s saw the emergence of a women's movement, as in other European countries, both from the reformist and Marxist strands (Lundqvist, 1999). Hernes (1987) argues that "women-friendly" states developed in the Nordic countries through state feminism, where women's movements, gender researchers and government policy-makers collaborated in strengthening women's rights. During the 1970s and 1980s, policies and reforms that were designed to expand the welfare state and increase gender equality were launched by the Social Democratic Party, but also by the liberal right-wing parties when they were in government (Lundqvist, 1999; Hirdman, 2001). Individual taxation, an expansion of public childcare and elderly care, parental leave for mothers and for fathers, a social insurance system for the sick, unemployment benefits and retirement benefits were policies that changed the situation of women. This progress towards establishing a more equal society was the result of the work of a number of feminists and femocrats (Bergqvist *et al.*, 2008). Gender equality policies were implemented in the areas of labour market, social care and family care, on the grounds that this would increase women's economic autonomy and improve their opportunities to combine paid work and care for their children (Lindvert, 2007).

By the middle of the 1990s, there was agreement on gender mainstreaming through all Swedish political processes and institutions (Lindvert, 2007; Bergqvist *et al.*, 2008). Nevertheless, there is disagreement among the political wings about the means of achieving gender equality. The parties in the centre (liberal) and on the left wing are proclaimed feminists and acknowledge the gender order and structural barriers for women. The right wing parties do not recognise structural conditions (Dahlerup, 2004). These politically egalitarian values in the Swedish political agenda have been found to enable a better economic situation for women than is the case in more liberalised labour markets such as the UK and the USA (Webb, 2009). Thus, there have been changes in women's conditions since 1921, yet the changes have been as reforms within the existing systems of politics and economics (Gelb, 1989; Lundqvist, 1999) inter-related by the gender system where the man is seen as the norm. In a Swedish state investigation of power systems (SOU, 1990, p. 44), the "gender system/order" was emphasised as one of the power orders of society, equivalent to and also embedded in politics and economy. These gendered patterns regulate the integration and segregation of women and men into what are seen to be predominantly male or female activities and spaces. The foundations on which these processes rest support a hierarchy where "man" is the norm against which "woman" is defined, and for whom institutions and practices are shaped (Hirdman, 1990). The bases of this system and its structures have not changed. Sweden still has a gender-segregated labour market, a gendered income differentiation and part-time employment for working-class women in particular (Gelb, 1989; Lundqvist, 1999; Hirdman, 2001).

Women and the public sector

As mentioned above, the Nordic countries have been characterised as "women-friendly states". The public sector is both a large employer of women and a prerequisite for women to manage both family and work within the current gender system. Sweden, however, has one of the most extensive welfare systems in the world, and the public sector is numerically female-dominated (Ellingsaeter, 2000). During the 1980s, the large size of the public sector was called into question, and a liberal managerial agenda was introduced into the public sector system. "New Public Management" was the collective name for a series of reforms that advocated an increased use of management ideas taken from the private sector. One of the ideas that was implemented in Sweden was to expose the public provider organisations to competition from "alternative providers", i.e. private organisations. The reasoning behind this was to increase the impact of the market and the level of choice for the individual. A transformation from a "state-based welfare producer" to a "market-based welfare producer" started in the beginning of the 1990s (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000; Norén, 2006). Most services were still funded by public means and competitive tendering was the dominant procedure at the outset, with customer choice systems increasing in importance after 2000. It was anticipated that welfare

services would be provided by a number of different service providers, and politicians hoped this would be the domain of women's entrepreneurship (Sundin and Tillmar, 2010). In the wake of the transformation of the public sector, employees were encouraged to start co-operatives and their own businesses (Sundin and Törnquist, 2006), and tender for publicly funded services. However, women are also under-represented among entrepreneurs, when this is measured in terms of SME ownership. Around a quarter of Swedish SMEs are owned by women (Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, 2012). Since 2005, Swedish citizens have been provided with an on-going governmental programme to promote women's entrepreneurship. This programme includes activities such as regional business counsellors, support for research on women entrepreneurship, education, networking and mentoring, the dissemination of new liberal ideas and "a feminist empowerment paradigm" (Pettersson, 2012, p. 13).

The expectations for women's enterprises are very high. Maud Olofsson, a former Minister for Enterprise in Sweden, claims the following:

Women running businesses are not only important for growth in society – it is also a matter of equality. [...] Only if we take advantage of all the entrepreneurialism in Sweden we can ensure that more jobs are created. Increased opportunities for ambitious women is a pre-requisite for equal conditions. (Olofsson (2009) Minister for Enterprise)[15].

Her successor continued the work:

That more women start businesses is a matter of gender equality and an economic issue for Sweden and for the world (Löf, 2013, Minister for Enterprise)[16].

Previous reports and research in this context have been performed on an aggregated[17] industry level (Nutek, 2003, 2005), and/or at a given point in time (Hedberg and Pettersson, 2006). Consequently, there is, to date, a lack of longitudinal quantitative studies on a detailed industry level.

Qualitative studies show that this policy change has not always led to plurality, and that women did not start businesses to the extent anticipated by the policy-makers. There is, in fact, a trend towards an oligopoly (Tillmar, 2009; Sundin, 2011). There is also a trend towards a "masculinisation" of the public sector; firstly, there is an increase in the number of firms providing public sector services whose owners are male; and secondly, there has been a transformation of the underlying rationality, from one of care to one based on profit and efficiency (Sundin and Tillmar, 2010). Complicated systems of procurement, high transaction costs and detailed policies on quality act as barriers to entry for new companies to this marketplace (Norén, 2006).

The longitudinal study

The presentation of our results is divided into two sections: an aggregated level, and a five-digit industry level.

We follow the same structure in both sections and begin by presenting the absolute numbers of women and men who were entrepreneurs in the years 1993 to 2008. Entries and exits of entrepreneurs are not specified. This is followed by the percentage of women as entrepreneurs, and last, but not least, we present the under/over-representation of women as entrepreneurs in relation to their percentage of the total number of employees in the respective industries.

Aggregated level results

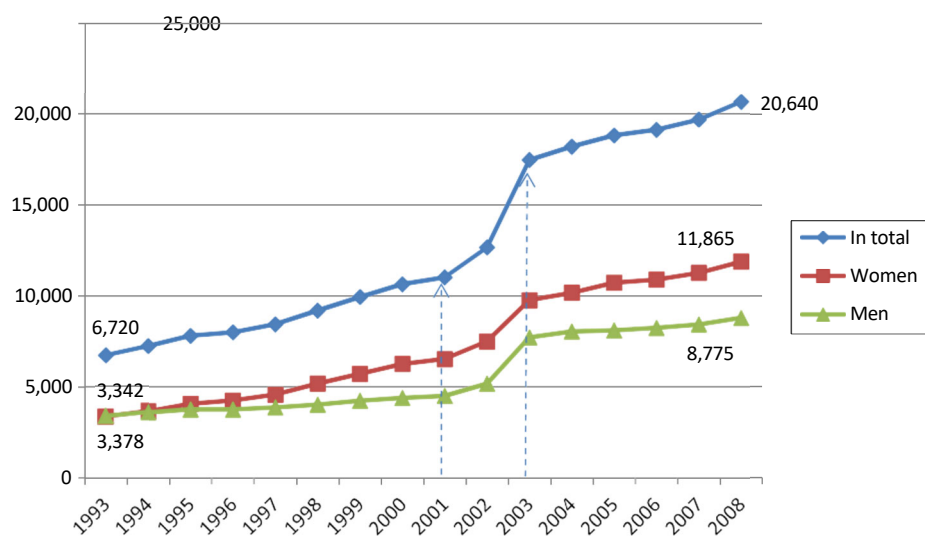
Figure 1 shows that the absolute number of entrepreneurs increased over the period of the study. In total, the number of entrepreneurs increased by 13,920. The number of women entrepreneurs increased by 8,523, and of men entrepreneurs by 5,397. This means that, in total, competition in the industries studied resulted in more entrepreneurs of both genders.

Figure 1 shows that women entrepreneurs increased by 255 per cent, and men entrepreneurs by 160 per cent. The percentage of women entrepreneurs increased from 50 to 57 per cent (Table I) on this aggregated level. However, women are under-represented as entrepreneurs in relation to their percentage as employees, as the percentage of women employees was 84 per cent in 1993 and 82 per cent in 2008. The under-representation in relation to the percentage of women employees has decreased by 9 percentage points, from 34 to 25.

Industry level results

At the lowest level of aggregation (the five-digit classification), a different picture emerges. At first glance, the results are diverse and scattered (Table I). Among the 16 industries shown in Table I, the absolute number of women entrepreneurs increased more than the number of men entrepreneurs in eight of the industries. As much as 45 per cent of this increase among the women stems from a single industry: *Other human health activities* (3,857/8,523, column III). Although the figures on the aggregated level show that the number of women entrepreneurs increased more than the number of men entrepreneurs, the figures on the detailed level reveals a picture where men entrepreneurs increased more than women in eight of the industries (column IV). Thus, the results on a detailed level show that marketisation and competitive tendering had different results depending on the industry. In half of the industries that were studied, men started businesses in larger numbers than women.

Figure 1.
The absolute number of women and men entrepreneurs in 1993-2008 on the aggregated level
(Sköld, 2013)[18]



Industry level Column I	Changes in numbers of entrepreneurs				Women's percentage of employees		Women's percentage of entrepreneurs Men		Change in women's percentage of entrepreneurs in percentage points		Women's over/under- representation in percentage points +/-
	Women		IV 1993-2008	V change	VI 1993	VII 2008	VIII 1993	IX 2008	X	XI 1993	XII 2008
	II 1993-2008	III change									
<i>Over-representation of women entrepreneurs 2008</i>											
Other childcare	10-685	675	4-41	37	95	87	71	94	23	-24	7
Other human health activities	1.270-5,127	3,857	622-2,046	1,424	72	72	67	72	5	-5	0
<i>Under-representation of women entrepreneurs 2008</i>											
Pre-school	19-376	357	1-36	35	89	95	95	91	-4	6	-4
Primary education	2-167	165	1-81	80	75	78	67	67	0	-8	-11
R&D in medical science	27-150	123	38-193	155	59	57	42	44	2	-17	-13
Vocational secondary education	4-29	25	5-48	43	58	54	44	38	-6	-14	-16
Industrial cleaning	850-1,968	1,118	1,233-1,953	720	74	66	41	50	9	-33	-16
Social work activities for individuals and families	27-136	109	25-93	68	74	77	52	59	7	-22	-18
Labour recruitment	11-162	151	7-287	280	63	56	61	36	-25	-2	-20
Social work activities for elder and disabled people	4-329	325	1-254	253	92	84	80	56	-24	-12	-28
Social work activities with accommodation, not elderly people	82-284	202	76-344	268	80	75	52	45	-7	-28	-30
Social work activities with accommodation, elderly people	6-30	24	4-19	15	94	92	60	61	1	-34	-31
Medical practice activities	337-1,291	954	384-1,554	1,170	82	82	47	45	-2	-35	-37
Industrial washing and dry-cleaning	27-16	-11	55-62	7	64	60	33	21	-12	-31	-39
Hospital activities	67-41	-26	60-59	-1	84	82	53	41	-12	-31	-41
Dental practice activities	599-1,074	475	862-1,705	843	80	82	41	39	-2	-39	-43
<i>Aggregated level</i>	3,342-11,865	8,523	3,378-8,775	5,397	84	82	50	57	7	-34	-25
Notes: Bold data in column III signify: in these industries, the numbers of women entrepreneurs have increased more than the numbers of men entrepreneurs; bold data in column V signify: in these industries, the numbers of men entrepreneurs have increased more than the numbers of women entrepreneurs; bold data in column X signify: in these industries, the percentages of women entrepreneurs have increased over time											

Table I. The absolute numbers, relative numbers, and women' s over/under- representation shown on the five-digit industry level
(Sköld,
2013)

When studying the percentages of women entrepreneurs on the detailed five-digit level, a multitude of results in different industries appears. Table I shows that in six of the industries, the percentage of women entrepreneurs increased, albeit to varying degrees (column X). The largest increases occurred in the *Other childcare* (23 percentage points), *Industrial cleaning* (9 percentage points), *Social work activities for individuals and families* (7 percentage points) and *Other human health activities* (5 percentage points) industries. However, the percentage of women entrepreneurs decreased in nine industries. We can see that the percentage of men entrepreneurs increased the most in the *Labour recruitment* (25 percentage points), *Social work activities for elderly and disabled people* (24 percentage points), *Industrial washing and dry-cleaning* (12 percentage points) and *Hospital activities* (12 percentage points) industries.

The changes described above do not seem to be related to the degree to which the industries are female-dominated (column VII), which may be somewhat surprising from a liberal perspective. It should also be noted that changes were very small in seven of the industries during the time studied (column X). The relative numbers of women entrepreneurs have not changed by more than 5 percentage points in these industries.

The data for the detailed industry level show that in as many as 14 of the 16 industries, women in 2008 were still under-represented as entrepreneurs in relation to their percentage as employees. There has been only a marginal change from 1993, when women were under-represented in 15 of the 16 industries (column XII). Men's over-representation has increased in percentage points in ten of the industries. Thus, men still start and run businesses to a greater extent than women, even in female-dominated industries, contrary to *P1*, but in accordance with *P2* discussed above. The exceptions are *Other childcare* and *Other human health activities*. Nevertheless, the exceptions differ with respect to the numbers of men entrepreneurs. There are few men running businesses in *Other childcare*, but in *Other human health activities* we find the largest increase in the numbers of men entrepreneurs over time (column V). In *Pre-school*, the under-representation was relatively small, 4 percentage points in 2008. The two industries that include childcare are also the most female-dominated industries when it comes to both the percentage of employees (87 and 95 per cent in 2008, column VII) and the percentage of entrepreneurs (94 and 91 per cent in 2008, column IX).

The female under-representation as entrepreneurs can be seen regardless of the percentage of women as employees, except for the cases of *Childcare* and *Other human health* industries in Table I (column XII). The largest under-representation of women entrepreneurs is found in *Dental practice activities* (43 percentage points), *Hospital activities* (41 percentage points), *Industrial washing and dry-cleaning* (39 percentage points) and *Medical practice activities* (37

percentage points).

When comparing the percentages of women as entrepreneurs with the percentages of women as employees, an even clearer pattern can be observed; despite these being female-dominated industries, there is an over-representation of men entrepreneurs, given their percentage as employees.

Discussion: the gender order reproduced

PI is based on the liberal feminist-inspired expectation that removing obstacles in female-dominated industries will increase women's entrepreneurship. The results on the aggregated level of analysis and on the detailed industry level convey different messages. From looking at the aggregated data, the complex patterns of segregation that emerge during the period that was studied are not salient. Women's entrepreneurship in absolute numbers and in the share of total entrepreneurship increased, in line with *PIa* and *PIb*, respectively. Although women's under-representation in relation to their percentage as employees decreased in line with *PIc*, there still remains a wide gap. Looking only at data on this aggregated level may give the impression that the expectations of the Swedish Ministers of Enterprise and liberal feminist-inspired research ([Brush *et al.*, 2004](#); [Henrekson, 2004](#); [Kelly *et al.*, 2011](#)) were fulfilled, and that the markets were on their way to solving the gender bias in entrepreneurship, as well as moving us towards a more egalitarian society.

Data on the detailed industry level convey another and more complex message. Hidden behind the aggregation of data lies a diverse pattern of industries, where the segregation of women's and men's entrepreneurship into different industries plays a major role. Although the study concerns only female-dominated industries, the percentage of men entrepreneurs increased in nine of the industries between 1993 and 2008. Contrary to the picture revealed to us on the aggregated level, marketisation seems to have increased female under-representation in 10 of the industries during the time studied. In 2008, 14 of the 16 industries displayed an over-representation of men entrepreneurs (hence the under-representation of women entrepreneurs). Although women have increased their entrepreneurship, men have done so even more, as shown in [Table I](#), column X. From a socialist-feminist perspective, this is both a consequence and an expression of the gender system/order ([Hirdman, 1990](#), [Connell, 2009](#)). More specifically, women's under-representation among the entrepreneurs, even in female-dominated industries, can be understood from the male gender labelling of entrepreneurship ([Ahl, 2002](#); [Sundin, 2002](#); [Achtenhagen and Welter, 2005](#)). This phenomenon has been previously observed in qualitative studies ([Lewis, 2006](#); [Sundin and Rapp, 2006](#); [Sundin and Tillmar, 2010](#); [Achtenhagen and Welter, 2011](#)). Additionally, changes in the percentages of women and men entrepreneurs have been modest over time. *PIb* only holds true on the aggregated level. On the disaggregated level, *P2b* holds true in 9 of the 16 industries. Our quantitative data

thus shows the gender order being reproduced in both the entrepreneurship and public market contexts, as research with other methods has previously pointed to (Ahl, 2002; Sundin, 2002). Furthermore, in most of the industries reported on, competition has not altered the percentages of female entrepreneurs in a favourable direction. Hence, the results on the detailed industry level thus support P2. The quantitative longitudinal data thus shows a trend towards a numerical masculinisation of entrepreneurship in the majority of the female-dominated industries that were studied. This is most salient in the measurement of proportional under-representation, but can also be observed in absolute terms. The gendered structures seem remarkably resilient and able to reproduce themselves in new contexts. Hence, this study quantitatively confirms and illustrates this self-reproduction that has previously been suggested by a number of qualitative studies (Connell, 2006; Lewis, 2006; Bourne, 2010; Foss, 2010; Sundin and Tillmar, 2010; Neergaard and Thrane, 2011).

Exceptions in the data can be found in three of the industries: *Other childcare*, *Pre-school* and *Other human health activities*. *Other human health activities* has a strong impact on the positive results on the aggregated level, as a 45 per cent (Table I: column III) increase in the number of women in entrepreneurship is derived from this single industry over the time period that was studied. *Other human health activities* includes a variety of occupations, e.g. physiotherapy, midwifery and psychotherapy, that are characterised by the fact that self-employment is strongly linked to the occupation (Hedberg and Pettersson, 2006; Dawson and Henley, 2012). In this industry, the data shows a stability in terms of the percentages of women and men over time (Table I: column X), and neither an under- nor over-representation of women (Table I: column XII) which might be connected to this circumstance. In this study, we do not make a distinction between self-employment and entrepreneurs who are employing people. However, it would be of future interest to separate these different categories in exploring whether the male norm of entrepreneurship (Bruni *et al.*, 2004; Sundin, 1998, 2006) has implications for the size of the businesses. We find the greatest percentage of women who are employed and also the largest majority who are self-employed, around 90 per cent, in childcare. Seen in isolation, and from a liberal feminist perspective, these two industries could be regarded as areas where the reforms were successful. However, analysing the overall pattern in the light of Hirdman's theory about women's "own rooms", the conclusion would be different (Hirdman, 2001). A possible interpretation could be that childcare is an example of an "own room" where women have greater opportunities to become entrepreneurs without challenging the overall gender system in society. Segregation, and most likely even hierarchy measured as profit margins, thus prevails. This situation, where female low-wage employment is replaced by low-profit entrepreneurship (Hård *et al.*, 2007; Fraser, 2009; Wottle and Blomberg, 2011) is seldom captured by liberal feminist approaches. An extensive discussion on these particular sectors is outside the

scope of this article, but is a very relevant avenue for further studies (see below).

Conclusion and further studies

We conclude that *P1* can only be confirmed by data on the aggregated level. The overall increases in women's entrepreneurship stem from the three industries which are exceptions to the general pattern. The pattern in the majority of the industries is that men have increased their share of entrepreneurship relative to women, including in the numerically female-dominated sectors, hence confirming *P2*.

This study, therefore, provides quantitative data supporting propositions and theories which argue that the gender order is resilient and reproduced in new ways in new organisational contexts. The data available to date suggests that market forces and support directed at individuals, as advocated from the liberal perspective, have not achieved satisfactory results. Methodologically, the importance of making the data analysis on a detailed level is obvious. Without breaking down the analysis into the different industries, the multitude of different results in the different industries would not have been revealed. Reforms are currently ongoing. In 2008, the customer choice system was introduced in many Swedish municipalities and county councils. Therefore, as more updated data becomes available, the results of this study should be followed up. Studies from other countries which have similar and dissimilar welfare regimes, respectively, would be highly relevant for comparative purposes.

The context of this study, Sweden, is known for its relative equality between men and women. Hence, it can be interpreted as especially remarkable that gender structures, including the male labelling of entrepreneurship, have such a strong and resilient impact. We see no reason to assume that the overall patterns in these respects are particular to the Swedish context. The male labelling of entrepreneurship is by no means a Swedish phenomenon. Still, global ideas such as New Public Management (NPM) always have their local translations and implementations. When generalising conclusions to other contexts, one should be aware that this case is a case of transition of a Scandinavian welfare model, which has implied a strong so-called "state feminism". In contexts where the public sector is not "women friendly", the gendered implications of NPM may also have other dimensions.

As indicated in the discussion above, the differences between industries should be discussed in more detail (cf. also [Sköld, 2013](#)). The linkages between occupation/profession and entrepreneurship differ, as do, for example, industry structures, entry barriers, etc. An interesting question for future research is how such structural characteristics affect the entrepreneurship of men and women in the industries.

Further research into the two childcare industries, where this study has showed the

largest majority of women as total entrepreneurs, would also be of interest. What are the characteristics of the industry structures? [Hirdman \(2001\)](#) argues that activities in women's "own rooms" have a care rationality rather than the common rationality of profitability. Does this apply to the childcare industries? Does the male norm also show that men's businesses are larger and more profitable? It could be examined whether there are differences in the businesses driven by men and by women within these childcare industries. An interesting hypothesis could be that men entrepreneurs are more often found in businesses with higher turnover and profits.

This study shows varying patterns between the industries which could not be illuminated on the aggregated level of study. A hypothesis is, therefore, that there exists a plurality of results on a detailed regional level. [Forsberg \(2010\)](#) argues that regions have different gender contracts that impact on women's and men's family, social and working relations. Forsberg has classified regions in Sweden based on their gender contracts, and it may well be relevant to test this in further research.

In sum, this paper reveals resilience in the prevailing gender order. The order is being reproduced in the entrepreneurship context, in most of the industries that were studied. The gendered pattern was revealed by breaking down the aggregated results in a detailed industry-level analysis.

The results of this study have profound implications for policy and practice, in particular for gender equality. Our study gives no support to the liberal feminist assumption that competition in the welfare sectors increases gender equality in relative terms. Instead, the market share of men entrepreneurs increases. Women's entrepreneurship increases, only in very specific sectors, a fact, which has been discussed in terms of women's "own rooms". The segregation, and most likely also hierarchy, thus remains and the gender system is not altered by the quasi-market mechanisms. It should be noted that the customer choice systems currently increasing in importance had not yet been implemented on a larger scale during the period for which we have data. However, the gender system seems resilient enough to continue to live through the liberal era and reproduce itself in the entrepreneurship context, as noted in previous studies using qualitative methodology ([Sundin and Tillmar, 2010](#)). It is thus our contention that the market alone can do little to alter the gender system. Political means seem necessary as a complement, on the basis of this study.

Based on the socialist feminism perspective, gender is seen as socially constructed and embedded in economic, political and social practices. Changing the male norm of entrepreneurship requires an awareness of the social norms and the power relations that maintain the gender order in both the private and the public spheres. Politicians must pay attention to, and deconstruct, economic and social systems that subordinate women, as a group, to men, whether this occurs in the home, education system, labour market or entrepreneurship. Organisations and individuals are thus given incentives to change assumptions and behaviours they take for granted.

Notes

1. In this paper, the term “entrepreneur” is used synonymously with self-employed and owner– manager. This is despite the fact that not all entrepreneurs are self-employed, and not all self-employed persons are entrepreneurs ([Sundin, 2008](#)).
2. Small- and medium-sized enterprises.
3. A female-dominated industry employs over 60 per cent women.
4. This study was presented in greater length in a Swedish licentiate thesis.
5. LISA, Integrated database for labour market research ([Statistics Sweden, 2008](#)).
6. The study is part of the project “Labour Market Restructuring, Migration and Social Inclusion” and the subproject “Migration, Labour Market Restructuring, Ethnic and Gender Segmentation, Branch and Sector Oriented Studies”.
7. Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community.
8. Standard Industry Classification of All Economic Activities.
9. At least 60 per cent women employed within the Public Sector of the industries, 1993.
10. Considering the aspect that too small industries could cause statistical bias when studying entrepreneurs on a regional level.
11. The scope of privately employed people in 1993 varies among the industries studied from 1 to 64 percentage points, and so changes over time ([Table AII](#)).
12. The industries should be related to the competition of the Public Sector.
13. Minimum income of 1 hour per week for employees and minimum a third of a full-time job for self-employed or owner–manager ([Statistics Sweden, 2008](#)).
14. In 2004, the source of defining self-employed or owner–manager shifted, when entrepreneurs making a loss were also registered. This means a break in time and that more entrepreneurs are registered.
15. Authors’ translation.
16. Authors’ translation.
17. See further the methodology section.
18. Note breaks in the time series. In the year 2002, the classification of the industries was revised. The previous system has been retained in the study from the year 2003. Self-employed or owner-managers making a loss are also included (see Method of study).

References

- Achtenhagen, L. and Welter, F. (2005), "Entrepreneurship discourse in the media", in Neergaard, H. and Ulhøi, J.P. (Eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Entrepreneurship*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.
- Achtenhagen, L. and Welter, F. (2011), "Surfing on the ironing board' – the representation of women's entrepreneurship in German Newspapers", *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, Vol. 23 Nos 9/10, pp. 763-786.
- Acker, J. (1990), "Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: a theory of gendered organizations", *Gender & Society*, Vol. 4 No. 2, pp. 139-158.
- Ahl, H. (2002), "The making of the female entrepreneur", *Dissertation*, Jönköping International Business School, Jönköping.
- Ahl, H. (2004), "The Scientific Reproduction of Gender Inequality: a discourse Analysis of Research Texts on Women's Entrepreneurship", Liber, Malmö.
- Allen, E., Elam, A., Langowitz, N. and Dean, M. (2007), *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2007 Report on Women and Entrepreneurship*, Babson College, Babson Park MA.
- Berglund, K. (2007), "Jakten på entreprenörer: om öppningar och låsningar i entreprenörskapsdiskursen", dissertation, Ekonomihögskolan, Mälardalens högskola, Västerås.
- Bergqvist, C., Olsson Blandy, T. and Sainsbury, D. (2008), "Swedish state feminism: continuity and change", in Outshoorn, J. and Kantola, J. (Eds), *Changing State Feminism*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, pp. 224-245.
- Birch, D.L. (1989), "Change, innovation, and job generation", *Journal of Labour Research*, Vol. 10 No. 1, pp. 33-38.
- Blackburn, R. and Kovalainen, A. (2009), "Researching small firms and entrepreneurship: past, present and future", *International Journal of Management Reviews*, Vol. 11 No. 2, pp. 127-148.
- Bolton, S. and Muzio, D. (2008), "The paradoxical processes of feminization in the professions: the case of established, aspiring and semi-professions", *Work, Employment & Society*, Vol. 22 No. 2, pp. 281-299.
- Borghans, L. and Groot, L. (1999), "Educational presorting and occupational segregation", *Labour Economics*, Vol. 6 No. 3, pp. 375-395.
- Bourne, K.A. (2010), "The paradox of gender equality: an entrepreneurial case study of Sweden", *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 10-26.
- Bruni, A., Gherardi, S. and Poggio, B. (2004), "Doing gender, doing entrepreneurship: an ethnographic account of intertwined practices", *Gender, Work and Organization*, Vol. 11 No. 4, pp. 406-429.
- Brush, C.G., Carter, N.M., Gatewood, E.J., Greene, P.G. and Hart, M.M. (2004), *Clearing the*

- Hurdles: Women Building High-Growth Businesses*, Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, NJ.
- Calas, M. and Schmircich, L. (2006), "From 'The Woman's' Point of View' Ten years later: towards a feminist organization studies", in Clegg, S.R., Hardy, C. and Nord, W.R. (Eds), *Handbook of Organization Studies*, SAGE Publications, London, pp. 284-328.
- Campbell, R. and Wasco, S.M. (2000), "Feminist approaches to science: epistemological and methodological tenets", *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 28 No. 6, pp. 773-791.
- Carter, N.M. (Ed.) (2007), *Female Entrepreneurship: Implications for Education, Training and Policy*, Routledge, London.
- Connell, R. (1987), *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Policy*, Polity in association with Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Connell, R. (2006), "The experience of gender change in public sector organizations", *Gender, Work and Organization*, Vol. 13 No. 5, pp. 435-452.
- Connell, R. (2009), *Gender in World Perspective*, Polity Press Ltd, Cambridge.
- Connell, R., Fawcett, B. and Meagher, G. (2009), "Neoliberalism, new public management and the human service professions: introduction to the special issue", *Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 45 No. 4, pp. 331-338.
- Coole, D. (2000), "Threads and plaits or an unfinished project? Feminism(s) through the twentieth century", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp. 35-54.
- Dahlerup, D. (2004), "Feministisk partipolitik? Om skillnader i dansk och svensk jämställdhetsdebatt", in Florin, C. and Bergqvist, C. (Eds), *Framtiden i samtiden: Könrelationer i förändring i Sverige och i omvärlden*, Institutet för framtidsstudier, Stockholm.
- Davidsson, P., Delmar, F. and Wiklund, J. (Eds). (2001), *Tillväxtföretagen i Sverige*, SNS Förlag, Stockholm.
- Dawson, C. and Henley, A. (2012), "Push versus Pull entrepreneurship: an ambiguous distinction", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior and Research*, Vol. 18 No. 6, pp. 697-719.
- De Vaus, D. (2001), *Research Design in Social Research*, SAGE, London.
- Drake, J. (2012), "Speech on European SME Week Summit in Brussels", available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/initiatives/sme-week\(summit/files/esw-speech-joanna-drake_en.pdf\)](http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/initiatives/sme-week(summit/files/esw-speech-joanna-drake_en.pdf) (accessed 30 May 2013).
- Ellingsaeter, A.L. (2000), "Scandinavian transformations: labour markets, politics and gender divisions", *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Vol. 21 No. 3, pp. 335-359.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*,

- Politi, Cambridge. Forsberg, G. (2010), "Gender, geography and spatial practice", in Hermelin, B. and Jansson, U. (Eds), *Placing Human Geography: Sweden through Time and Space*, Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi, Stockholm, YMER 2010, 130, pp. 209-222.
- Foss, L. (2010), "Research on entrepreneur networks: the case for a constructionist feminist theory perspective", *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 83-102.
- Fraser, N. (2009), "Feminism, capitalism and the cunning of history", *New Left Review*, Vol. 56, pp. 97-117.
- Gelb, J. (1989), *Feminism and Politics: A Comparative Perspective*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA.
- Hård, U., Sundin, E. and Tillmar, M. (2007), *Kvinnors Företagande. Arbetsmarknadsbeteende och Organisatorisk Lösning*, Arbetsmarknadsinstitutet.
- Hartmann, H. (1981), "The unhappy marriage of marxism and feminism: towards a more progressive union", in Sargent, L. (Ed.), *Women and Revolution*, South End Press, Boston.
- Hedberg, C. and Pettersson, K. (2006), *Innovativa företagare i vård och omsorg: Genus- och entreprenörskapsperspektiv på företagande kvinnor och män i Stockholms län*, Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Stockholms Universitet, Stockholm.
- Henrekson, M. (2004), *Vägar till ökad jämställdhet i svenskt näringsliv*, SNS förlag, Stockholm.
- Hernes, H.M. (1987), *Welfare States and Woman Power: Essays in State Feminism*, Norwegian University Press, Oslo.
- Hirdman, Y. (1990), "Genussystemet", in *Demokrati och makt i Sverige: Maktutredningens Huvudrapport*, SOU 1990:40, Allmänna förlaget, Stockholm, pp. 73-116.
- Hirdman, Y. (2001), *Genus: om det stabila föränderliga form*, Liber, Malmö.
- Hisrich, R.D. and Brush, C.G. (1984), "The woman entrepreneur management skills and business problems", *Journal of Small Business Management*, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp. 30-37.
- Holmquist, C. and Sundin, E. (2006/1988), "Women as entrepreneurs in Sweden: conclusions from a survey", in Brush, C.G., Carter, N.M., Gatewood, E.J., Greene, P.G. and Hart, M.M., *Women and Entrepreneurship: Contemporary Classics*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.
- Hood, C. (1995), "The 'New Public Management' in the 1980s: variations on a theme", *Accounting, Organizations & Society*, Vol. 20 Nos 2/3, pp. 93-109.
- Kanter, R.M. (1977), *Men and Women of the Corporation*, Basic Books, New

- York, NY.
- Kelly, D.J., Brush, C.G., Greene, P.G. and Litovski, Y. (2010), *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2010 Women's Report*, Babson College, Babson Park, MA.
- Kovalainen, A. (1993), "At the margins of the economy: women's self-employment in Finland 1960-1990", dissertation, Kauppakorkeakoulu, Åbo.
- Larner, W. (2000), "Neo-liberalism: policy, ideology, governmentality", *Studies in Political Economy*, Vol. 63, pp. 5-25.
- Lewis, P. (2006), "The quest for invisibility: female entrepreneurs and the masculine norm of entrepreneurship", *Gender, Work & Organization*, Vol. 13 No. 5, pp. 453-469.
- Lindvert, J. (2007), "The rules of the game: organizing gender policies in Australia and Sweden", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, Vol. 14 No. 2, pp. 238-257.
- Lööf, A. (2013), "Golden rules of leadership och jobbskuggning i fokus på ambassadörsträff", available at: www.regeringen.se/sb/d/4902/a/215337 (accessed 30 May 2013).
- Loscocco, K.A. and Robinson, J. (1991), "Barriers to Women's Small-business Success in the United States", *Gender & Society*, Vol. 5 No. 4, pp. 511-532.
- Lundqvist, Å. (1999), "Conceptualizing gender in a Swedish context", *Gender & History*, Vol. 11 No. 3, pp. 583-596.
- Meyerson, D.E. and Kolb, D.M. (2000), "Moving out of the 'Armchair': developing a framework to bridge the gap between feminist theory and practice", *Organization*, Vol. 7 No. 4, pp. 553-571.
- Minniti, M. and Nardone, C. (2007), "Being in someone's else shoes: the role of gender in Nascent entrepreneurship", *Small Business Economics*, Vol. 28 Nos 2/3, pp. 223-238.
- Morrison, A.M., White, R.P., Van Velsor, E. and the Center for Creative Leadership (1987), *Breaking the Glass Ceiling*, Addison-Wesley, New York, NY.
- Neergaard, H. and Thrane, C. (2011), "The Nordic Welfare Model: barrier or facilitator of women's entrepreneurship in Denmark", *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 3 No. 2, pp. 88-104.
- Norén, L. (2006), "Inträdesbarriärer på offentliga marknader", in Sundin, E. and Thörnquist, A. (Eds), *När anställda blir företagare: Studier om företagande i ett strukturomvandlings- och marknadsperspektiv*, Arbetsliv i omvandling 2006:7, Arbetslivsinstitutet, Stockholm, pp. 51-66.
- Nutek (2003), *Kvinnors företagande - Format av samhället*, B2003:7, Nutek, Stockholm.
- Nutek (2005), *Kvinnors ägande och ägarutövning i alla branscher inklusive*

- jordbruk*, R 2005:4, Nutek, Stockholm.
- Nutek (2006), *Klassificering och perception: en studie av genusaspekter på SNI-koden som klassificeringsverktyg av näringsgrenar*, R 2006:20, Nutek, Stockholm.
- Nutek (2007), *Företagens framväxt i vård- och Omsorgssektorn: kartläggning av företag och företagande inom vård och omsorg*, B 2007:2, Nutek, Stockholm.
- Nutek (2008), *Småföretag inom vård och omsorg 2008*, Nutek, Stockholm.
- Olofsson, M. (2009), "Ökade möjligheter för kvinnors företagande", available at: www.regeringen.se/sb/d/9640/a/128387 (accessed 23 May 2013).
- Pettersson, K. (2012), "Support for women's entrepreneurship: a Nordic spectrum", *International Journal of Gender & Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 4 No. 1, pp. 4-19.
- Pilcher, J. and Whelehan, I. (2004), *Fifty Key Concepts in Gender Studies*, SAGE Publications, London.
- Pollitt, C. and Bouckaert, G. (2000), *A Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Shane, S. (2000), "Prior knowledge and the discovery of entrepreneurial opportunities", *Organization Science*, Vol. 11 No. 4, pp. 448-469.
- Sköld, B. (2013), "Strukturerna och företagandet – En longitudinell studie av kvinnors och mäns företagande i spåren av offentlig sektors omvandling", lic.thesis, Fif-avhandling 108, Linköping Universit, Linköping.
- SOU (1990), 40, *Demokrati och makt i Sverige: maktutredningens huvudrapport*, Allmänna förlaget, Stockholm.
- Statistics Sweden (2003), *SNI2002 Standard för Svensk näringsgrensindelning 2002*, Sveriges Officiella Statistik, SCB, Örebro.
- Statistics Sweden (2006), *Bakgrundsfakta – Skola, vård och omsorg i privat regi: En sammanställning av statistik 1995-2005*, SCB, Örebro.
- Statistics Sweden (2008), *Bakgrundsfakta: Longitudinell Integrationsdatabas för Sjukförsäkrings- och Arbetsmarknadsstudier (LISA) 1990-2006*, Arbetsmarknads- och utbildningsstatistik 2008:2. SCB, Örebro.
- Statistics Sweden (2010), *Women and Men in Sweden 2010*, Statistics Sweden, Örebro.
- Sundin, E. (1997), "Den offentliga sektorns omvandling och kvinnor och mäns företagande inom typiska kvinnliga sektorer", in Sundin, E. (Ed.), *Om makt och kön: i spåren av offentliga organisationers omvandling*, SOU 1997:83, Allmänna förlaget, Stockholm, pp. 334-365.
- Sundin, E. (1998), "Organizational conflict, technology and space: a Swedish case study of the gender system and the economic system in action", *Gender, Work & Organization*, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp. 31-42.
- Sundin, E. (2002), "Företagandets manliga präglning – orsaker och konsekvenser", in

- Holmquist, C. and Sundin, E. (Eds), *Företagerskan – Om kvinnor och entreprenörskap*, SNS Förlag, Stockholm, pp. 27-46.
- Sundin, E. (2006), "Den nya arbetsfördelningen ur ett köns-genusperspektiv", in Ekstedt, E. and Sundin, E. (Eds), *Den nya arbetsdelningen: Arbets- och näringslivets organisatoriska omvandling i tid, rum och tal*, Arbetsliv i omvandling 2006:11, Arbetslivsinstitutet, Stockholm, pp. 85-104.
- Sundin, E. (2008), "Small business – the solution for what and for whom?", in Elsner, W. and Hanappi, G. (Eds), *Varieties of Capitalism and New Institutional Deals. Regulation, Welfare and the New Economy*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.
- Sundin, E. (2011), "Entrepreneurship and the reorganization of the public sector: a gendered story", *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Vol. 32 No. 4, pp. 631-653.
- Sundin, E. (2012), "Entrepreneurship, Innovation and gender: the construction of projects for entrepreneurship and innovation in the healthcare and care sector", in Andersson, S., Berglund, K., Gunnarsson, E. and Sundin, E. (Eds), *Promoting Innovation: Policies, Practices and Procedures*, Vinnova, Stockholm, pp. 173-197.
- Sundin, E. and Hedlund, G. (2012), "A characteristic strategy of the period", in Lindholm, K. (Ed.), *Gender Mainstreaming as a Sustainable Process*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, pp. 249-270.
- Sundin, E. and Holmquist, C. (1989), *Kvinnor som företagare: Osynlighet, mångfald, anpassning: en studie*, Liber, Malmö.
- Sundin, E. and Rapp, G. (2006), *Städerskorna som försvann: Individen i den offentliga sektorn*, Arbetsliv i omvandling, 2006:2, Arbetslivsinstitutet, Stockholm.
- Sundin, E. and Tillmar, M. (2010), "Masculinisation of the public sector: local level studies of public sector outsourcing in elder care", *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 49-67.
- Sundin, E. and Törnquist, A. (Eds). (2006), *När anställda blir företagare: studier om företagande i ett strukturuomvandlings- och marknadsperspektiv*, Arbetsliv i omvandling 2006:7, Arbetslivsinstitutet, Stockholm.
- Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (2006), "Kvinnors och mäns företagande, en statistisk beskrivning", Info112-2006.
- Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (2009), "Women=s and men=s enterprise in Sweden: facts and statistics 2009", Info 0058.
- Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (2010), "Det bortglömda företagandet: Hur många företagare finns det i Sverige?", nfo 0215.
- Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (2012), "Promoting women entrepreneurship: making women's entrepreneurship more visible, more possible and providing the tools for business development", *Info* 0445.
- The World Economic Forum (2012), "The Global Gender Gap Report 2012",

available at: www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf
(accessed 2 May 2013).

- Thomas, R. and Davies, A. (2002), "Gender and new public management: reconstituting academic subjectivities", *Gender, Work and Organization*, Vol. 9 No. 4, pp. 372-397.
- Tillmar, M. (2009), "No longer so strange? (Dis) trust in municipality: small business relationships", *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Vol. 30 No. 3, pp. 401-428.
- Verheul, I., Van Stel, A. and Thurik, R. (2006), "Explaining female and male entrepreneurship at the country level", *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development: An International Journal*, Vol. 18 No. 2, pp. 151-183.
- Webb, J. (2009), "Gender and occupation in market economies: change and restructuring since the 1980s", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, Vol. 16 No. 1, pp. 82-110.
- Weedon, C. (1999), *Feminism, Theory, and the Politics of Difference*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Wottle, M. and Blomberg, E. (2011), "Feminism och jämställdhet i en nyliberal kontext 1990-2010", *Tidskrift för Genusvetenskap*, Nos 2/3, pp. 99-115.

Appendix

SNI code 1992	SNI code 2002	Classification used in the study
	<i>K 70-74 Real estate, renting and business service</i>	<i>Others</i>
73103 R&D in medical science	73103 R&D in medical science	73103 R&D in medical science
74500 Labour recruitment and provision of personnel	74501 Labour recruitment and provision of personnel	74500 Labour recruitment and provision of personnel
74701 Industrial cleaning	74701 Industrial cleaning	74701 Industrial cleaning
	<i>O 90-93 Other community, social and personal service</i>	
93011 Industrial washing and dry-cleaning	93011 Industrial washing and dry-cleaning	93011 Industrial washing and dry-cleaning
	<i>M 80 Education</i>	<i>Education</i>
80100 Primary education	80102 Primary education and preschool education (from 85322)	80100 Primary education
	80103 Primary school, special schools	
80220 Vocational secondary education	80221 Vocational secondary education	80220 Vocational secondary education
	<i>N 85 Healthcare and social work</i>	<i>Healthcare</i>
85110 Hospital activities	85111 Hospital activities for primary healthcare	85110 Hospital activities
	85112 Hospital activities for somatic specialist healthcare	
	85113 Hospital activities for psychiatric specialist healthcare	
85120 Medical practice activities	85121 Medical specialist practices, at hospitals	85120 Medical practice activities
	85122 Medical specialist practices, not at hospitals	
85140 Other human health activities	85141 Medical laboratories etc.	85140 Other human health activities
	84142 Ambulance transportation	
	85143 Health activities at nursing homes, not doctors	
	85144 Other medical and health activities, not doctors	
85130 Dental practice activities	85130 Dental practice activities	85130 Dental practice activities
85312 Social work activities for developmentally disabled	85312 Social work activities with accomodation, for disabled persons	85310 Social work activities with accomodation, not elderly people

Table A1.
The industry classification system on the five-digit level re-coded for this study

(continued)

SNI code 1992	SNI code 2002	Classification used in the study
85313 Social work activities with accomodation	85313 Social work activities with accomodation, for children and young people	
85315 Operation of boarders	85315 Social work activities with accomodation, for adults with abuse problems	
	85316 Social work activities with accomodation, for adults	
85311 Social work activities with accomodation, elderly people	85311 Social work activities with accomodation, elderly people	85311 Social work activities with accomodation, elderly people
85321 Childcare in pre-school	80101 Pre-school	85321 Pre-school
85322 Other childcare	85322 Other child day-care	85322 Other childcare
	85323 Social work activities for children and young people	
85323 Social work activities for elder and disabled people	85327 Social work activities for elder	85323 Social work activities for elder and disabled people
	85328 Social work activities for disabled people	
85324 Social work activities for individuals and families	85324 Social work activities for adults	85324 Social work activities for individuals and families
	85329 Social work activities for adults with abuse problems	

Table AI.

Industry level		1993 (%)	2008 (%)	Change in points of (%) 1993-2008
<i>Social care</i>				
Social work activities for elder and disabled people		2	24	22
Social work activities with accomodation, not elderly people		8	23	15
Other child-care		2	17	15
Pre-school		4	17	13
Social work activities with accomodation, elderly people		2	14	12
Social work activities for individuals and families		22	12	-10
<i>Education</i>				
Vocational secondary education		17	27	10
Primary education		1	8	7
<i>Health care</i>				
Medical practice activities		14	32	18
Dental practice activities		35	49	14
Other human health activities		54	59	5
Hospital activities		2	4	2
<i>Others</i>				
Labour recruitment and provision of personnel		2	44	42
R&D in medical science		46	71	25
Industrial cleaning		63	87	24
Industrial washing and dry-cleaning		64	82	18

Table AII.

The percentages of employees in the private sector among the industries studied

About the authors

Birgitta Sköld, Ph Licentiate, is a PhD student at Linköping University in the Department of Business Administration. Her research is related to entrepreneurship and small-business ownership in the wake of the public sector's transformation. She completed her licentiate thesis in 2013. Birgitta Sköld is a corresponding author and can be contacted at: birgitta.skold@liu.se

Malin Tillmar, PhD, is Associate Professor in Business Administration and Co-Director of the Helix Vinn Excellence Centre at Linköping University in Sweden. Her research focuses on less illuminated forms of entrepreneurship, in Sweden and globally, often with a gender perspective. She has for example published on (women's) entrepreneurship in the area of public sector transformation, SME development in emerging markets, and on societal entrepreneurship. Examples of outlets are *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal* and *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*.

Acknowledgements

The authors gratefully acknowledge Vinnova, the programme for women's entrepreneurship, Vetenskapsrådet – the Embla project – and the department of Business Administration at Linköping University for funding and for enabling this research. The authors also wish to acknowledge the research institute REMESO and the Vinn Excellence centre HELIX at Linköping University for collaboration. The authors also wish to thank especially Professor Elisabeth Sundin and Associate Professor Martin Klinthäll, Linköping University, for valuable cooperation and fruitful feedback from the early stages of this research. Thanks also to anonymous reviewers and the editor for constructive feedback on previous versions of this article.