

GENDER DYNAMICS BETWEEN INTIMATE-PARTNER BUSINESS OWNERS. A CASE
STUDY OF COPRENEUR AND SOLO ENTREPRENEUR SPOUSES IN UGANDA.

by

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DEDICATION PAGE

This thesis is dedicated to my late grandparents, Loyce and Naphtali Okello. You nurtured my curiosity with ancestral wisdom and powerful storytelling. Eyalama noi noi.

This work is also dedicated to all the participants of this study. These are your stories as well as your accomplishment.

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ABSTRACT

Despite being a unique category of family businesses, intimate-partner business owners, such as copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs are under-investigated - especially in the Global south. This thesis looks how gender relations influence access and control of resources and decision making between copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs with supporting spouses. Using in-depth interviews with male and female business owners in Uganda in 2017, the research highlights the motivations for business venturing, the gender division of labour in the business and household, financial resources allocation, challenges faced by intimate partner business owners and decision-making processes between the spouses. The research shows that a range of intersectional factors such as level of education, social class, number of children and most importantly gender influence access to and control of resources and decision-making in an Intimate-partner business venture.

Key words: *Intimate partner ventures Copreneur solo entrepreneur Uganda.*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

BT	Border Theory
FIW	Family-to-work conflict
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MSMEs	Micro Small Medium Enterprises
NRM	National Resistance Movement
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority
VAT	Value Added Tax
WFC	Work-Family Conflict
WID	Women in Development.
WIF	Work-to-family conflict
WLB	Work-life balance

SYMBOLS USED

♀	Women
♂	Men

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO GENDER RELATIONS IN UGANDA

Gender relations are not static but are constantly being negotiated and contested (Bensemman, 2010). These negotiations could be at the political, social and economic spheres of society. In the case of Uganda, the affirmative action plan under President Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) established the framework for a range of strategies that were focussed on increasing women's public participation by guaranteeing percentages of women's seats in the national and local government levels in Uganda (Goetz, 2003). The president is further quoted saying "The challenges of development enjoin us to pay more than lip service to the core issue of unequal gender relations in our society" (New Vision, March 9, 1988). Despite the deeply patriarchal forces at play in most Ugandan societies, the president's statements were concretized through broad and diverse strategies that included: 1) mandatory women's seats in all grassroots National Resistance Councils, 2) creation of a ministry of Women in development, 3) creation of the Directorate of women's affairs in the NRM secretariat, a government funded mobilisation body, 4) a Gender and Women's studies program at Makerere University, 5) preferential treatment to all females joining government-funded tertiary institutions (Tamale, 1997).

Despite all the above strategies, the public perception towards gender equity has remained conservative with patriarchal practices being dominant, especially in the family domain. With 70 percent of Ugandan households being male-headed and only 18 percent female-headed in a 2009/2010 study (UBOS, 2013), there is a firm male hegemony prevalent in most Ugandan families. As a result, men's roles have been, and continue to be, defined by their breadwinning abilities with women bearing a heavy burden of nurturing children, caring for the elderly and

managing the household. For example, a 2009/2010 Uganda National Household Survey study found that men with post-secondary education spent the longest time doing employment-related work for an average 8.6 hours a day, whereas women spent an average of six hours doing unpaid domestic labour. The study did not provide any evidence of men participating in household roles. The same study also found that being married reduced the time men spent doing unpaid domestic labour while the opposite is true for women. It emerges from the above that, marriage brings about the redistribution of some of the man's roles to the women and not vice versa hence married women spending more time doing domestic work than any other groups.

It is rather challenging to discuss business ownership and entrepreneurship within East Africa and Uganda without highlighting the role of the Asian community. This community, brought by the British to build the railway (Mamdani, 2011), grew to become a dominant force in the Ugandan economy providing capital, skilled labour and reaping enormous economic rewards (Jamal, 1976). However, some scholars argue that pre- and post-colonial Uganda had given the Asian community an advantage over other Ugandans (Asiimwe, 2010), something that would set them on a collision path with President Idi Amin's so called "war of economic liberation" - an attempt to shift the balance between the very successful Ugandan Asian community and the deeply disenfranchised Indigenous Ugandans which culminated to the expulsion of 80,000 Asians largely of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent (Jamal, 1976; Neumann, 2006). This sparked a major diplomatic row between the British government and the Idi Amin government. However, within a 90-day period, several thousand Asians had left Uganda for the United Kingdom, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland (Jamal, 1976). What was particularly unique and crucial to the Asian business success in Uganda was their family-oriented style of business management which made them

successful over multiple generations. While examining their business approaches and capacities would make an interesting topic, this thesis will only examine Ugandan business owners – who could be argued to be the heirs to commerce and entrepreneurship after the Asian expulsion.

During the expulsion of the Asian community from Uganda, many Asians were forced to find local custodians of their land, businesses and other properties (Mamdani, 2011). This transfer of wealth would spell doom for the economy in the mid 1970's as many Ugandan's were not equipped to run or manage businesses. However, the acquisition of land, an important resource for the cultivation of food and acts as collateral for banks, presented some hope to the marginalized Ugandan.

Since Uganda's independence in 1962, four land tenure systems have been the most used across the country. They include: freehold, leasehold, mail land and customary land tenure systems¹ (Tripp, 2004). However, the latter has been the most controversial on a range of fronts. Customary land tenure system involves the regulation of land based on customary rules as administered by elders and class leaders (Tripp, 2004). Land, according to this system is often owned by individuals and community. Although, being the most widely used in Uganda, it became the most controversial, especially among feminist scholars, lawyers and women's rights activists due to the patriarchal attributes that privilege men's ownership of land as individuals within the cultural system. The 1998 Land Act, according to women's rights activists, provided the gateway for improved land administration and ownership. The activists advocated for key clauses to protect women, such as prior written consent of both spouses in the transaction of family holdings and the inclusion of at least one woman in District Land Boards and

¹ Freehold tenure system involves when the holder has full ownership rights over the land. Leasehold is when a holder is leased land for a specific period under specific conditions. Finally, the mailo tenure system involves holding registered land in perpetuity as done by the Buganda kingdom and the British government.

Committees. However, it was the Land Act Amendments in February 2000 that could have initiated co-ownership of Family assets by men and women. Despite the amendments passing the Ugandan parliament, it was political maneuvering by Male members of Parliament and president Museveni that buried the most progressive clauses on co-ownership of family assets (Tripp, 2004). The president is quoted saying "When I learnt that the Bill was empowering the newly-married women to share the properties of the husbands, I smelt a disaster and advised for slow and careful analysis of the property sharing issue," (New Vision, 2010). Due to lack of political will, influenced by discriminatory beliefs regarding women's ownership of land, the failed bill left Ugandan women empty handed regarding access to land and co-ownership with their spouses.

The 1998 Land Act provided the first major legal framework under which men and women could attain significant gains in access and control of land as a productive resource. However, the failure to pass the then bill, with its important clauses, meant women would miss out on owning land through inheritance from the family as most men did due to patriarchal social norm in Uganda. To date, access to land for women, especially in the local communities is still restricted which limits women's entrepreneurial potential. While women continue to increase their business participation, access and control of productive resources like land that are central to gaining investment capital remains a challenge unresolved by the current laws and cultural systems.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM.

Within the East African region, Micro and Small Enterprises contribute 75 and 40 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) of Uganda and Kenya, respectively (Okello-Obura et al, 2008, Gamsler, 2003). While these statistics highlight the importance of MSEs to these respective

economies, they are often gender blind providing little knowledge of the contributions of men and women to the businesses. Furthermore, no studies have explored the diverse range of businesses under the intimate-partner business category such as copreneur, dual-career couples and solo entrepreneurs with supporting spouses. These categories of businesses have been investigated in several studies such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. However, this type of study is absent for Uganda, but not because of an absence of intimate partner owned businesses in Uganda.

Previous studies on intimate partner business owners have identified and examined copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs with supporting spouses (De Bruin, 2006). However, to date, no study has explicitly examined the concept of gender relations within an intimate partner business arrangement, such as copreneur or solo entrepreneur with a supporting spouse. In addition, entrepreneurship studies have been accused of being predominantly male focussed, further relegating women to supporting roles (Hamilton, 2006) This has led to the perceived invisibility of women within entrepreneurial discourse (Danes and Olson, 2003). Therefore, this study seeks to examine how gender relations between intimate partner business owners influence access, control of resources and decision-making in Ugandan. This shifts the focus from the male spouse to the spousal team by centering on the contributions of both spouses to the business enterprise and household as well as the interaction between the business and household domains (Danes and Olson, 2003).

1.3 RESEARCH GOAL.

The goal of this study is to understand the power dynamics that influence men and women's ability to access and control resources and make decisions regarding the business and household domains.

1.3.1 Research Question

Using a case study of intimate-partner business owners in Uganda, my research will examine the question: *How do gender relations influence access to and control of resources and decision-making between copreneur and solo entrepreneur with supporting spouses in Uganda?*

To answer the above question, the following sub-questions are asked:

1. What are the motivating factors that influence intimate-partner business spouses to venture into business?
2. What roles do men and women play in the business and household domains?
3. How are incomes distributed within the business and household?
4. What challenges do intimate spouses encounter while running a business together?
5. What factors influence men/women's access to and/or control of resources in the business and household domains?

My research argues that gender relations backed by deeply entrenched patriarchal norms and practices influencing access to and control of resources and decision-making among intimate-partner business owners in Uganda. These coupled with other intersectional factors such as class, gender, level of education ensures different outcomes for men and women who co-own and work in the same businesses in Uganda. These power dynamics are evident from the start-up phase of business venturing with men being dominant controllers of financial resources who influence choice of business venture, location, investment capital allocated, and division of responsibilities in the work and family domains and the decision-making processes.

1.3.2 Significance of the study.

This study is significant in illuminating the gendered power dynamics in Uganda that shape the business and household domains and how these dynamics influence access to and control of resources and decision-making within the work-family domains. This is especially important in understanding the role of families in either advancing or restricting women's entrepreneurial abilities through business venturing and active participation. The study is premised on the idea that the family unit may be the one of the strongest institutions in shaping the outcomes of males and females due the patriarchal social norms that determine the distribution of resources, rights, responsibilities and privileges between men and women. This study will attempt to make a connection between men's access to and control of resources with their decision-making powers both in the household and business domains. The study hopes to illuminate the influence of family systems and beliefs in shaping the financial outcomes of men and women in terms of ownership and management of a business, division of labor within the household and business domain and spouses' ability to make meaningful decisions.

The study shades light on intimate partner business ventures in Uganda which have remained an under-investigated category within family business. The study will examine the interacting domains of business and family and how spouses manage the physical and psychological transitions that come with both living and working with one's spouse (Marshack and Yabroff, 1994). Specifically, the study examines the gendered outcomes that emerge from the impacts of access to and control of and decision making among copreneur spouses within Uganda. The results of this study will hopefully enhance our understanding of financial management between the household and business and between the individual spouses that interact with both domains.

1.4 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS.

Gender as a concept can be defined as the “socially acquired notions of masculinity and femininity by which women and men are identified”² (Momsen, 2004: 02). Kewane also defines gender as “a set of shared and evolving discursive habits that prescribe and proscribe behaviour of persons in their social roles as men and women and that structure analysis and decision making about the actions of others” (Kevane, 2014, pg. 14). “Gender is instantiated in the social structures that shape choices that individuals make.” These structures may include the legal rules, social hierarchies, shared expectations, norms of behavior and resources (Kevane, 2014, pg. 14).

Gender relations can be defined as relations between men and women that are socially determined by culture, religion, or socially acceptable ways of thinking or being (Institute of Social Transformation, 2018)

Intimate partner business owners are individuals, in this context either copreneur or solo entrepreneur, who own and manage a business while having a marriage-like relationship with their spouse who may be fully or partially involved in the business. The term intimate partner business owners will be used through out the thesis when the author refers to both copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs without attempting to distinguish one from the other. This is done to generally refer to all respondents in this study under one major category. However, where appropriate, copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs will be clearly identified.

Copreneurs are couples in marital or pseudo-marital relationships who own and operate a business, share ownership, responsibility, risk, and business management (Barnett, 1988).

² Gender in this context is meant within the heterosexual lens where the binary of male and female is explored. This is the case since the study examines gender relations between heterosexual Intimate partner business owners.

Copreneurial ventures are business enterprises that are founded or managed by couples who identify as copreneurs. These businesses may be fully or partially owned by these spouses in a marriage-like relation with the visible or invisible participation of both spouses in the running of the business.

A *solo entrepreneur* spouse refers to one person who is fully committed and involved in the running of the business. The *solo entrepreneur* makes the business his/her career by investing time, financial resources towards the success of the business.

A *supporting spouse* refers to an individual that plays a supportive role in form of psychological/emotional encouragement and a small degree of assistance with the actual business. The supporting spouse may have a career outside of the business and may support with household roles on behalf of the *solo entrepreneur* who is fully committed to the business (de Bruin, 2006).

This study focussed on micro and small businesses in Uganda. Within the context of this study, micro enterprises are defined as firms that employ between 1-5 people, are largely dependent on family labour or own employees and have low levels of productivity and limited in skills (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2003). These businesses also have an annual sales/revenue turnover or total assets not exceeding Uganda shillings 10 million (US \$2600). On the other hand, small businesses Small Enterprises employ between 5 and 49 people and have total assets between UGX: 10 million but not exceeding 100 million (US \$26,000) (Uganda Bureau of Standards, 2013).

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a qualitative methodology because it brings meaning especially from the participant's viewpoint into the study (Creswell, 2008). The case study focusses on intimate partner business owners by centering their lived experiences working with their partners. This study examines copreneur ventures in a real-life context with a goal of establishing the extent to which copreneurs shape their own environments (Yin, 1984). The study also embraces an exploratory approach since no previous studies have examined gender relations among intimate partner business spouses. The exploratory case study explores the individual perspectives of male and female copreneurs in owning and managing a business since both may draw different experiences influenced by contexts and cultural influences within a specific period (Creswell, 2008).

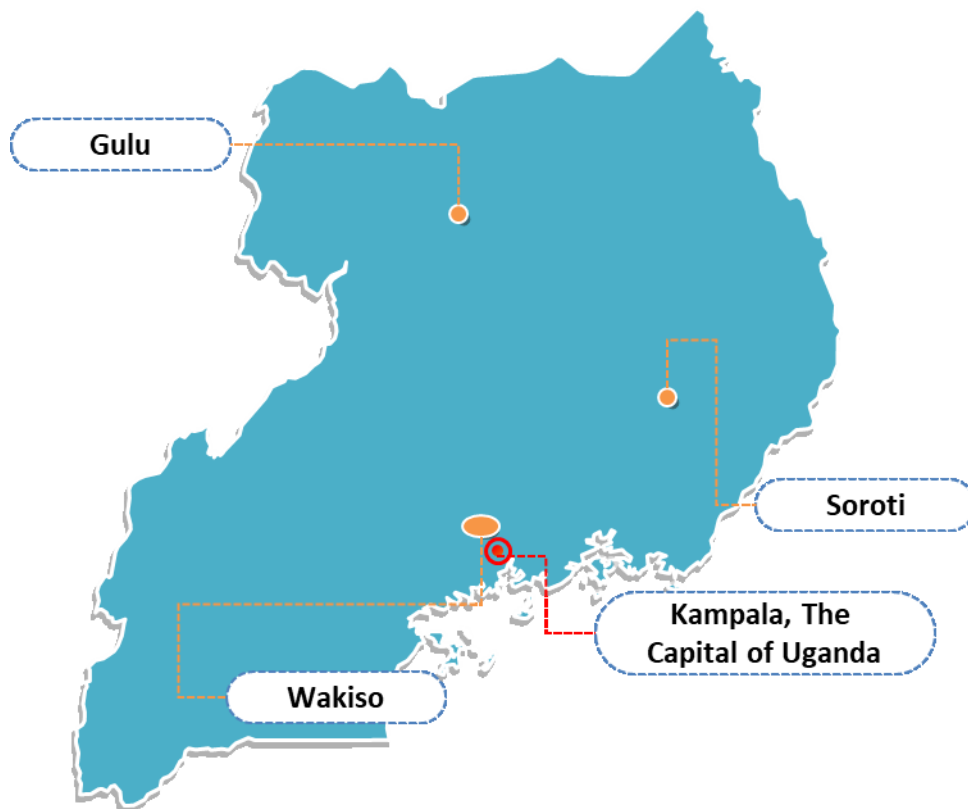
Whereas previous studies on copreneur ventures have adopted different methods such as relying on secondary sources (Farrington, Venter, Eybers and Boshoff, 2011) and surveys (Muske and Fitzgerald, 2006, Wu, Chang and Zhuang, 2011), these studies are heavily dependant on available data from national databases which were unavailable in the context of Uganda. This justifies the exploratory nature of this study to understanding the outcomes among intimate partner business owners in Uganda. This according to Yin (2003) enables me to answer the "how" question which is necessary to uncover the contextual conditions that may influence the phenomenon. For example, the family values and traditions of a specific context will tend to influence the attitudes and perceptions of copreneurs about their roles and expectations.

1.5.1 Data Collection

Upon arrival in Uganda in June 2017, the researcher employed snow ball sampling in order to find respondents for the study. The research study was conducted in the three towns of Wakiso, Gulu and Soroti. These towns were chosen to widen the pool of participants since no

existing data on intimate partner business owners was available. The three towns represent urban areas headed by local administrative governments, with Soroti situated at 294 km east of the capital Kampala and Gulu 332 km North of Kampala. Wakiso is the district that hosts Uganda's capital, Kampala. Gulu and Soroti districts had been greatly impacted by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) insurgency for the last 25 years. However, both towns had witnessed relative peace and were undergoing vibrant economic growth.

Figure 1. Map of Uganda showing the districts the study was conducted.



Source <https://yourfreetemplates.com/free-uganda-map-template/>

Snowball sampling, defined as a process where "one subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on" was used to plan other interviews (Vogt, 1999 as cited in Atkinson & Flint, 2001, pg.1). Snowball sampling was

integral to the research since no database on copreneurs or entrepreneurs within Uganda was accessible. This was also the first study that focussed on copreneurs as participants of the study. Snow ball sampling enabled the researcher to interview copreneurs, a hidden population in Uganda. The referrals were especially useful in building trust between the researcher and respondents.

Once the researcher approached a respondent, he/she would be presented with a copy of the introductory letter and a summary of my research project. If the individual agreed to participate in the study, the researcher would ask if they met the minimum requirements for inclusion which was owning a business and working with a partner or spouse. Copreneur and solo entrepreneur spouses were determined by the self-identification or if they met the following characteristics: a) the participant reported being in a marital arrangement and working with their spouse in a business venture, b) one spouse was a major decision maker without being an owner of the business, c) one spouse's involvement in the business is acknowledged by the other spouse, especially the business manager³. Once an interview was agreed upon, the researcher would set up a meeting time and location for the interview to take place. On the interview day, the respondent would be asked for their consent to participate in the study and be recorded during the interview. Some participants expressed concern with signing consent forms and preferred verbal consent before the study began. While the researcher had initially planned to interview both spouses separately, this proved difficult in some cases where one partner would consent but not permit their spouse to participate in the study or even refuse to participate in the study themselves.

³ See Fitzgerald and Muske (2002) for detailed classification of copreneur spouses.

Overall, 12 respondents voluntarily consented and took part in the research. All interviews were conducted separately to prevent “the [deafening] silence of the women” in the presence of their husbands (Shope, 2006:170). The interviews were held at the respondent’s workplace and on a few occasions, hosted by the respondent. The interviews often began with the researcher introducing himself and the research assistant and going through the consent process. The first questions were on the participant’s background information’s and living situation. The interview questions would then examine the business history of the participant paying close attention to the founding of the business and the current roles and functions that each spouse played in the business and household domain.

Some participants preferred not to share their financial information for fear of being targeted by the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) for tax purposes. This fear originated from previous instances where revenue officials targeted business owners claiming to be researchers. After clarifying that I was a student collecting data for my master’s thesis, many accepted to continue with the interview. The interviews were audio recorded and generally lasted forty minutes to an hour forty-five minutes. Upon completion of the interviews, data transcription was conducted and later coding of the data. Data coding generated themes against the initial research question on how gender relations influence access, control and decision making among Intimate partner business spouses. The interview guides are attached in the Appendix.

1.5.2 Limitations of the study.

The respondents were drawn from regions accessible to the researcher due to convenience and the logistics allocated to the research process. Whereas the researcher would have preferred a more representative population, the available resources in terms of finances and time resources would not permit for such a study to be conducted. The use of snow ball sampling as a method of

finding respondents limits the representativeness of this study. This is due to the dependence on the subjective referrals by participants and the isolation of other potential respondents that are not connected to the researcher or research topic (Van Meter, 1990 as cited in Atkinson and Flint, 2001).

The study was also limited by the issue of the gatekeeper bias (Groger, Mayberry and Straker, 1999). This was often in form of protective “gatekeeper” which in this study were the spouses, both male and female, who prevented the researcher from gaining access to the other spouse. This made it challenging for the researcher to gain access to the experiences of certain participants who could have provided much-needed insight into the study. This certainly affected the number of participants as well as the generalizability of the data collected since some spouses opted not to participate while for some, only one spouse was “available”.

The researcher found it challenging to establish trust with an already marginal target population. As stated above, several respondents expressed concern that the researcher could be from the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA). The researcher contacted community leaders and church groups to obtain the green light to contact the respondents. This was especially useful since community leaders knew the intimate partner business owners, thus initiating a chain referral that enabled the researcher to obtain the respondents (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). There were cases where the respondent's partner temporarily lived in another town or moved frequently due to the nature of their work thus making it harder to access this type of respondents. This reduced the already small pool of participants that either identified or fit the criteria of intimate partner business owners such as copreneurs or solo entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, the researcher managed to interview 12 respondents who voluntarily consented to take part in the in-depth interviews.

1.5.3 Risks and benefits.

Scheyvens et al note that the most fundamental issue in development research regards the ethics around the power relations between the researcher and the researched (Scheyvens et al 2003). The fact that the researcher is a graduate student in a Canadian University, something which attracts attention and respect within some contexts in Uganda meant that the researcher had to maintain reflexivity during the course of this research because of the power relations involved. This often came with expectations by respondents of financial and social support in exchange for their participation. The researcher therefore had to be aware of and implement Scheyven's advice of taking conscious steps to avoid reinforcing feelings of powerlessness amongst the participants. This was achieved through conscious awareness of the cultural expectations, privileges, and challenges of conducting a qualitative study involving participants from different cultural and academic back grounds.

Many Ugandans are often suspicious of researchers, especially those examining economic and political affairs as they are suspected to have ties to the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA). Also, the political environment is treacherous as government spies have implicated people through purported research projects. As such, the researcher built trust by openly sharing research documents from Dalhousie University that clearly expressed my research intentions and consulting the local leadership for approval to access the research contexts. I am from Uganda and was able to build trust based on some common values and shared interests.

Throughout the course of the study, the participants did not incur any expense except for their time. All interviews were conducted at the participants' primary locations like workplace or restaurant. Only one interview was conducted at the respondent's home. No compensation was given to participants except for a few that had a small meal or drink during the research process

with the researcher. Most of the participants that began the study participated till its completion. The outcome however had no direct benefit to participants. It is my hope that the findings of the research will enhance an understanding of the dynamics within intimate partner business couples' decision making and access and control of resources.

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE.

The next chapter of this study provides the theoretical grounding for this research. Two theoretical frameworks: Gender and Development (GAD) and Border Theory are used to analyze the study findings. Chapter three reviews the available literature on copreneur ventures drawn from studies largely in the global north and examines emerging themes such as motivations for copreneur business ownership, work-family balance, conflict sources and how couples intermingle financial resources between the work and family domains. Chapter Four presents the findings from the research subjects, while emphasizing emerging themes from the study. The establishment of financial resources for starting the business and the allocation of incomes for wages and towards meeting household needs are discussed in detail in the chapter. The final chapter presents a summary of findings against the initial research questions of the study. It highlights the relationship between men's ownership and control of resources and the patriarchal social norms that ensure male control of the family unit. The chapter concludes by examining the study findings within the context of gender relations in Uganda which are predominantly stereotypical divided between the public/private, men/women, owner/user binary largely reinforced by culture, religion and patriarchy.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Over the past several decades, employers, scholars and greater society have recognized that work and family lives are intertwined and influence one another. The recognition of the interdependence between work and family led to an increased scholarly interest and the emergence of theories attempting to explain this phenomenon. Within the context of this study, Gender and Development (GAD) and Border Theory are used to understand how gender relations influence access to and control of resources, as well as decision making between intimate-partner business owners in Uganda. The chapter will explore the theoretical approaches used in this study and why they are relevant to the study of work and family domains. The two theories will enable our understanding of how gender relations influence access, control of resources and decision making between intimate partner business owners in Uganda.

2.1 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD)

Gender and Development (GAD) emerged in the 1980s as a criticism of the Women in Development (WID) perspective that was dominant in the 1970's (Rathgeber, 1990). The Women in Development (WID) approach advocated for the integration of women by improving their access to education, employment, and material benefits such as land and credit (Parpart, 1993). WID was premised on the view that women were an untapped resource who could contribute more to development (Moser, 1993). This justified the need to address women in isolation due to their subordinate status as the very poorest because of their gender-based disadvantage. (Kabeer, 1999). The WID approach proved problematic in improving the position of women in the Global South for a number of reasons: it homogenised women, ignoring the differences in contexts, political systems, age cohorts, ethnicities, and incomes of women (Nilson, 2013); it focussed on the productive aspects of women's lives largely ignoring the

impacts on women's reproductive lives; it focussed on women rather than gender relations as a causal factor for women's inequality; and it did not recognize the effects of the global economic system on women (Rathgeber, 1994).

The GAD approach, on the other hand, shifted the focus from women per se to gendered power relations, the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities and expectations to men and women (Rathgeber, 1990).

According to Rathgeber, GAD looks at "the totality of social organization, economic and political life to understand the shaping of aspects of society" (Rathgeber, 1990:494). One important aspect of GAD is the examination of gender relations. Kate Young (1992) argues that gender relations are either ascribed or achieved; ascribed being relations that a person is assigned due to their basic position in a kinship or affinity, while achieved refers to relations established based on one's personal involvement in the economic, social and political life of their country. The merging of ascribed and achieved relations produce different social and economic outcomes for women when interlocked with class, race, ethnicity and religion, etc. (Young, 1992).

The GAD framework does not focus singularly on either productive or reproductive aspects of women's and men's lives to the exclusion of the other and analyzes the nature of women's contributions within the context of work done inside and outside the household which includes non-commodity production (Rathgeber, 1990). It also rejects the public/private dichotomy that has been used to undervalue and devalue household work performed by women. GAD theory further explores the economic, social, political, and cultural forces that determine men and women's participation, control of and access to resources and benefits from these resources (Brown, 2006). It does not only acknowledge women's roles but the interaction of these roles alongside those of men in shaping the structure of society. It, therefore, emphasizes

the need to challenge and transform existing gender roles and power relations to address the imbalance of power between women and men in both the household and wider society (Singhal 2003).

The GAD approach sees women as agents of change rather than passive recipients (Rathgeber, 1990). However, it cautions that women are far from a homogenous group. It therefore calls for the need to understand how race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, age, disability, etc. interact with gender to bring about women's subordinate position (Brown, 2006). GAD proponents further recognize that gender subordination is constructed and reinforced through many institutions such as the household, the community and the state (Beetham and Demetriades, 2007). The reluctance by policy makers to alter the current power imbalances that bring about women's inequality and the gendered division of labour has seen women play different and changing roles within the household and public sphere but with limited benefits (Nilson, 2013). The integration of women into the paid workforce increases women's burdens due to their roles associated with the "home" which are not simultaneously diminished (Brown, 2006).

GAD seeks the adoption of an approach that considers power imbalances at the root of gender subordination (Molyneux 1985 as cited in Beetham and Demetriades, 2007). This calls for a shift from addressing women's needs that are identified within their socially accepted roles to needs identified as a result of women's historically subordinate position (Moser, 1993). This includes, alleviation from the labor of childcare roles, establishment of political equality, removal of institutionalized discrimination, such as restrictive access to credit or ownership of land, etc. (Molyneux, 1985). Achieving this would require a certain level of consciousness

raising, especially from a bottom-top approach where women as active agents are empowered to determine their own choices and outcomes.

In addition, GAD further encourages women to organise to work towards transforming the institutions that construct their subordination and to work for their own empowerment (Burn, 2005, Nikkhah, Redzuan and Abu-Samah, 2011). This is achieved in part by questioning the validity of traditionally assigned roles and the social construction of the productive and reproductive domains from which women are assigned inferior or secondary roles (Rathgeber, 1994). The power wielded by men over men and by men over women is an instrument of marginalisation.

GAD theory is helpful in examining gender dynamics between copreneur spouses. The theory acknowledges the unequal distribution of power and resources between men and women and the need to alter the power imbalances that result in gendered roles and division of labour. This is especially important in the global south where women are such a crucial economic resource with little or no entitlements to the outcomes of their labour due to the entrenched patriarchal systems that privilege males with resources and decision-making power to women's disadvantage.

The GAD approach has been criticized by some for the potential problems that emerge from "bringing men in" to development work. While the shift from 'Women in development' to 'Gender and Development' was welcomed due to its promise to promote a more integrated and relational approach, concerns have been expressed about men assuming central focus as the "experts" without understanding women's experiences of subordination (White, 2000). This, White argues, risks transforming pro-feminist men into the anti-women if they are ever accused of being ignorant or guilty of women's subordination (White, 2000). Furthermore, White argues

that the integration of men under the GAD framework risks bringing men's problems such as inability to fulfil provider roles, effects of men's sexual practices into discussion. This in turn leads to what Whitehead refers as "danger of reversion" shifts focus from gender relations to men and masculinity (Pg.35). This results in women losing the hard-won gains of feminism due to the centering of men and men's concerns (White, 2000).

GAD as an approach has also been criticized for the difficulty in the implementation stage since it calls for challenging the institutions and structures that perpetuate women's subordination (Ratheberger, 1990). Furthermore, GAD theory's demands for structural changes within the institutions that bring about women's subordination make it unpopular national and international development agencies. As a result, Gender and Development is often perceived as "toothless" since it demands structural changes and power shifts that are unlikely to happen among national governments or international agencies.

2.2 BORDER THEORY

Border theory is also used to analyse the data emerging out of this study. Border theory concerns the boundaries that divide the times, places and people associated with work versus family roles (Clark 2000). The basic idea behind border theory is that work and family are different spheres that are characterised by different cultures i.e. different purposes, languages, rules, customs, and behaviours with the ability to influence each other (Chen et al, 2004). According to Clark (2000), people are "border crossers" who make daily transitions between the two domains. The central argument of the work/family border theory is that individuals are proactive border crossers, which implies that they shape the nature of each domain, as well as the borders and bridges between both domains (Clark, 2000).

Work and family are different domains that provide different ends for the individuals involved (Desrochers & Sargent, 2004). For example, according to Clark and Farmer (1998), individuals reported that work satisfied the need for incomes and a sense of accomplishment while family life satisfied the need for close relationships and personal happiness. Therefore, attaining a satisfactory level of balance between the work and family domains guarantees the achievement on both ends. However, this often requires the management of the borders between these domains. The borders may include: a physical border such as the walls of a home where domain specific roles take place, temporal borders such as set hours of work that divide the time when family and work-related roles are performed and psychological borders that shape the behaviors, emotions and habits appropriate for each domain (Clark, 2000). Border theory is therefore concerned with managing the two domains in order to reach a balance between work and family and avoid work/family conflict (Clark, 2000; Desrochers & Sargent, 2002).

Nipper-Eng argues that individuals employ different strategies such as integration and segmentation to ensure boundary management between work and family domains (1995, 1996). Integration occurs through two mechanisms: flexibility and permeability. Flexibility refers to “the malleability of the boundary between two or more roles/domains – its ability to expand and contract – to accommodate the demands of one domain or another” (Desrochers & Sargent 2004 pg. 41, Clark, 2000; Ashforth et al, 2000). For example, a stay-at-home female telecommuter may be able to fulfil her parental roles several times of the day while working. On the other hand, permeability refers to where psychological or behavioral aspects of one domain enter another. For example, a call centre operator despite receiving calls all day is may not be permitted to answer personal phone calls (Desrochers & Sargent, 2004). As such, everything belongs to either the work or family sphere with no overlap as physical or temporal boundaries

exist between the domains and one constantly alternates between themselves depending on his/her location and specific roles at hand (Nippert-Eng, 1996)

Border theory is useful for studying work and family domains especially where it involves working from home, working with family, where work involves flexible scheduling (Desrochers & Sargent, 2004). This is because people who often work from home can simultaneously experience work and family cues although their behavioural responses may be different. The work and family related behaviours can be even more entrenched if individuals work with their spouses making accomplishment and failures from one domain mutually inseparable from the other. Furthermore, the blurring of borders and roles in such cases makes Border Theory useful in two unique ways: examining the border crossers between the two domains and understanding the nature of role transitions (Desrochers & Sargent, 2004). Border crossers can be classified into central and peripheral border crossers (Lave & Wegner, 1991). Central Border crossers refer to individuals who have influence and identification within a specific domain. The influence enables the central participants to negotiate and enforce changes to a domain and its borders while identification involves the internalized values and identities that are closely tied to their membership to a specific domain (Clark, 2000). Peripheral border crossers on the other hand have little influence and identification with any specific domain. Donald (2008) further argues that central border crossers who have access to both the work and family domains have greater control and involvement than peripheral border crossers with limited levels of involvement. For example, a female, despite being a CEO of a company, may need to be more active in the household to have greater control in that sphere.

Jennings & McDougald (2007) argue that women are more likely “to reduce their work-related behavioral and psychological involvement, limit their career aspirations, and forgo

opportunities for career development” (755) in favor of fulfilling their family obligations. Some, to avoid having to choose between working and taking care of their family, venture into business for themselves (or with their spouse) to balance their work and family lives (Boden, 1999; Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998; Nelton, 1986). The decision to work with their spouses comes with major commitments and compromises for women. Copreneur women offer relief to their spouses by performing domestic duties and performing secondary roles in the business in favor of their spouses running the business (Jennings & McDougald, 2007). This is partly to ensure balance as well as maintain their traditionally assigned roles while their spouses operate in the public domain such as a business.

Hall & Richter (1988) argue that an important way to understand work-family interactions is to study transitions between the work and family. These transitions can be either physical, which occur when one moves from one domain to another, or psychological, when a person is physically in one domain but mentally concerned with another (Hall and Richter, 1988). Ashforth et al (2001) provides a further distinction between macro role transitions and micro role transitions. Macro transitions involve the permanent exiting from one domain into another over a time period such as quitting a job to spend time with family while micro transitions involve switching back and forth among one’s multiple currently held roles. For example, an individual may transition from parent to spouse at home, transition to employee and switch back to being spouse or parent (Desrochers & Sargent, 2004).

The Campos et al (2009) study, which examined the interaction patterns among dual-earner couples, found that mothers tend to arrive home earlier than fathers. He further found an interesting pattern between mothers and fathers, in that when home, mothers were more likely to spend time with children whereas fathers spent time alone. This, he argued, meant that men were

more likely to establish a physical boundary from the rest of the family in the evening. This implies that, despite being exhausted from a day's work, women continue to cater for the social needs of the children amidst other household roles whereas men spent time alone, thus further enlarging women's already burdensome lives. Therefore, dual-earner women, according to Border Theory, may possess greater control in both the family and work domain due to the nature of their proactive roles in both spheres. However, the theory falls short in a range of ways. To begin with, it does not measure the decision-making processes in both the family and work spheres but rather assumes "active" involvement as sign of "control". It is for this reason that Gender and Development (GAD) is useful in illuminating and explaining the shortcomings of Border Theory. It also remains to be seen what outcomes exist when women are central "border crossers" making physical and psychological transitions between work and family domains especially while working with a spouse.

Much of the research on the work and family spheres focuses on work-family balance. Clark (2000) defines work-family balance as the "satisfaction and good functioning at work and at home, with a minimum of role conflict" (p. 751). The overlap between family and work is an area of strong academic interest in North America and Europe. Border Theory is often used to examine work-family balance. However, this study seeks to explore the gendered dynamics that emerge from spousal participation in the both the business and family domains with relative border crossing. Studies on work-family balance show that when family is central to work ('bringing home to work'), we witness workers leaving meetings early to fulfil child care obligations, taking maternity leave and engaging in breastfeeding in the workplace, which often have an impact of some form on the 'work life' (Hylmö, 2004). On the other hand, when one "brings work home", through working via telecommuting and working past regular work hours,

the resultant stress could impact family life. Border theory enables us to examine the extent to which work-family balance or conflict are central to intimate-partner business owners which enhances our understanding of whether intimate-partner business owners have similar attitudes about work-family balance as western cultures.

The intertwined nature of work and family domains makes family business an intriguing context to study work-family interactions (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Clark, 2000; Desrochers, Hilton, & Larwood, 2005; Golden et al., 2006). The specific examination of copreneurs and solo-entrepreneurs with supporting spouses provides a great opportunity for the researcher to understand goal setting, teamwork, role disaggregation and accountability within such partnerships, while also considering the potential for blurred definition of roles and expectations, as well as ownership terms. Work/family border theory helps to expound on the border crossing involved within such businesses and the intersectionality between gender, work and family.

Recent scholarly research in work and family has noted that the metaphor of “balance” may have a negative connotation (Golden, Kirby, & Jorgenson 2006; Halpern & Murphy, 2005; Hattery, 2001). This is because the idea of balance posits that work and family should be treated as separate and independent of each other. Some scholars, especially feminist scholars, argue that work and family domains being separate is a myth and they are inherently integrated (Kanter, 1977; Jennings & McDougald, 2007; Marshack, 1993). Considering the scholarly viewpoints above on the “balance”, this research hopes to understand how Ugandan Intimate-partner business owners interpret the work and family domains and, therefore, how perceptions of integration or separation shapes their interaction in both spheres.

The benefits of running one's own business include autonomy and flexibility (Jennings & McDougald, 2007), but this also presents room for conflict and potential imbalance. This may be due to the binary nature of relationships in family business such as CEO/spouse, supervisor/mother, subordinate/child which calls for the need to examine the borders between family and work, their interconnectedness and resultant socio-economic positioning. Border Theory, along with Gender and Development, helps us understand the division of labour among intimate-partner business owners, the nature of role transitions performed, and the implications of doing or not doing the assigned tasks for both men and women. Border theory brings to the fore the bridges and borders that come with performing assigned roles and the opportunities presented for both men and women.

Border theory is useful in that it enables the analysis of the nature of the borders, the permeability of those borders, the nature of role transitions that individuals make in order to attain balance (Clark, 2000). The analysis of borders illuminates how individuals strive towards achieving control of issues to bring about balance (Guest, 2002). It also centers on the experiences of individuals working from home, working with a partner and the ability to have flexible schedules, all of which are common among copreneur, dual career couples and solo entrepreneurs with supporting spouses (Desrochers & Sargent, 2004). The theory is useful since the study focusses on intimate-partner business owners such as copreneur and solo entrepreneurs with supporting spouses in Uganda. Although the border theory's principle focus is the attainment of balance between work and family (Clark, 2000), it further enables our understanding of how men and women perceive and interpret their domain roles and how they work towards ensuring harmony and balance between the domains.

Work and family Border Theory assumes that work and family constitute different domains that influence one another (Clark, 2000). As such, the transitions between work-family borders are central towards attaining ‘balance’. However, border theory puts strong emphasis on the boundaries between the domains more than the players within them, such as the men and women in the context of this research on intimate-partner business owners. This is problematic because it ignores intersectional dynamics such as education, class, gender, geographical location and culture that influence the interaction between men and women by emphasizing the psychological and physical boundaries associated between work and family. Border theory ignores the power and privilege attained based on gender, class, education and how this determines one’s central or peripheral participation in work and family domains by influencing one’s access, control of resources and decision making. For example, an educated man with financial resources may have more control and participation in the public domain due to the ownership of assets within the work and family spheres as opposed to a less privileged spouse with less education yet both may be copreneurs.

The premise of ‘balance’ as an outcome of interest within work-family Border Theory is valid but also narrow. This is because previous studies on work-family “balance” within border theory framework have examined the impact of the work demands on family in the West (Clark 2000, Guest, 2002, Grzywacz, & Carlson, 2007) and not among intimate-partner business owners in a developing context. These studies have not considered different political, economic and social contexts and, as a result, the findings are not always applicable. As such, this is the first attempt at using Border Theory to examine gender relations within a developing world context. Additionally, border theory also ignores the unequal roles that women perform within the work and family domains. Whereas border theory argues that similarity in domain roles

fosters close relationships and border crossings, it does not consider the power dynamics between men and women which influence the gender division of labour, access to resources and the decision-making processes. In this regard, GAD theory compliments border theory by examining the social, economic, political and cultural gendered power dynamics (Brown, 2006). By focussing on gender relations, the researcher can attain a good understanding of what roles men and women play in both the household and business domain and how this influences their access and control of resources as well as decision making within the household and the business realm.

2.3 Conclusion

GAD theory acknowledges that men and women are both active agents of change and recognises how women's subordination is reinforced through the household, community and state (Rathgeber, 1990 Beetham and Demetriades, 2007). Border Theory argues that work and family are separate but interacting domains where individuals negotiate the rules, boundaries and practices within each domain (Clark, 2000). Border Theory is useful in that it "opens up a rich vein of analysis focussing on the nature of work and family domains, on the borders between these borders ... and the ease with which the borders can be managed or moved" (Guest, 2002, pg.259). The two theories enable us understand men and women's roles as border crossers between the work and family domains and how the interaction of both business and the personal relationships involved produces different experiences for men and women in terms of gender roles, times and places of participation and the decision-making processes which bring about women's domestic subordination and limited work-place participation.

GAD and Border Theory enables a deeper analysis of the nature of the borders and the extent of participation in both the work and family domain. GAD theory explores the nature of

gendered relationships between men and women, focusing on the power dynamics between spouses prior to business venturing and during the process of managing the work and family domains. Although border theory provides a less convincing explanation for what factors contribute to one being a central and peripheral participant and border crosser in work and family (Clark, 2000), GAD calls for the questioning the validity of traditionally assigned roles and the social construction of the productive and reproductive domains from which women are assigned the inferior or secondary roles (Rathgeber, 1994). This enables our understanding of the value systems and cultural practices that shape men and women's understanding of gendered roles within the specific domain. This in turn expounds on how control of resources and decision making is associated with a domain dominance by males within the public/work domain vis a vis women's internalized beliefs as managers of the household domain and its associated tasks. Both theories enable our understanding of the underlying beliefs, internalized values and norms that shape the experiences, perception of roles and responsibilities among intimate-partner business owners in Uganda about the work and family domains.

CHAPTER THREE: FAMILY BUSINESS; A LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter introduces the concept of family business and explores the different challenges facing small business owners in African contexts. It then examines intimate-partner business ventures with a focus on copreneurship as a concept and explores the founding motivations, what leads to copreneur successes and the causes of work/family balance. Solo entrepreneur spouses are not explored in detail due to the lack in literature since only a small section of the present literature is largely found in popular media. The chapter concludes by exploring the gendered implications for intimate-partner business ownership for men and women.

3.1 BACKGROUND TO FAMILY BUSINESS

Family businesses are critical for the economic development of many countries across the world. In the United States alone, family businesses make up 90% of the estimated 25 million businesses which range from fortune 500 companies, two-person partnerships to sole proprietorships (Astrachan & Shanker, 2003). Despite the growing research interest on family businesses in the developed world, it is largely ignored in the developing world. This is especially puzzling considering the role of family businesses in overcoming the high poverty levels across many developing countries (Khavul, Bruton & Wood, 2009).

Despite its growth, it is difficult to define family business due to the diversity of family businesses. Massis et al (2012) defined family businesses based on three major characteristics: 1) one or several families hold a significant part of the share capital, 2) family members retain significant control over the company depending on the distribution of capital and voting rights among non-family shareholders, and 3) family members holding top management positions. However, dominant family business literature is often drawn from the European and American

ideas of family which constitute tight circles of immediate relatives connected by blood and marriage (Khavul, Bruton & Wood, 2009). Whereas this literature is extensive, it is particularly limited considering the nature of kinship ties in most African contexts, which are largely extended in nature (Stewart, 2003). As a result, this literature is limiting in understanding family businesses beyond western contexts, such as the uniquely diverse family systems and structures in African contexts.

Family businesses that operate within the small business sector have been credited for providing 63 percent of new jobs in the United States alone (Small Business Administration, 2013). A majority of these businesses existed for an average of 5 years which created 2.4 million jobs by 2010 but reduced to 2.1 million in 2014. This suggests a net job loss of 300,000 jobs in a space of four years (Census Bureau, Business Dynamics Statistics, 2017). This indicates that the risk of closures among small businesses increases with time even in developed economies like the United States (Small Business Administration, 2017). Within a developing economy context, it's probable that small family businesses may undergo similarly challenging environments over a period and may have to adapt to such changes.

3.2 SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISE IN AFRICAN CONTEXTS

The post-colonial period witnessed the rise and collapse of several state enterprises as new independent states adjusted to the troubled political climate and slow economic growth. The adoption of the free market ideology shifted economic growth from the state to corporate/individual capitalism, with a strong emphasis on economic growth (Bewayo, 1995). Harper (1991) argues that entrepreneurship was critical in ensuring the progress of developing countries as it enabled the then independent states to break away from their colonial legacy by taking charge of their growth, especially after the failure of state enterprises like marketing

boards. It also encouraged local entrepreneurs to start labour intensive enterprises, in light of the abundance of labour and limited access to capital. Finally, it encouraged historically marginalised groups to participate in the national socio-economic and political development (Harper 1991 as cited in Bewayo, 1995).

Entrepreneurship, at least within the African context, is often equated with self employment (Bewayo, 1995). The predominance of small and micro businesses in the informal sector has attracted increasing attention (Naude & Havenga, 2005). This attention is justified because small businesses are the "seedbeds" and "vehicles" to economic growth due to their dominant nature in most African economies (Acs, 1992 in Naude & Havenga, 2005). However, small businesses, in most African countries continue to be challenged by a range of factors such as inadequate access to capital, corruption, unfavourable tax policies, small market sizes, etc. (Naude & Krugell, 2002, Gauthier & Gersovitz, 1997).

Amyx (2005) argues that one of the most significant challenges facing SME's is the negative perception. This is common when potential clients perceive small businesses as lacking the ability to provide quality services and are unable to perform more than one critical project simultaneously thus preferring larger companies over small ones for their clout in the industry and name recognition (Bowen, Morara & Mureithi, 2009). Steel (2003) argues that the labor productivity of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) in Uganda was lower than that of MSMEs in Kenya and Tanzania although larger firms in Uganda experienced higher levels of productivity (Steel, 2003). He attributed this to the lower productivity of Ugandan workers which was significantly lower than that of other African countries such as Kenya, Ghana and Tanzania, influenced by a range of factors such as levels of education, skills development and capacity building etc.

King and McGrath (2002) argue that Education is one of the major factors that positively impacts on growth of firms. According to them, the wider the stocks of human capital with better education, the better placed their enterprises are to adapt to the changing business environment (King and McGrath, 1998). In Kenya, small and micro businesses are dominated by people with relatively low levels of education – with 47% of respondents having post-secondary or vocation education and another (28.8 percent) having completed secondary school (Bowen et al, 2009). This study found that only a small proportion of the respondents (4.5 percent), had reached university level or above. Although Bowen et al's study did not provide conclusive results for the relationship between business performance and level of education, the study found a correlation between business performance and level of training in the area of business and management. Considering that 51 percent received business-related training and nearly all of them (49.5 percent) said their businesses were doing well, one may conclude that relevant business training can produce positive results in the running of businesses (Bowen et al, 2009).

High taxes continue to be a major obstacle to the growth and success of small and micro enterprises in Uganda with many entrepreneurs expressing a lack of trust over the current taxation system (Kakooza, 2006). Many entrepreneurs were concerned with the arbitrary procedures used by the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) for granting tax exemptions to larger firms and carrying out aggressive tax assessments on small businesses, with heavy penalties for non-compliance which affect the performance of small and micro enterprises in Uganda (Reinikka & Svensson, 1999). For example, of the sixty-eight percent of Ugandan Small and Medium firms audited either for corporate income tax or Value added tax (VAT), 51% of firms had disagreements with the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) regarding their tax assessments. A further 18% were denied or did not receive any refund while 10% waited for more than six

months (Reinikka & Svensson, 1999). This affected the growth prospects of such businesses because high taxes diminish the pool of funds used for expansions and investment (Tokman, 2001 as cited in Ishengoma and Kappel, 2007). This had led many business owners to prefer to remain small and informal to avoid the visibility and tax obligations that come with growing a business. However, later studies argue that tax relief increased the growth of SME business incomes by 17 per cent (Ishengoma and Kappel, 2011).

Hallward (2004) argues that corruption is a top constraint to businesses in the sub-Saharan region with 75 percent of firms in Kenya reporting to have paid bribes averaging over 5 percent of sales (2004). These bribes were paid to government officials for things such as business licenses. These expenses become a major constraint to businesses that are already limited in their access to productive resources such as land, labor, capital and infrastructure services. Furthermore, Kazooba (2006) found that despite challenges with load shedding⁴, Ugandan business owners in Bushenyi and Mbarara towns reported wide scale corruption by officials from the Uganda Electricity Board thus many were compelled to purchase generators for their businesses.

Despite the various challenges faced by small business owners, many continue to venture into business in Uganda. A recent government study revealed that women-owned businesses have outpaced that of male-owned businesses by 1.5 times over the last 10 years in Uganda alone (Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives, 2015). Although this number is interesting, no previous studies have examined intimate-partner owned businesses in Uganda thus the necessity of this study to examine the impact of women's business participation on their ability to access and control resources within a business. The field of entrepreneurship within African contexts

⁴ Load shedding refers to the rationing of electricity to different locations due to low capacity to supply based on the available demands. It is common in several towns in Uganda such as Bushenyi and Mbarara (Kazooba, 2006).

has been largely male dominated with only limited anecdotal studies focusing on copreneurship (Venter, Farrington & Boshoff, 2009; Farrington, Venter & Eybers, 2011). I will attempt to explore available literature on intimate-partner business venturing which has been largely studied in Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand among others and discuss the lens through which previous studies on copreneurship have pursued. However, it is important to state that literature on solo entrepreneur is far limited thus most of the section focuses on copreneurs. This section will also highlight the interdisciplinary viewpoints from which the field of copreneurship has been examined.

3.3 INTIMATE-PARTNER BUSINESS VENTURING

De Bruin (2006) identified several types of intimate-partner entrepreneurial ventures within the western context which include: solo entrepreneur with a supporting spouse; dual entrepreneurs (spouses each with an independent venture); and copreneurs, where both spouses are involved in the same venture. A solo entrepreneur with a supportive spouse is a situation in which one person is fully committed to and involved in the operation of the business and the other partner supports that person. Often this kind of support is psychological or emotional support and encouragement, though it might also involve a small degree of “helping out” with the business. The solo entrepreneur makes the running of the enterprise his or her career, and the supportive partner may be employed outside the business, pursuing a separate career, or not formally employed. Dual entrepreneurs are couples in which each partner is committed to and involved in the running of a separate business. In contrast with the former two types of entrepreneurial couples shown above, copreneurs are partners who are both involved in a joint business, and neither one pursues a career outside the business (De Bruin, 2006). This

phenomenon has been labelled "the fastest growing segment of family-based business" (Marshall, 1999, p. 9).

3.3.1 Copreneurship

The term copreneurs was first coined by Barnett and Barnett (1988) - married partners who established a business relationship as "business partners". They defined copreneurs as entrepreneurial couples who work in the business together, share an egalitarian relationship, who "never need to go home and explain to an uninvolved spouse what's going on at work" (p. 7). Ponthieu and Claudil (1993) define copreneurs as married couples or life partners who jointly own and operate business organisations or who otherwise share risk, ownership, responsibility and management by working together in any phase of the business venture. Muske and Fitzgerald (2002) argue that definitions of copreneurs often focus more on the business rather than family aspects of the partnership by exploring business roles, work hours and ownership terms. As a result, little is known regarding the household relations of spouses such as the gender roles that are performed in the household, access and control of incomes and decision making between the spouses.

For purposes of this research, copreneurships are defined as businesses that are fully or partially owned by spouses in a marriage-like relationship with the visible or invisible participation of both spouses in the running of the business. Despite being famously known as 'mom and pop', these businesses will be referred to as copreneurial ventures through this thesis. A common feature among most copreneur ventures is the necessity for spousal engagement and support (in the form of finances, time and labour) especially during the business start-up (McAdam & Marlow, 2013). This implies that spouses become critical stakeholders within the business partnership as a joint venture with neither pursuing a career outside the business (Ruef

et al, 2003; Brannon et al, 2013, De Bruin, 2006). However, it is critical to note that throughout the life time of the business, copreneur spouses may reduce their daily involvement but remain available to intervene in the business during a time of need.

According to Fitzgerald and Muske (2002), copreneurs represent an estimated 1.5 million businesses in the United States alone. Lewis and Massey (2011) argue that copreneurships represent at least 30% of all family businesses with a range of studies conducted including in Australia, USA, Britain, New Zealand (Smith, 2000; Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002, Foley & Powell 1997; Baines and Wheelock, 1998). Copreneur ventures have been examined from different viewpoints which include comparison between copreneurs and dual career spouses, gender roles, the intermingling of financial resources, women's experiences in copreneur tourism ventures, effective copreneur teams, copreneur entry, continuation and exit, work-family conflict among copreneurial women among others (Marshack, 1993; Deacon, Harris and Worth, 2014; Muske et al, 2009; Benseman, 2010; Farrington, Venter & Eybers, 2011; Muske and Fitzgerald, 2006; Wu, Chang & Zhuang, 2010). In 1993, Marshack examined copreneurship literature and found only five empirical studies. However, the topic of copreneurship has drawn increased attention in the last 20 years with more research emerging from the developed world. Marshack's 1994 PhD thesis was the first seminal study that laid the foundation for copreneurship inquiry. However, to date, no study has yet examined the influence of gender relations on the access, control of resources and decision-making among copreneur spouses. Therefore, the present study seeks to fill the gap in the literature regarding how gender relations may influence the copreneurial outcomes between intimate business owners.

Despite the studies cited above, the field of copreneurship is still under-researched with only anecdotal evidence and limited empirical data available (Muske & Fitzgerald, 2006).

Several reasons have been cited for the limited research on copreneurship. This include: difficulty in gathering data, copreneur commitment to personal goals rather than business achievement, and being regarded as outliers within the family business category (Tompson, 2000). Copreneurs are often viewed as outliers within family business due to the perception that copreneurs are working together for personal rather than business reasons (Muske & Fitzgerald, 2006). Furthermore, copreneur businesses are often small and widespread within various sectors such as farming, high-level crafts, retail, hostelry/tourism, business services, auto sales, and national or local franchises (Kuschel & Lepeley, 2015). Considering that copreneur venture owners have been perceived to be motivated by both personal and economic reasons, it is crucial that we explore the literature on the motivations for copreneur venturing.

3.3.2 Motivations for copreneur start-ups

Copreneur venturing can be influenced by a range of factors both economic and individual. Michael (1999) argues that copreneurial start-ups of the 1990's were aided by strong economies, early retirement programs and easier access to capital within western economies. Smith further posits that challenges with the corporate glass ceiling, downsizing and redundancy also increased the number of copreneur ventures (2000). On the other hand, Benseman and Hall's (2010) study of copreneur spouses in the tourism sector in New Zealand found that the most cited reason for business venturing was to meet people, desire for a balanced lifestyle and ability to work from home. Thus, the businesses were created to meet individual lifestyle goals of the couples and not really to for profit. This is because the respondents preferred to keep their businesses small and under control, rather than have them grow big, which is regarded as more economically suitable for profits.

Walker and Webster (2004) found similarities and differences in the reasons women and men give to go into a copreneur business. Both women and men cite being their own boss, balancing work and family, the personal challenge, and flexible lifestyle as important factors. Among the differences, women mentioned the desire to use their experience and knowledge, while men pointed out financial security, personal development and recognition as motivating reasons (Walker & Webster, 2004). However, the study does not explain why men and women have different motivations for starting a copreneur venture. It also remains unclear what outcomes may arise due to differences in motivations between spouses on gender roles, business outcomes and household relations. The difference in motivating factors among copreneur spouses may make it challenging to measure business success since each individual is influenced by a different and sometimes personal motivation.

Godwin, Stevens, and Brenner (2006) argues that strategic partnerships between men and women may “allow the woman entrepreneur to overcome some of the sex-related hurdles that the entrepreneurship literature suggests still exist for women in male-dominated industries” (pg. 635). This is because women have been disproportionately affected by challenges such as obtaining loans, higher interest rates, lack of collateral and low start-up incomes. As such Godwin et al suggest that women should “play by the rules” by partnering with men through team partnerships where men will gain access to resources which women would have traditionally found challenging. This, they argue, brings significant benefits to women in form of increased legitimacy for the co-owned businesses, expanded social networks and increased access to resources (Godwin et al, 2006). These benefits enable women navigate the male dominated patriarchal economies and workspaces.

3.3.3 Copreneur success

Muske and Fitzgerald (2006) found that the success of copreneurships is determined by both the external factors, such as the economic environment, as well as internal factors such as family support, level of education, and number of children in a household. During the period of study from 1997-2000, during which the US economy performed weakly, "successful" copreneur ventures often had an older male business manager, with a high level of education and few children. The study, however, did not indicate any characteristics relating to the female spouse. The successful copreneur couple also lived in an urban area with a high value home, hired more employees than other copreneur ventures and employed a significant number of relatives (Muske & Fitzgerald, 2006). Unsuccessful copreneurs were found to have more children at home, a younger business manager with less education, lower profit margins. As a result, unsuccessful copreneurs decided to end the business aspect of their relationship since it could not meet the financial demands thus seeking more stable incomes outside of the (Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002, 2006).

Copreneur ventures have been lauded for allowing flexible schedules. For example, a statistics Canada's 1999 survey found that 6 out of 10 copreneurs experience varying work hours compared to only 2 out of 10 for non-copreneur spouses (Marshack, 1999). This enables copreneurs to spend more time with their families, accomplish daily chores and maintain their households (Philips, 2002). However, copreneurs also end up working more hours compared to other couples. This is challenging considering the predicaments and insecurity around self employment, especially if both partners are self-employed which could bring about income insecurity in the event of poor business performance or unemployment (Marshack, 1993).

Copreneurships have been credited for giving "a lot of opportunities for couples to think about their relationship" (Philips, 2002 pg. 125). This is because the copreneurial team goes

through several milestones like starting a family, putting their children through college, planning retirement together, while at the same time sharing daily workloads. This helps to make one's marriage stronger and create lasting husband-wife companies (Gross Klaff, 2000). However, this view tends to be over-romanticized and assumes that copreneurs started as a team. Some scholars argue that copreneur couples at the start-up phase share both the household roles and workplace responsibilities (Brannon & Wiklund, 2012). While this may be true in some contexts, the premise that most, if not all, copreneur businesses begin from a family establishment is not fully accurate in that it does not accommodate the transitions that occur from solo entrepreneur ventures into copreneurial businesses after incorporating the spouses.

Between copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs, the later remains the less investigated category of the two although commonly discussed within popular media. Among the few publications available include Hack (2015). She argues that solo entrepreneurs are often victims of unexpected business crisis due to the feeling of invincibility that many solo entrepreneurs may feel. She therefore recommends that solo entrepreneurs plan against the uncertainties that come with business ownership. Furthermore, it remains unclear how copreneur spouses perceive their marriage relationships especially if the business was founded by one spouse before the marital relationship. Beyond copreneur success, scholars have explored the area of work/family balance which is premised on the view that the interaction of work and family is likely to bring about conflict between the domains thus the need to understand how balance can be attained between the two domains.

3.3.4 Work and family balance

Work-life balance (WLB) (or work-family balance) is a common topic in work-family studies especially in the developed world (Gregory & Milner, 2009; Karassvidou & Glaveli,

2013). It has been defined “as the extent to which an individual is happy and experiences a satisfactory equilibrium between their work and family roles” (Farivar, Cameron, and Yaghoubi 2016, pg. 416). Copreneurship provides a useful opportunity to examine how spouses attempt to manage the work and family domains to attain “balance”. This rests on how spouses negotiate the boundaries between the work and family domains; that is how couples manage the psychological and physical adjustments to transition from one domain role to another and back (Marshack, 1993). It is imperative to note that “balance” does not imply an equal allocation of time to the work-family domain but rather a satisfactory level of involvement (Osoian et al, 2011, Farivar et al, 2016). Work-life balance may be challenging to achieve among couples due to a range of factors such as work demands in the form of extra shift hours, and overnight travel, thus limiting available time to perform family duties and nurture stronger relationships (Voydanoff, 2005).

The study of work and family domains has led to the emergence of theories seeking to understand the choices individuals make within the domains of work and family. Border theory, as discussed in chapter two is one such theory that views work and family as separate (Clark, 2000). However, Marshack (1993) argues that the work/family domains are inseparable and interdependent although much of the research has been linear. Early scholars addressed this fallacy by shattering the myth that work and family were separate (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965, 1969; Kanter, 1977). This led to the proposal of an integrated systems perspective that sought to unite the polarities of rationality-emotionality, femaleness-maleness, intimacy-authority and love-work (Kanter 1977; Marshack, 1993). The perception of separation of domains is often evident in how spouses perceive the significance of their specific domain roles. For example, Epstein’s (1971) study on law couples found a traditional division of labor within the household.

Female spouses often viewed themselves as mothers and wives first and professionals second. Considering that Epstein's study population had matured after the women's movement, she attributed this pattern of thought to women's limited professional identities. However, it is difficult to ascertain if this trend has changed and how it affects women's identities relating to work and family roles and responsibilities.

Most copreneur spouses have different strategies to attain work-family balance. For example, Cole (1993, 1997) argues that business couples created unique ways of dealing with the dual relationship strain. Several scholars argue that failure to address balance between the work and family domains would negatively affect the business and family lives of the copreneurs (Jaffe, 1990; Poza & Messer, 2001). This would be permitted to happen since copreneurs were committed to preserving their marriage should work demands become overwhelming (Cole & Johnson, 2007). However, it is increasingly difficult to define "balance" since different spouses set different priorities in their business and family relationships.

On the other hand, copreneurial literature also examines the concept of work-family conflict. Work-family conflict (WFC) is "a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985:77). Work demands may make it difficult to perform family responsibilities (work-to-family conflict – WIF) or family duties may limit the performance of work roles (family-to-work conflict – FIW) (Wu, Chang and Zhuang, 2010). Such conflict can lead to poor family role performances, family absence and distress or absenteeism and tardiness at work and poor job performance, respectively (Frone, 2003, Voydanoff, 2005). Wu et al's (2010) study on work-family conflict among Taiwanese copreneurial women found that WIF was more prevalent than FIW conflict. The conflict originated from women's sense of duty to the family business while

fulfilling the domestic roles as well. Whereas Smith (2000) argues that copreneur women see themselves as mother and wives first, the nature of Work-to-Family conflict suggests that women are caught between a sense of duty to the business and a feeling of exploitation at home. This implies that copreneur women become enslaved to their family business roles rather than enjoy the flexibility and autonomy that comes with self employment (Wu et al, 2010). However, Wu et al's study presents some limitations. First, it doesn't explore the motivations of the female copreneurs to understand if mutual fulfilment in both domains a top priority. Secondly, it silences male voices since it only provides accounts of the women's experience dealing with work-family conflict. For such reasons, this study seeks to understand men and women's experiences with work/family conflict.

Kirkwood and Tootell (2008) further argue that job-parenting conflict, defined as role clashes that exist between one's job expectations and that of being a parent, are more prominent among women entrepreneurs than men thus hindering them from achieving work-family balance. This was especially greater for women who had younger children but lacked a nanny or caregiver to successfully ensure balance, whereas men often seemed unconcerned about childcare issues since they had domestic partners to fulfil those roles. Once the business had begun, women tended not to experience much job-partner conflict since it was 'resolved' after the business start-up with most women giving up any expectation of childcare support and nurturing from their spouses. The traditional gender role assignment implied that men only provided for household needs because it was socially 'expected' of men to fulfil their breadwinning roles. Other respondents, according to Kirkwood and Tootell, experienced work-spouse conflict with many women conscious of the impact of the business on their domestic partnership when considering a business venture. Furthermore, unlike women, men did not

actively seek approval from their partners before venturing into the business, with many often assuming that the support would be forthcoming. This signifies differences in terms of expectations and experiences with job-parenting conflicts with women highly committed to their nurturing and other household roles while the men only performed their provider roles.

Despite the above job-parenting perceptions presented by Kirkwood and Tootell, Kauffman (2013) argues that dramatic changes in the work and family domain over the last few decades, influenced by the increase in women's labor participation, the increase in divorce, and non-marital childbearing have led to an increasing involvement of men in their children's lives. This is especially important in the era of a weakening traditional husband/breadwinner versus wife/homemaker structure, which has been influenced by the changing economic demands in the workplace and the evolution of family relations to dual career and single parent families, especially in western economies (Kauffman, 2013). Although it remains unknown how much these changes can be attributed to the civil rights movement, these changes have led to an increasing role of fathers in the household and a commitment to work-family balance.

Kauffman's (2013) study found three types of fathers: the old, the new and super dads; all had different attitudes about their provider and caregiver roles. Old dads refer to fathers who are more traditional in their behaviors and see their roles as limited to being providers, spending limited time with their children due to work commitments. The new dads are less traditional, identify strongly as fathers and put a strong emphasis on balancing work and family to fulfil their provider and caregiver roles. Super dads are fathers who saw their caregiver roles as more important than their breadwinning roles. To them, spending more time with their children and nurturing them is as much their responsibility as that of their spouses. This indicates not just a

change in gender roles, but a change in attitudes about the gender roles by the super dads towards embracing roles that were traditionally associated with women.

3.4 GENDERED IMPLICATIONS OF COPRENEURIAL VENTURING

Family business venturing has for long been thought to bring many advantages to women, such as flexible work schedules, job security, access to formerly traditionally male dominated roles (Barnett & Barnett, 1988, Nelton, 1986 as cited in Rowe & Hong, 2000). However, gender stereotyping and traditional household roles have hindered women's business participation and prevented their roles from being acknowledged, especially in the family business (Lyman, Salganicoff & Hollander, 1985, Jaffe 1990). This has led to the perceived "invisibility" of women work in entrepreneurship discourse especially copreneurship. Copreneur women are often stereotyped as caring for the back-room activities like accounts (Dumas, 1998) alongside a range of domestic roles such as preparation of meals, education and child care, helping older members of the family (Hirigoyen & Villeger (2017). Epstein (1971) argues that women's roles are often less visible and least glamorous which banishes women into obscurity.

Gender has been studied within the copreneurial context with inconsistent findings to date (Cole and Johnson, 2007). Whereas Cole (1993) found that gender concerns were minimal with women reporting that they did not feel restrained regarding their power in the business, Ponthieur and Claudill (1993) found that men were often in charge of the business although women claimed to be equal partners. The women's claim to be equal may have been made with the knowledge that men were controlling a range of business decisions which suggests a misguided perception of equality. Furthermore, Blumberg (1991) argues that the question of "responsibility for" verses "helping with" warrants a deeper analysis. This is because, it is easier for women according to her, to do a task rather than ask their husbands for help therefore taking

up the responsibility of those tasks. This study hopes to establish whether Blumberg's assertion holds true among Ugandan copreneurs and the implications of being "responsible for" verses "helping out" with tasks within the copreneurial venture.

Mashack's (1994) comparative study between dual-career couples and copreneurs found unequal gender division of labour among both groups with work arranged according to the traditional gender norms. She stated that copreneurial wives primarily performed roles such as book keeping, secretarial services, billing and collections among other roles and expressed agreement with the actual or ideal division of business roles. In addition, Dyer et al (2012) further found that wives often worked with their spouses for a period of two years before returning to manage the home or working somewhere else. While Dyer et al's study does not explain why this pattern occurs, it may be that copreneur firms access family labour whenever needed which often began at the start-up phase. This study will examine the business work habits of copreneur spouses and look out for any patterns regarding business entry and exit and what could motivate business exit after the business has been founded.

Lewis and Massey (2011) found that in businesses where wives were employed in a part-time capacity, their work was often downplayed and dismissed either by their partners or by themselves with some assuming titles like "tea maker", "office girl". These women often contributed towards the business in form of payroll work, billing, etc. Lewis and Massey further argue that for many such wives, marrying the owner-manager effectively implied marrying the business. This was because the business was an extension of the marital relationship to which they had made an unannounced commitment.

Dyer et al (2014) found that among businesses that transitioned from owner-managed to copreneurial, it was the wife that joined the business and not the other way around. This implies

that it was the husband who founded the business and chose the industry or sector of operation. As his study found, the choice of industry significantly affected the firm's performance with copreneur ventures in the retail sector performing significantly worse than other industries, despite the involvement of their spouses. The poor performance was attributed to the "founder effect"- that is, the business performance is often driven by the founder and not the family involvement (Dyer, 2006). Although the "founder effect" can be positive in terms of skills, motivation and experience, it may negatively affect the business due to the founder's reluctance to heed advice from other sources such as their spouses (Bird, 1989 as cited in Dyer et al, 2012).

Women's role in family businesses can be categorized as ancillary; often necessary support but not central to the business (Cesaroni & Sentuti, 2014). Men, on the other hand, often assume critical leadership positions within copreneurial ventures with women relegated to "invisible" roles with little or no recognition (Hamilton, 2006, Mulholland, 1996). Hamilton further argues that women's relative silence and invisibility originates from the assumption within family business literature that leadership, especially during the founding of the business, is more naturally male (2006). This, she argues, "serves to reinforce and perpetuate entrepreneurship as a male construct" thus limiting our understanding of the role of women in family business (pg. 256). However, as pointed out by Danes and Olsen (2003), women are increasingly undertaking business leadership roles than before especially at the start-up phase of the business.

Deacon et al (2014) argues that while copreneur spouses experience advantages and disadvantages of being in business together, there was no evidence of economic value in terms of financial benefits such as increased incomes or investment. The positive value was largely in "doing things their way" and the freedom in lifestyle choice (pg. 329). Furthermore, copreneurs gained several benefits such as flexibility of working from home, shorter decision-making

processes, less bureaucracy, higher levels of trust, satisfaction, and emotional rewards like achieving together. Therefore, to copreneurs, the value from working together brings more lifestyle rewards than economic outcomes. However, Deacon et al's arguments ignore the burdens women may experience from the productive and reproductive roles performed both in the business and at home and does not explore women's contributions and sacrifices towards achieving the above stated benefits. As such, this study will uncover who benefits from the present copreneur business establishment while considering the contributions and compromises made by both men and women.

Deacon et al (2014) argues that copreneurship is a gendered process that is influenced by the social norms within a specific context. This warrants a deeper examination of how family involvement within terms of who owns productive resources, the gender division of labour within the family unit, decision making practices etc influence the copreneurial process. Also, the gender division of labor should be examined beyond the limits of women's work and men's work since each business context and copreneur partnership is unique in the management of their relationships (Deacon et al, 2014, Al-Dajani & Bika, 2014). For this reason, researchers should be wary to ascribe labels such as husband and wife, which in themselves carry gendered connotations and social expectations which revolve around the work and family domains.

On the contrary, Kauffman (2013) argues that the dramatic changes in the work and family domain over the last few decades, especially influenced by the increase in women's labor participation, the increase in divorce, and non-marital childbearing has led to an increasing involvement of men in their children's lives. This study will explore the possibility of shifts in men's ideas about their roles based on Kauffman's three types of dads. The copreneur context is

a unique place to examine men's perceptions about their roles within the family domain, especially in a highly patriarchal context like Uganda.

Hamilton (2016) provides a major criticism of the scholarly narrative of wives as "household managers" and husbands as "business managers" that has been presented by some scholars. She argues that this nature of role association presents entrepreneurship as a male field by inherently assuming that male are business managers who enjoy the visibility and success with the business and women as household managers always committed to the household roles with limited business involvement. This view is increasingly biased considering women's increased involvement in the public domain in the era of weakening traditional husband/breadwinner verses wife/homemaker structure. The changing nature of work and family domains in the western contexts from traditional family structure to dual career families implies that household relations can no longer be examined under the initial husband/provider and wife/homemaker framework. Therefore, this study attempts to explore business and household relations beyond the traditionally gender role framework.

3.5 Conclusion.

This chapter provided a brief background into family business by exploring the literature on family business dynamics. The chapter then shifted focus to the external challenges faced by business owners in several African countries. Intimate-partner business ventures are explored with a focus on copreneurship, motivations for copreneurial business venturing, success, work/family balance and conflict. The available body of literature provided patterns of how gender has influenced the division of labour between business owners. It is apparent that when intimate-partner business owners have different motivations for business venturing, this makes it challenging to measure copreneurial success since different spouses are motivated by different

factors with a majority of intimate-partner business owners centering on marital success and intimacy at the expense of business growth. However, external factors such as corruption, high taxes, and high costs of doing business impede business growth thus limiting the growth prospects of such ventures. The next chapter will present the findings from the Ugandan data where dominant themes will be discussed against the available literature.

CHAPTER FOUR: “CO-OWNING THE BUSINESS KEPT US TOGETHER”

Introduction.

In this chapter, I will explore the data collected from 12 respondents to determine how gender relations influence patterns of access to, control of resources and decision making among intimate-partner business owners from Uganda. The data was collected through in-depth interviews with informants from three major towns of Gulu, Soroti and Wakiso from June to August 2017. Out of the 12 informants interviewed, 5 were women and 7 men, all of whom were in a heterosexual relationship. Copreneurial and solo entrepreneurial spouses were determined by the self-identification of the participants or if they met the following characteristics such as; if a) the participant reported being in a marital arrangement and working with their spouse in a business venture, b) the spouse was a major decision maker without being an owner of the business, c) the partner’s involvement in the business is acknowledged by the spouse, especially the business manager⁵. This study defines copreneur spouses who share business ownership, work in the same venture and have an intimate relationship. A solo entrepreneur with a supportive spouse refers to one person who is fully committed and involved in the running of the business with the other spouse playing a supportive role in form of psychological/emotional encouragement and a small degree of assistance with the actual business. While the solo entrepreneur makes the business his/her career, the supporting spouse may have a career outside of the business and may support with household roles on behalf of the solo entrepreneur who is fully committed to the business (de Bruin, 2006).

⁵ See Fitzgerald and Muske (2002) for detailed classification of copreneur spouses. A business manager refers to the spouse, either copreneur or solo entrepreneur that manages the daily affairs of the business.

The data below was analysed using two theoretical frameworks: Gender and Development (GAD) theory and Border Theory, outlined in Chapter 2. The main research question that guides this study is: *How do gender relations influence access, control of resources and decision-making between Intimate-partner business owners in Uganda?* In order to provide some insight into this question, using GAD and Border Theory, this chapter discusses the motivations for business venturing among couples, explores the business and household roles played by the spouses, examines the financial resource allocations and challenges faced by intimate-partner business owners and analyzes how decision-making and control of resources is influenced by gender relations.

4.1 BACKGROUND OF COPRENEURS AND SOLO ENTREPRENEURS

Family, business, education and training.

The length of intimate relationships reported ranged between 2 and 15 years among the 12 respondents. The average length for the copreneur intimate relationship is 7 and half years, with an average of 5 children. Solo-entrepreneurs, on the other hand, average 10 years during their intimate relationship and two children. However, it is challenging to generalize the findings, since the pool of respondents is not the same for each category (seven copreneurs and five solo entrepreneurs). Copreneurs had relatively more children although they had spent a shorter time in a marriage-like relationship compared to the solo-entrepreneur with a supporting spouse. The tables below show the number of children the participants had over the course of their marriage/courtship.

Table. I Number of children in copreneur households

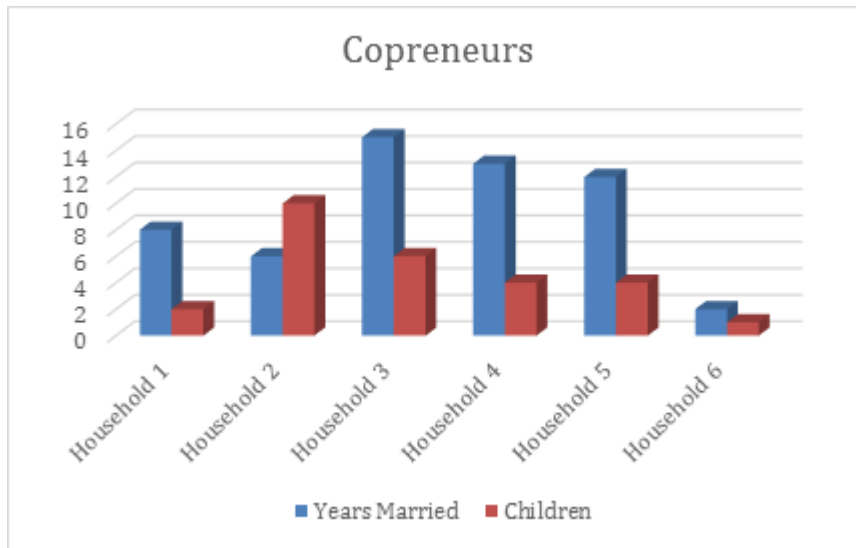
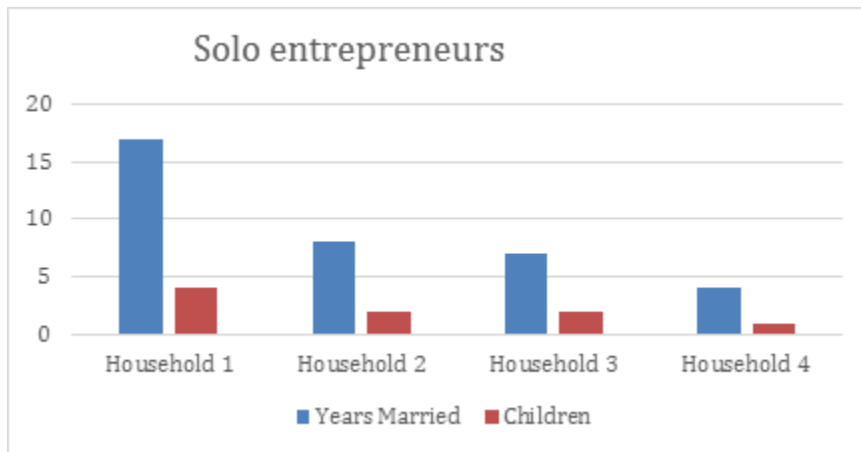


Table. II Number of children in solo entrepreneur households



The number of children that the couple had influenced women’s level of involvement in the business. Child rearing and nurturing was one of the areas in which both copreneur and solo entrepreneur women experienced conflict, which originated from competing demands between the work and family roles. These women also reported limited support from their spouses regarding household responsibilities, with male spouses only fulfilling their provider roles although women also contributed towards the household needs. For example, despite working at

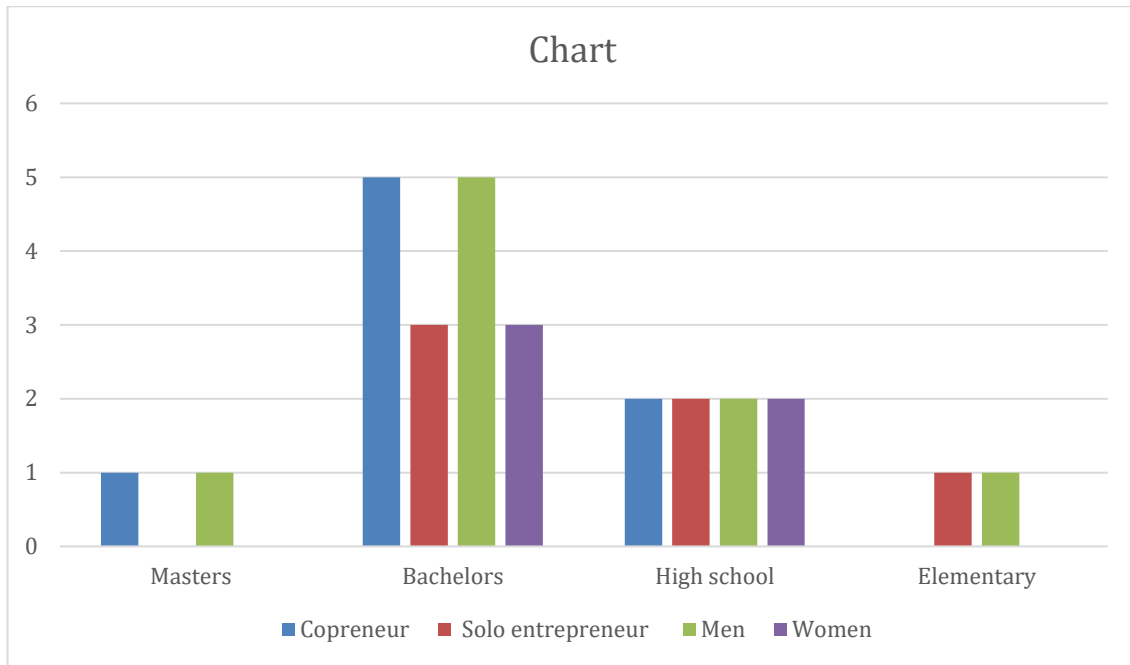
the business, both female copreneur and solo entrepreneur spouses often transitioned from paid work to the household and family duties with no rest or breaks. To them, they were responsible for the success of the business, as well as the management of the household with little or no support from their spouses. Although some relied on nannies to help manage the household while they went to work, women with children of school going age without nannies, felt burdened by the competing household and business demands.

Education.

There existed differences between the men and women in terms of education and training. Among the 12 respondents, five men had bachelor's degrees compared to three women. Another two men had attained high school education whereas only two women had attained high school with technical training. This study found that copreneur spouses were more educated than solo entrepreneurs, as shown in table III below with copreneurs having more 5 bachelor's degrees compared to 3 by the solo-entrepreneurs. One copreneur was in the process of attaining a master's degree. Among those who attained a high school qualification, 3 were solo entrepreneurs and 2 were copreneur.

Only two respondents had a degree relating to business and management and another two with certificate training relating to business management. Overall, none of the respondents had envisioned being an entrepreneur. To most of the respondents, this was a path carved out after events demanded immediate action. This supports Walker and Webster's study that found that self-employment was more a reactive decision than a proactive one (2007). However, not all the businesses studied emerged because of a reactionary decision as indicated in the contextual histories.

Table III. Highest levels of education.



Business sector.

A majority of the business ventures were in the service and trade industry with many being small and micro businesses. Women operated most of the entrepreneurial ventures in the service industry with men venturing more in trading. Women were the daily managers of businesses that involved cleaning, hairstyling, day care/elementary school and restaurants; whereas, men were daily managers of an ICT business, car hire business, food distribution and a grocery store. There appears to be a gendered allocation of roles within the businesses with women performing business tasks associated with their domestic roles such as cleaning, child care and cooking whereas men perform traditionally stereotypical roles such as being the manager of the business.

Among the businesses studied, the cleaning firm, grocery store, restaurant, food distributor and elementary school fit the criteria of copreneurs, while the solo entrepreneur businesses included the care hire business, an ICT firm, hair saloon and two grocery shops, as shown in

Table IV. The average lifespan of the businesses ranged from 2 months to 20 years with solo entrepreneur businesses operating for relatively longer than copreneur ventures. Solo-entrepreneur businesses existed on average for 10 years, whereas copreneur ventures existed for about 4 and a half years. Three out of five solo-entrepreneur business ventures began before they met their current spouses and were owned by men. The two solo entrepreneur businesses that started up while the spouses were married were owned by women and existed for only 5 years and 2 months respectively, which is the shortest duration among the solo entrepreneur category. Both businesses were funded by their male spouses, like most of the businesses studied. The respondents emerged from different occupations, suggesting the diverse backgrounds from which they came before being business owners. Many still based their occupational identity on their previous experience, such as director, librarian, banker and accountant.

Table. IV Forms of Owners.

Form of ownership	Type of business	Duration (in Years)
Copreneur	Cleaning firm	2 years
Copreneur	Grocery store	9 years
Copreneur	Restaurant	4 years
Copreneur	Food distributor	5 months
Copreneur	Elementary school	4 years
Solo entrepreneur (female)	Hair Salon	2 months
Solo entrepreneur (male)	ICT firm	7 years
Solo entrepreneur (male)	Grocery store	20 years
Solo entrepreneur (female)	Grocery store	6 years
Solo entrepreneur (male)	Car hire services	8 years

4.2 MOTIVATIONS FOR BUSINESS VENTURING

Business venture creation is one way in which entrepreneurs express their business ideas. This process, often called entrepreneur venturing, refers to the act of creating a new business entity with a nascent entrepreneur playing a central role (Gregson, 2014). The decision to venture into business often takes several months and stages which vary across contexts, individuals and economic environments. For many, it starts with an idea, targeting to either fill a gap in the market or an activity one would be passionate to execute in their community. This study asked the respondents who suggested the business idea. From the 12 participants interviewed, 7 men said they were the bearers of the business idea, two couples (copreneurs) had discussed between themselves and only 1 female said she had proposed the business idea to her husband as above. This suggests more men than women presented ideas to start a new business⁶. This finding is not conclusive since only a small portion of the study (4 of out 12 respondents) constituted of both couples. As a result, the study can not be generalized as representative of all the respondents studied. In addition, all the participants indicated that they had their spouse's support, particularly in the copreneur category.

The respondents were asked what motivating factors influenced their decision to venture into business. For many of the copreneur respondents, the decision to start the business was less to do with the desire to work with one's spouse and more to be able to meet individual or family needs. Most of the respondents cited a major occurrence that influenced their decision to venture into business and no respondent indicated a desire to work with their partner or to work from home as a reason for starting the business. This was rather surprising considering the literature

⁶ Among the 12 respondents interviewed, only two copreneur couples were both interviewed. Another 3 individual copreneur spouses were interviewed for this study. In addition, 5 solo entrepreneur spouses were interviewed and not their supporting spouses. Overall, 7 respondents were male and 5 were female.

that suggests that copreneur ventures were created out of a desire to meet lifestyle goals, like attaining work/family balance, working from home and the desire to blend financial and lifestyle success (Benseman & Hall, 2010, Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002). This study found that respondents had different motivations, sometimes more than one, to venture into business as shown below.

The motivations for business venturing are divided into two broad groups: needs-based motivations and service-based motivations. Needs-based motivations include unemployment, inability to meet daily expenses, and need for separate income. Service-based motivations refer to factors that sought to provide a service in exchange for a fee. These include, among others, passion for fashion and designing, passion for cars and lack of car hire services within the town, desire to oversee cleanliness, and lack of quality schools in the community. A key needs-based motivation to start a business among most respondents was the need for an income, especially after loss of a job. One respondent indicated delayed salaries as a motivating factor for venturing into business. However, there were cases where two respondents, who were copreneurs, presented different or even multiple reasons for venturing in the business. For example, Leah, 32-year-old copreneur grocery co-owner cited lack of jobs as a motivation to venture into self-employment while her spouse attributes his joining the business to extend a service to the community among other reasons. He states that;

Because I love serving people, I opened this business to bring services closer to people. Then of course, I get some income from it. Due to my qualification [degree in commerce], I wanted to get some [work] experience (Yusuf, July 2017).

Leah, on the other hand, stated that;

We looked for jobs and failed to get thus decided to do our own small business. Unemployment led us to do this business (Leah, July 2017).

Another male copreneur respondent who operates a food distributor business states that the loss of his banking job prompted him to venture into business. While he had previously considered starting a business, the plan never came through since he used the available capital to purchase land for building a home. He states:

I started this work purely after losing my job early this year. We had been thinking of doing business but never took it up seriously. We had planned to start a business but changed our minds to buying land [for building a home] (Otim, July 2017).

The sudden loss of work by the above participant, especially being a male expected to provide for his household, led to a period of uncertainty that demanded some course of action since he was unable to meet the daily family expenses. This seems to emphasize push rather than pull factors because they have no options but to venture into business.

Besides the need for an alternative source of income, two respondents cited passion for a specific craft as a motivator to venture into their present businesses. For Jose, a librarian at a regional University, his childhood experiences operating family vehicles was the source of his passion for cars that led to his venturing in a car hire business. However, other factors such as delayed salaries from work, and desire for alternative source of income influenced his decision to start the business. This suggests that even when a passion is involved, other push factors such as delayed salaries, need for alternative sources of incomes equally influence the decision to venture into business.

Several copreneur respondents viewed their business ventures as extending beyond their families to meet a community need. Although not a key motivation to start the business, the ability to contribute towards community brought a sense of achievement to copreneur spouses, both male and female. Furthermore, the recognition from community provided social approval, something that both spouses cherished. For example, one respondent argues that the lack of

schools in her community prompted her to open an elementary school that currently accommodates 340 children. The local government's recognition of her school as most "impactful" in the community brought great pride to the business owners. Overall, couples were influenced by a range of motivating factors with a varying level of significance to each individual spouse or spousal team. Nevertheless, overall the single most important motivating factor for most informants was the need to provide for their daily needs.

4.3 GENDERED ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE BUSINESS

All solo entrepreneur businesses were run by the founders, who managed the daily running of the business from the start-up phase to the present with very little participation by their spouses. On the contrary, both copreneurs were actively involved in the business from the start-up phase to the time of the study. Among the copreneurs, spouses often performed multiple roles in the business which include: managing the daily affairs of the business, book-keeping, finance and accounts, human resource management, among others. These multiple responsibilities were often performed by women due to the inability to afford specialized employees as discussed by Jasmine, a mother of 10 children.

At the beginning, when the company was young, I didn't mind doing all the roles since we didn't have enough money to start and pay workers, but now I hope that when the company grows, we can recruit qualified persons to fill the positions... So currently, I am the administrator, human resource, finance controller. I am handling three positions ... at once. But with time, we [hope to] recruit people to fill these positions as I also become director. (August, 2017)

Male copreneur and solo entrepreneur spouses often provided the initial start-up capital for the business. This often came from savings or loans that were acquired by the male spouses to be invested in the business. Male copreneurs also managed financial matters such as bank deposits,

signing checks, purchasing supplies and daily management of the business. The above roles ensured male control of incomes since they made business related decisions regarding from where supplies could be purchased, how much of profits were invested or channeled towards meeting household needs. Some copreneur women when asked what roles they wished to have, cited the ability to sign checks, acquiring supplies among others. These tasks, despite being crucial to the business were made by the male copreneur spouse, a decision that some female spouses did not have.

Solo entrepreneur respondents were often the business managers of the venture. Three out of 5 of these business ventures had been created long before the solo entrepreneur met their present spouses and were all owned and managed by men. The remaining solo entrepreneur ventures had been founded after the spouses were in an intimate relationship and were managed by women. Overall, the founder of the business, often the daily manager played multiple roles in the business. This was the case for both male and female solo entrepreneur business owners. The supporting spouses to solo entrepreneurs performed limited and often mundane tasks in the business, such as preparing food and drinks for sale, re-stocking shelves etc. These roles were often done by female supporting spouses to solo entrepreneurs and not male supporting spouses to solo entrepreneurs. Males, as solo entrepreneurs or as supporting spouses, did not perform required but unpleasant tasks related to the running of the business, while females did.

Some solo entrepreneur spouses had carefully negotiated arrangements for financing the business. This was often in form of “soft loan” that one partner would attain from their spouse and would be paid over a certain period with less strict payment deadlines. For example, Cynthia’s spouse provided the investment capital for the business through a negotiated ‘soft loan’ agreement between the two of them. The agreement involved him paying the rent for the

business premise for three months and workers wages for one month after which Cynthia would take charge of financing the expenses after the business had stabilised and was profitable. The nature of the business arrangement requires that she manages the daily affairs of the business while her spouse oversaw the management and financing. However, this initial agreement couldn't hold for long, especially after the business failed to become profitable in the given timeframe resulting in her spouse's increased intervention. The outcome was the increasing role of the supporting spouse in Cynthia's business which led her to comment;

If I had my own money, I would be so glad to do everything by myself, like controlling it personally (Cynthia, 2017).

This is an example of the contestations and negotiations that are common between intimate-business spouses, arising out of the power dynamics at play and the familiar outcomes from male control of financial resources and how it impacts women's entrepreneurial outcomes.

Male solo entrepreneurs operated far differently from Cynthia's approach above. This is because the management of the business was their career where they delegated roles to their spouses and other employees. In some instances, their spouses were employees while the solo-entrepreneurs were the bosses who defined the rules and behaviours within the business domain. When asked what roles they wished to be involved in beyond their current roles, all the 3 male solo entrepreneurs insisted that they were content with running the business by themselves and having their spouses help whenever needed. For example, George, a 54-year-old grocery owner and father of three children states:

I am involved in everything in the running of the business and I like it that way. (August 2017).

Jose, a male solo-entrepreneur who owns a car-hire business shares similar sentiment when he stated that “everything is okay for now”. When asked what business roles they performed, male solo entrepreneur reported that they performed oversight roles, repairs and maintenance of machinery, daily business management whereas their spouses performed sales tasks, financial management tasks like depositing cheques, following up on payments and supervision of staff. The male solo entrepreneurs were prone to diminishing the roles of their spouses in the venture as mundane and emphasizing their own. For example, Oddi, solo-entrepreneur founder of an ICT business stated that his spouse “talks to the staff and motivates them”. Even though the spouse worked in the business for six months before leaving the business to start another business, it is hard to believe that all she did was “talk and motivate the staff”. The nature of supporting roles that female supporting spouses played in the business were perceived to be less relevant to the overall business success.

One male solo entrepreneur (1 out of 5) discontinued his business relationship with his spouse but maintained their marital arrangement. The respondent cites different factors that made the business relationship end such as trust, conflict between the spouse and employees. The respondent also pointed several individual factors that led to their business separation. Oddi states:

With business like this business, some customers demand tips and my partner took this in a wrong way. Even when we appreciated employees, there would be questions about this sort of actions. What I realised is that my wife was not good with self employment because she was short tempered. Since I have 14 employees, you find out that she had differences with the staff. (August 2017).

Although this was the only case from the study that solo-entrepreneurs discontinued their business relationship, there were several underlying factors beyond those cited by the

respondent. The decision to end the business relationship was made by the male solo-entrepreneur since he was the founder and shareholder. The supporting spouse did not have any shares in this business as only the brother to Oddi owned a 25 percent stake. As a result, the supporting spouse was like any employee who could be fired by the owner although in this case, she got a business venture to run instead of working in the business.

Muske and Fitzgerald (2002) argue that the decision to end the business arrangement between intimate partners, while meant to manage conflict, suggests that spouses are compelled to choose between ending the business relationship and maintaining the marital relationship. While this is common among copreneur spouses, the above case shows that solo entrepreneurs can discontinue their business relationship and maintain their marital one. As shown in Oddi's case, solo entrepreneurs may assign less significant roles to their spouses and maintain active control of business management so that, in the event of conflict, the business operation is uninterrupted, while copreneurs must navigate conflict situations consciously because both spouses are active players in the daily running and success of the business and the household domain. As such solo entrepreneurs and copreneurs seem to assign roles and manage conflict differently because solo entrepreneurs occasionally rely on the labor of their spouses unlike copreneurs who are equally actively involved in the business. However, from the data, none of the copreneur respondents cited any serious conflicts that threatened the stability of the business or marital arrangement.

There was an evident gender division of labour in the assignment of business roles in specific business ventures such as school, restaurant or cleaning business. Women performed dominant roles in business ventures that had household related-roles. For example, women were the daily managers of the businesses where their nurturance for children, cleaning and cooking

roles were transferred to the business domain for profit. On the other hand, male spouses in such copreneur businesses were involved in providing business capital, acquiring goods, balancing financial books and marketing the company, roles which involved major decision-making and control of financial resources.

Copreneur spouses, both men and women often performed more than one role in the business. The roles were sometimes divided based on one's level of expertise. For example, spouses with a legal background provided legal guidance to their business in terms of government registration and licencing while those with a background in finance, human resource and administration performed the specific roles. For example, Jasmine, a co-founder of the business performed multiple roles in the business because she had enough training and work experience to execute her tasks as stated below:

So currently, I am the administrator, human resource, finance controller. I am handling three positions. ...I have done several courses in accountancy, public administration, project planning and management, secretarial studies, and computer. I had previously worked with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) like World vision, Komboni Samaritan and Watoto church (August 2017).

Despite having the required experience, executing these multiple roles became increasing challenging for women since they had other household responsibilities such as childcare, cleaning and cooking. This made it challenging to balance between her business related and household roles.

Household roles and responsibilities

While examining the household roles and responsibilities, this study found a slight male involvement in the household domain. Only 2 out of 7 male spouses performed traditionally

female roles such as preparing the children for school, washing the babies, cooking, spending time with the children. The few male spouses who took part in non-traditional household roles were often copreneurs and not solo entrepreneurs. However, the roles were often done in the absence of the female spouse or when the spouse actively sought help. This implies that women still carried the greater burden of household roles with men providing occasional household support. When asked what roles male spouses performed in the household, Otim, 35-year-old father of one and copreneur explained:

I have to cook for my son. I do dishes, laundry, I shower and bath him and ready him for school in the mornings. So, we pretty much share most of the things. Whenever my wife returns tired, she declares as soon as she steps on the door and I help with cooking dinner etc. (Otim, 2017)

However, other male copreneur and solo entrepreneur spouses strongly believed that their roles were no further than providing for the household needs. It remains unclear what motivated the few men to engage in non-traditional household roles.

All male respondents indicated that they were the primary providers in the household although their female spouses also earned incomes either from the business or other sources and channeled it into the household. As shown in table VI, both men and women often received an income which was channeled into meeting the household needs. Men's insistence on being providers can be interpreted as presenting themselves as able providers for their households – as expected of men based on the social norms within most Ugandan communities. Women further consolidated this position by often acknowledging men's provider roles even when they both contributed towards the family needs. It appears that earning women were cautious not to claim to be the main household providers, a position that was socially attributed to men as stereotypical providers.

Women also had different attitudes regarding their household roles. This was often informed by the social norms and traditions that divided men's roles as providers and women roles within the household domain. While some women resorted to nannies, others preferred to do the housework themselves which meant managing the burden of responsibility to balance business and household management. For most women, household tasks were their responsibility and never asked or expected any support from their partners. Leah, a 32-year-old mother of two and copreneur explained:

My husband does not help with household roles since he comes home late. But I prefer to do the household chores since my husband supports with the business i.e. paying the workers and meeting household needs. (Leah, July 2017).

Despite the limited male involvement in the household, female copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs reported the burden of multiple roles in the business as well as the household that led to work-family conflict. This was due to the competing demands between running a business venture and performing household roles. Due to their central roles in each domain, copreneur and solo entrepreneur women were active "border crossers" constantly transitioning from one domain role to another. The women reported employing different strategies such as leaving early from work to manage the competing demands in the household domain. For example, Cynthia, 32-year-old solo entrepreneur business owner and mother of four children, states:

I have to leave work early [6pm] to help kids with home work, ensure that they go to bed early and that uniforms for school are ready for the next day. I have to make sure everything is in control. I do all that in the evening since I am the one who takes them to school every morning (July 2017).

Cynthia had developed a routine where by business-related roles were performed only between 9-6pm, after which she would transition from a businesswoman to be a mother. This finding is supported by official Ugandan statistics which indicate that women worked for an average of 6

hours of daily unpaid domestic labour while the men spent hours away from home (Uganda National Household Survey, 2009/2010; Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2013). The challenge of balancing business related, and housework was a source of stress for several women like Cynthia and Leah due to the social norms that expected little or no household participation for men leaving women to bear the brunt of work and family roles. As a result, women reported being burdened by the multiple roles they performed in the household and the lack of spousal support, especially in performing household responsibilities such as childcare, house cleaning, and cooking.

The male and female social categorization of “acceptable” roles was evident and influential in what women and men claimed to do while fitting into stereotypical gender roles (West and Zimmerman, 1987). This was evident in who claimed to provide, who performed household related roles and who earned the family income. It is apparent that the respondents were “Doing gender” through fulfilling their assigned gender roles as West and Zimmerman argued.

4.4 Financial management

4.4.1 Business-related earnings

Money is a central feature within a successful business and marriage. It is especially useful in meeting household needs and fulfilling major lifestyle decisions. I asked respondents if they received or expected a wage for their labor in the business. The goal of this questions was to understand the expectations of respondents regarding labour and the financial compensation within the business. Among the respondents interviewed, all indicated that they would desire to earn a wage. However, as shown in Table VI, not all participants received wages or benefits like

housing allowance, health care, etc. The ability to earn and pay their workers a wage reflected the financial position of the businesses with higher wages reflecting a stable financial position, more staff and low or no wages reflecting financial difficulty, reliance on spouse for labour needs.

Out of the twelve respondents interviewed, eight received a monthly wage (3 men and 5 women), three did not and one male copreneur did not want to disclose. The amounts paid out as monthly wages varied across the respondents with the highest earning US \$207 and the lowest earning US \$52 per month. Among the highest earners were two female copreneurs who earned \$207 and \$201 a month respectively. However, one of the partners to the higher earner copreneur requested not to disclose his earnings while the other copreneur female spouse was unavailable to be interviewed. It was clear, especially among the higher earning copreneur women that their partners had other sources of income outside of the business. This could explain the above male copreneur's reluctance to disclose his incomes. Higher earning female copreneurs earned only from the business incomes of the ventures they ran, as shown in the table below.

Table VI. Declared monthly wages between copreneurs and solo-entrepreneurs

Type of Business	Sector	Monthly incomes (USD)		Other benefits
		Men	Women	
Copreneur	Cleaning firm	52	52	None
	Grocery store	X	201	Fuel
	Restaurant	34	*	None
	Food distributor	0	*	None
	Elementary school	*	207	None
Solo entrepreneur.				
	Salon shop		78	None
	ICT firm	130		Rent allowance
	Grocery store		183	None
	Grocery store	0		None
	Car hire service	0		None

N.B X preferred not to disclose his earnings.

* Only one copreneur spouse was interviewed.

It is important to clarify that not all respondents earned a monthly wage/income. As shown in Table VI above, some men and women earned incomes from the business. However, those with no incomes did not have a designated monthly salary as other respondents but used business profits to meet household needs⁷. The table above shows the incomes that men and women earned from the business which enables us to understand the monetary value that was attached to men and women's contributions to the business. In addition, the wages from the business were dependent on several factors such as level of education, business profits and spousal attitudes about earning women. This is because spouses that could attain steady employment outside the business were often paid just enough to keep their labor in the business. Most earning women in

⁷ As shown in the table, some male and female respondents received a monthly wage whereas others did not. However, those with no incomes often used the profits from the business or other sources to meet household needs. Also, most men in the study had other occupations besides the business such as accountant, librarian etc.

the study expressed content with their earnings and to a smaller extent could exercise control on how to use their earnings.

The researcher noted a reluctance among some male respondents to discuss their wage earnings (either from the business or otherwise) unlike women who freely discussed their finances. Rather, both male copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs often quoted the expenses on which they spent their earnings on rather than how much they earned. As such, the respondents that indicated that they received 0 incomes used their business profits to meet household needs without necessarily earning a wage. This presents an unclear picture of how much they exactly earned, thus making it nearly impossible to compare male and female income earnings from the business.

Spouses with higher levels of education were more financially stable and optimistic about their businesses across both copreneur and solo entrepreneur businesses, receiving higher incomes and hiring more employees. On the other hand, business owners in both categories with lower levels of education were less optimistic about their business and earned little or no incomes. This is not to suggest that higher education naturally translates into business success, but points to the potential benefits that come with having higher education for the management of a business, such as managerial competence, increased investment capital during the start-up phase of the business that would in turn grow the business. The higher the level of education of copreneur spouses, the more their collective skills channelled towards business growth whereas solo entrepreneurs depended on the individual abilities of the founder, with their spouse playing a limited role. Since copreneur spouses were relatively more educated, some of their business ventures were more profitable with higher earnings.

The study respondents indicated that they had attained several financial benefits from owning the business, including the ability to provide for household needs such as such as payment of bills, children's school fees, etc., tasks for which male respondents felt responsible. As indicated in Table. VI, some copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs earned wages whereas others did not. The respondents, both copreneurs and the solo entrepreneurs, agreed that business ownership had enabled them meet household needs regardless of whether they received a wage or not. Furthermore, some solo entrepreneurs felt the business contributed to the overall welfare of their family and did not require the remuneration of a supporting spouse. For example, George, a 54-year-old father of three and solo entrepreneur stated that:

I have told her that 'this is your business and for your children', as for me as a man, I am only helping you as a man and any good thing she does ... she does it for herself. So that's how we handle that, but I don't pay her a wage (July 2017).

By suggesting that the venture was a family business, he was able to ensure compliance from his partner by suggesting that the business was for the benefit of the entire family. This framing of the business as a family venture ensured that family labor would be channelled into the business with no expectation for wages or benefits.

4.4.2 Household resource allocation.

Moser (1993) argues that the household has for long been assumed as the socio-economic unit where adult members have equal control of resources. According to this study, different spouses employed various ways of allocating resources within the household. One copreneur couple, who owned a cleaning company, preferred the pooling system of household resource

allocation⁸ with incomes jointly collected into one pool and then allocated based on needs and budgets. From the pooled income, the husband would get a cashback towards tithe for church and only needed to ask whenever he needed money from his wife, who was the family accountant. While this approach seemed to work for this specific couple, the wife did not use the money. When asked if she spends her incomes or the pooled incomes on her personal needs, she respondent replied with a firm NO! Jasmine stated that;

I don't use the money for my personal needs. First, we pay the [children's] school fees and meet other needs in the house. I use the money that we are paid as salary to reinvest in farming and the clothing business that I have. (Jasmine, 2017).

To her, the pooled resources would be allocated based on a hierarchy of needs, with the priority being meeting the household needs, and second, reinvestment into other income generating activities and then some as spending money for her husband. The pooled incomes of these copreneur spouses of \$52 each per month as salary is used to meet the varying household needs as described above by Jasmine, as well as invested in another business. The female copreneur's commitment to meeting the household needs but not her own is challenging to explain. Despite controlling the resources and having multiple responsibilities in the business (administration, finance and human resource) and household, she felt the incomes were not for meeting her personal needs. This was not the case with her copreneur spouse, who used a share of his income as personal spending money. Most women according to this study channelled both their incomes, time and labour towards the well-functioning of their family and often placed their spouses and children's needs before their own.

⁸Pahl (1989) proposed four approaches for measuring household resource allocation. They include; whole wage system/wife management, the allowance system, the pooling system/shared management and the independent management system. According to Pahl, the wage system and allowance system both involves handing over a paycheck from which the wife purchases household items. The pooling system involves the use of a joint account that both spouses have access and the independent model where spouses individually manage their finances and meet household needs.

Other copreneur couples indicated preference for the allowance system. Within this approach, certain amounts of money would be given to the female spouse either weekly or monthly towards meeting the household needs. Whereas some men preferred to give cash to their spouses to acquire household needs, others preferred to buy the household items themselves. This presents a complex dynamic between earning and spending business incomes and raises the question of to whom does the money belong? Is it to both who earned it, the family that spends it or the partner who controls it? While the study did not directly ask the respondents this question, each couple or household seemed to have a preferred approach to spending the earned income, either collectively or as individuals with men preferring to allocate specific amounts, either biweekly or monthly, for household and family expenses or purchasing the household items themselves.

Some women's earnings also went to meeting their personal needs such as clothing and those of their relatives. For example, two copreneur wives indicated that some of their earnings went to support their relatives although they did not indicate whether they sent money or specific goods to their families.

Respondents, especially earning copreneur and solo entrepreneur female spouses, shared interesting views about how they spent their business earnings within the household and beyond. Although women acknowledge contributing towards meeting household needs from their earnings, they were quick to clarify that their husbands still met most of the household needs from their business earnings or from other sources. Although many copreneur and solo entrepreneur women suggested that their business incomes only played a "supporting" role, such as paying for electricity or groceries whenever the husband was away or on weekends, they often downplayed their income contributions to the household while maintaining the idea of 'the male

provider' in the household. All the female spouses indicated that their spouses provided for specific household needs such as car servicing and gas, children's education, groceries among others. However, female spouses also pointed out that they occasionally met certain household needs such as groceries, electricity, school snacks for kids among others.

All female spouses interviewed, except one solo entrepreneur spouse, indicated with great pride how they found owning a business to be empowering. Although not all respondents were able to earn a wage from their business, the ability to create something for themselves and their families was a sign of independence and empowerment that all copreneur and one solo entrepreneur women cherished. The added benefits that came in the form of family bonding, trust, team work only seemed to solidify the relationships between the spouses. The study found that money, though crucial in business success, was not the ultimate goal of most copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs. To both, being able to meet their household needs was not just a motivation for venturing in business, but an achievement of owning a business which would propel their families to financial stability.

4.5 Challenges to business partnerships.

Despite some of the positive aspects of copreneurship and solo entrepreneurship, the respondents reported that they were faced with a range of challenges in running the business. These challenges are categorised as internal and external. The internal challenges were those related to the relationship between spouses or between business owners and their employees whereas external challenges related to the environment in which the business operated. The findings indicate that copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs cited both internal and external challenges which had an impact on both the business prospects of the business and the intimate-partner relationship.

To begin with, the respondents reported the economic environment as their gravest concern while running the business venture. This was justified by concerns of high competition, lack of investment capital, high taxation, high interest rates on loans, monopolization of specific sectors by competitors, and high costs of rent, all of which are an impediment to business growth. These concerns emerged from both the copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs who stated that this affected the growth prospects of their ventures. However, women expressed optimism about the business prospects of their ventures more often than men, who were often pessimistic about the business environment. Analysis of the data indicates that men were more concerned with the economic environment while women had challenges with managing staff and inability to make business decisions. Economic environment concerns ranged from the interest rates on loans, competition, which affected business performance and their ability to meet household needs. Women expressed concerns in managing employees who skipped work and enforcing work place ethics and discipline among their employees, none of which was cited by male business spouses.

Among the most cited internal challenges by both copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs was conflicting priorities between the spouses working together. This originated from the decision-making processes that excluded one of the spouses due to difference of opinion causing tensions between the partners. The study found that during business decision making, men made the decisions more often than women. This brought about feelings of dissatisfaction from female partners. Furthermore, when there was a decision to be made, the female spouse often waited to consult her spouse. This is because, to them, it was the male's task to be the decision maker based on the social norms within most Ugandan communities. These practices were common within most households where the female spouse was expected to submit to their spouse. One

female respondent named Leah explained what roles she would wish to participate in, but currently was not due to the social norms that dictated what women could and could not do.

“Making some of the decisions. Sometimes I want to do something and since we are partners, he does not agree. Sometimes, he ends up doing what he wants since he owns majority of the share in the business. So, decision making is a little hard.” (Leah, July 2017)

Other participants cited conflicts regarding the roles performed and decisions taken by their partners in the business. This was evident among both copreneur and solo entrepreneur ventures which pointed to a clash in which the business manager expressed concern about her spouse’s management style. The clash of management styles was really a symptom of the power dynamics within the business since it was found from male financial resources which implied that he was the primary stakeholder.

I wanted to do it all by myself using my own money, but I do not have money at the moment. If I had my own money, I would be so glad to do everything by myself, like controlling it (Cynthia, 2017).

Such conflicts in the business management between spouses created tension that sometimes led to the dissolution of the business relationship for the sake of the marital one.

Some respondents also reported work/family conflict among copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs. Women, more often than men, experienced work/family conflict in performing both the family and business roles. However, there was a variance in women’s experiences with work-to-family conflict (WIF), that is the interference of work demands on one’s family roles, and family-to-work conflict (FIW), the interference of family in one’s work duties (Wu et al, 2010). Copreneur women without nannies or spousal support in fulfilling family roles experienced more family-to-work conflict than those who had nannies or spouses helping with the household duties. This is because, to women, fulfilling family roles meant embracing all the

household roles while either being a partner in running a business or supporting their spouse in the business. This was evident regardless of whether the female spouses played lesser roles in the business domain or not. To some, being a copreneur wife implied that she was married to the spouse and the business and implied juggling the multiple roles with little or no support. From the study, copreneur wives with nannies did not report any work-family conflict. This could be because of the presence of household support in form of nannies that reduced the tension.

Besides the above, partner-to-partner (PTP)⁹ conflict that was reported by both men and women copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs. This often emerged due to an ambiguity in business and family roles and decision making. Whereas, all respondents reported this, the study found that only one of the 12 participants had discontinued the business relationship but maintained the family relationship and cited conflict in the workplace as the cause of the departure. The 11 respondents cited conflict that emerged from different areas. Both copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs cited conflicting priorities as the biggest cause of conflict in their business relationships. This often-involved business decisions that each spouse viewed differently, thus revealing a power dynamic regarding the position the company or business would take. Both copreneurs and solo-entrepreneur female spouses expressed powerlessness in decision-making due to the fact that the male spouses went ahead and made the decisions, regardless of the women's opinion.

Some spouses' experiences of conflict originated from strictly traditional gender assignment of roles, which involved female solo entrepreneurs providing feedback to their male spouses about their daily work events. This was rarely revised as male solo entrepreneurs saw no

⁹ Partner-to-partner conflict refers to when spouses who share a business and an intimate relationship experience conflict within one domain and yet have to engage with each other in another. For example, spouses may disagree at home yet have to work together in the business or for the same employer.

need to keep their spouses with the daily events in the business. This, alongside the inability of female spouses to make decisions without the consent or approval of the male, while the reverse was not true, was evident in all the respondents interviewed. The presumption of preventing an error in the women's decision-making was behind this approach. This dynamic signified a culturally gendered view of decision-making that assigned social validation to the men's judgement and decision-making skills, especially in the business domain and great distrust in women's decision-making capabilities as cited by one of the female copreneurs:

When he [spouse] comes [to the business premises], I must tell him the money we have made, the clients we have been working with. I have to tell him almost everything. ... If I had my own money, I would be so glad to do everything by myself, like controlling it personally (Jasmine, 2017).

Men's control of decision-making and resources are inter-related in affecting women's ability to make decisions as co-owners of the businesses. The construction and association of maleness with capability in decision making does a dis-service to entrepreneur women since it denies them the ability to participate, control and manage the resources to which they have contributed. As a result, copreneur and solo entrepreneur women do not practice the autonomy that comes with co-founding or owning a business venture with their spouses, since the men were the dominant partners.

Besides the above challenges, most respondents indicated that they had attained personal gains like building trust with their partners, meeting household needs, and expanding their business ventures. Four male respondents indicated that they had acquired land for which some intended to build a business premise and others hoped to establish homes. A gendered element was evident since only men aspired to acquire land with four owning varying pieces of land. This suggests greater value for land by men as an asset for future projects as well as collateral for

bank financing such as loans. It is plausible that men's ownership of land was a means to other productive resources like capital which are useful during start-up and expansion of the business. As a result, men's ownership of land enables access to investment capital, something that women in the study did not own. However, women relied on their marital ties to their husbands to secure financial resources either form savings or through loans where land was collateral. However, men's ownership of land and capital implied a dependency by women on their husbands.

4.6 Decision-making and control of resources.

According to the OECD (2005), the increased access to venture capital through public equity funds and easing restrictions on institutional investors is a critical step towards ensuring women gain financial resources to start businesses. A recent MasterCard Index study of Women's Entrepreneurship placed Ugandan women among the most entrepreneurial, coming in third behind Ghana and Russia. The study found that Ghana, Russia and Uganda had 46.4, 34.6 and 33.8 percent representation respectively. However, women's entrepreneurial venturing, especially in the less wealthy states like Ghana and Uganda was driven by necessity/need to survive in a rather profoundly unfavourable social and economic environment (Mastercard Index for Women Entrepreneurs, 2018). In addition, gender often produced different outcomes between male and female entrepreneurs in a context like Uganda. As stated in this study, men often gained access to financial resources through loans, inheritance and other assets which eased their ability to venture into business whereas women are often constrained by the lack of investment capital to start a business.

Furthermore, all Ugandan businesses are required to register under the Companies Act or the Business Names Registration Act which often comes with disclosure of assets, business

partners and business locations (Business Names registration, 2004). Among the businesses in the study, all registration of the businesses was done by men who had the resources and understood the procedures to be undertaken. Most female respondents indicated that their spouses managed the registration process due to their knowledge of the legal proceedings involved. The complexity of the registration process and the common incidence of women's businesses having no permanent business address meant that none of the women in the study was involved in the registration of the business had they opened. This is partly because registering a business requires knowledge of the process, fee payments and disclosure of financial assets, all of which women copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs indicated were handed by their male spouses hence becoming unfamiliar to women.

As stated in Chapter two, gender relations are not static but rather constantly evolving through negotiation and contestation (Benseman, 2010). Gender relations are influenced by a range of factors such as education, the political environment, social norms, ideological embodiments on femininity and masculinity, among others (Bradley, 2007; Sustain, 1996; Agarwal, 1997). These factors influence gender relations in a myriad of ways producing varying outcomes for men and women as shown through out this chapter. As seen through the chapter, some women (both copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs) enjoyed positive outcomes out of their business participation, while others were constrained under the male hegemonic and patriarchal practices that privileged maleness, masculinity and male control of resources and decision making.

Scholars argue that to understand the gender dynamics between married spouses, there is a need to examine marital power - the ability of one spouse to control his/her partner with or without resistance (Sarantakos, 2000). Resource theory argues that the decision-making power of

spouses is dependent on the extent to which the spouse contributes valuable resources to the marriage (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). According to Kulik (1999) the resources available to the family domain could be psychological, social, and material resources. Social resources may include affection, acceptance, empathy; psychological resources include problem solving, social skills and material resources may include incomes and assets. In this study, men often contributed material resources used during business start-up whereas women contributed social, psychological and labor resources. Due to the perception that material resources were more valuable, men often made business related decisions without consulting their spouses and sometimes notifying them only after the decisions had been made.

Furthermore, gender relations in Uganda are premised on “male hegemony, normalised heterosexuality and distinctive gender roles” (Mirembe & Davis, 2001:402). The patrilineal nature of Ugandan families implies that women are subject to their fathers’, and later their husbands’, control (Kaleeba et al, 1991; as cited in Mirembe and Davis, 2001). As such, subservience is expected and accepted from women by men (Obbo, 1995 as cited in Mirembe and Davis, 2001). Setuba (2006) argues that within Ugandan communities, women are expected to be obedient, submissive and subservient to their husbands. These values are impressed upon young women before they are ready for marriage. On the other hand, maleness is depicted through strength, might and dominance with males being socialized to be “active, indulgent and adventurous” (Setuba, 2006:3). This construction of maleness and femaleness are premised on the patriarchal social ordering that presents males as superior with a cultural sanctity as capable decision makers and women as followers of male leadership and decision-making in both the household and the business domains.

4.6.1 Business Domain

Men's decision-making power was evident in the business domain across many of the businesses, both copreneur and solo entrepreneur ventures. For example, male spouses were responsible for bank deposits, signing checks, managing supplies, paying of the staff, while women performed tasks with limited exposure to cash or decisions crucial to the business. When asked which roles they would like to have, men were happy with the roles they performed in the business whereas copreneur women, specifically, wanted more responsibility regarding managing the bank checks, purchasing business goods and service. However, in a few cases (1 Out of 5), was a woman responsible for managing the finances, especially depositing it in bank accounts.

In terms of allocating business incomes, this study found that besides men being the providers of investment incomes during the start-up of the business, only a few men (3) received a monthly wage from the business, three did not and one did not disclose. However, 5 of out 7 males interviewed indicated that they had alternative sources of incomes although they were rarely specific regarding how much that income was. Women were open and transparent about their business earnings, where such resources were channelled into meeting household needs and those of their immediate relatives. Men, on the other hand, emphasized their provider roles and the expenses to which their earnings went into rather than the actual earnings that they attained. Men's ability to earn from multiple sources beyond the business enabled them to maintain increased access to financial resources and dictate where the resources would be channelled, something that the women could not attain due to their fixed source of income within the business. For example, Jose, a solo entrepreneur who works as a librarian and owns a car hire business pointed out that his partner had demanded to know his earnings, some thing he was not

committed to disclosing. He emphasized that we could only permit his partner to purchase a limited set of household items while he acquires the important assets. He states:

I have this perception that women are hard to understand and can't rely on them. So that's why I insist that she only buys consumables and I buy all the other properties. That way, whenever she changes her mind, I keep what is mine. That's my philosophy. When couples separate, it is embarrassing to see that you have nothing. Basically, I believe you must make this clear from the beginning. You don't have to wait until later to start making this clear (Jose August 2017)

From this statement from one male solo entrepreneur, lack of disclosure of financial resources is used as a tool to ensure control of incomes and investment that maintain male domination, control of resources and decision making. The deep suspicion that his partner could leave for another man and take some of the properties further served to rubberstamp men's control of financial resources. As a result, control of resources served as a means to control how much autonomy women would attain with a principle objective of maintaining women's dependency on the men and his resources.

To understand gender relations especially in Uganda's context, it is crucial that we analyse men and women's experiences based on the intersectionality of a range of variables such as age, class, education (Momsen, 2004). However, for this study, class, economy and level of education are key determinants of men and women's experiences in accessing, controlling resources and decision-making within the business. Below, I classify the women as 'manager woman' and 'submissive and hardworking woman' based on various profiles of my female respondents. These classifications are based on the level of control and decision-making power women have, highlighting how aspects of culture, religion, education may influence the gendered outcomes in favour or against women. This study found that men's level of education, social class did not influence their decision to participate in any household related roles.

Women's role participation was influenced by various intersecting variables such as education, class, cultural norms as shown in the categories discussed below.

Manager woman

The manager woman often had a formal role that came with clear roles and responsibilities in the business. Such women were also partnering and shareholders in the business and were involved in the daily and long-term decision-making of the business. The manager woman also had post-secondary education and was in a marital arrangement with highly educated spouses. Copreneur manager women worked with their partner and had a clear division of labour in the business domain and often received a monthly remuneration for their work. The manager women often worked 6-8 hours daily at the business and generally returned home to oversee household affairs after a day at the work. Within the household domain, the manager woman often had paid workers and had relatively fewer children at home. As a result, manager women rarely experienced work-family conflict since both domains were carefully managed to ensure stability. As stated earlier in the chapter, the two high earning female spouses were copreneur spouses who exercised autonomy in their spending habits. However, both copreneur spouses reiterated that they supported their spouse's motivations to venture into business and been involved in some decision-making processes. The copreneur women in this category possessed the ability to negotiate outcomes with their spouses based on the marital power they possessed in form of social and psychological resources such as problem solving, social skills and empathy towards their partners that increased the family bond and trust – a crucial feature among copreneur spouses.

Submissive and Hardworking woman.

Among the women interviewed, the submissive woman often avoided being competitive in any way. Such women often acknowledged their spouse's dominant roles in the business and household. Despite being business managers, they credited their spouses with a range of business and household roles. The study found such women to have deep religious or cultural convictions about femininity often founded in patriarchal values and practices. Considering that the Ugandan culture is largely patriarchal and privileges maleness, the submissive woman often embraced multiple roles in the business with little or no pay. These women had also attained a moderate level of education compared to their spouses who had a significantly higher level of education.

Within the household level, the submissive woman had more children within the household and no spousal support regarding household roles. To them, household roles were women's roles as men were to provide for the household. The gendered division of labor and the separation of the public and private domain implied that such women often worked long hours across both domains with no help or pay. Those who earned an income, channeled it toward meeting household needs or those of their relatives.

Although families are central in shaping men and women's entrepreneurial experience by providing moral, psychological and financial support (Cesaroni & Paoloni, 2016), the outcomes within households depend not just on the decision-making made by the spouses but the conditions under which these intra-household decisions are made (Ashraf, 2009). Considering that gender relations within households are influenced by material and ideological embodiments (Agarwal, 1997), the social norms around who controls resources and constructs ideology within the family unit determines who can access, control resources and decision-making powers within the family unit. Women's ability to negotiate such outcomes is influenced by a range of factors such as existing inheritance laws, access to socio-economic resources outside her kinship support

systems, access to education and the social legitimacy of her claim within her community (Agarwal, 1994). Considering that all this are often patriarchal and culturally back men's domination over women, women remain undervalued due to the perception that they are less competence and decision-making ability than men. For example, Kabeer's study of Bangladeshi women found that although women's wages were significant to households where the husbands were involved in self-employment, this waged labor did not transform the intra-household relations, leaving women in a subordinate status (2000). This is because women's wages did not challenge the structures, ideologies and norms that viewed women as subordinate to men regardless of whether they earned incomes or not. This therefore necessitates a shifted from mere access to waged incomes to control, that is; "the extent to which women have a say on its disposal" (Kabbeer pg. 143).

According to the GAD framework, gendered subordination is produced and constructed at many levels and institutions such as the household, community and the state (Beetham and Demetriades, 2007). Young argues that gender relations are either ascribed or achieved; ascribed being relations that a person is assigned due to their basic position in a kinship or affinity, whereas achieved refers to relations established based on one's personal involvement in the economic, social and political life of their country. The merging of ascribed and achieved relations produce different socioeconomic outcomes for women when interlocked with class, gender, age and caste (1992). Women's ascribed gender roles leads to their subordination due to the unequal division of labor in the household which is often unpaid and undervalued by men and sometimes the women themselves. As shown through this thesis, women's business-related participation does not alter their household related roles. In addition, female earning copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs still maintained the greater share of household labor unless they acquired

the services of a nanny or house help. Furthermore, women's wages merely served women's practical gender needs and those of their immediate relatives thus did not alter the family dynamics that continue to subordinate women. While a few women felt empowered by the business participation, for many the burden of household and childcare roles was a bitter pill in their new-found business adventure.

Conclusion.

In a patriarchal and male-centred context like Uganda, gender relations do influence access, control of resources and decision-making between intimate-partner business partners owning business ventures. This is evident in whose resources are invested at the start-up phase of the business, who makes business-related decisions and has greater or fewer household obligations. While business venturing brings many benefits to men and women alike, men are the benefactors from women's labor in both the household and business domains. Male spouse's continuous undervaluation of women's productive and reproductive roles due to the cultural practices that centres male-ness and promotes male dominated decision-making while encourage women's docility. To most women, the decision to marry a spouse implies marrying the business venture that exploits their productive labour for limited or no pay. This often comes with the cultural expectation to be submissive, subservient and play the "good wife". Cultural and religious practices shape gender relations between men and women in often subtle and highly impactful ways as seen through this thesis.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION.

Ugandan women's increasing involvement in the public domain since the 1990's has drawn attention to the evolution of the family unit and the implications of women's public participation on their relations with men and their traditional household roles. Gender relations, at least within the Uganda context, have evolved with the increasing participation of women in the public domain since the NRM's Affirmative action policies¹⁰ (Tamale, 1997). Although women gained increased public participation like never, the policies did not radically transform relations within the household domain since women could not own inherited wealth, were subject to widow inheritance, could not own and control productive resources like land, cattle and were often vulnerable to early marriage. In addition, women continued to be constrained to household related roles – a task traditionally assigned based on gender.

This study focussed on how men and women as individuals navigated the process of accessing and controlling resources and decision-making power as equal individuals sharing both an intimate and business partnership. The study sought to answer *how gender relations among intimate-partner business owners influence access to and control of resources and decision-making between intimate entrepreneurs in Uganda*. The study employed in-depth interviews with male and female business owners who owned business ventures in three locations Wakiso, Soroti and Gulu districts. The interviews were conducted with 12 respondents – 7 men and 5 women whose ages ranged from 28 to 52 years old with an average of 40. In order to understand how gender relations influence access to and control of resources and decision-making between intimate-partner business owners, the study relied on two theoretical frameworks: Gender and

¹⁰ These policies included mandatory inclusion of women in all national Resistance movement grassroots councils, creation of directorate for women's affairs and a ministry of women in development, creation of women studies program at Makerere University and preferential treatment for all females joining government-funded universities.

Development (GAD) and Border Theory (BT). Gender and development (GAD) theory states that men and women are active agents of change in the productive, reproductive and community roles on behalf of their families and businesses (Rathgeber, 1990). Border theory also argues that individuals play a proactive role in shaping the nature of both the work and family domains as “border crossers” (Clark, 2000).

To begin with, the study found two distinct groups of intimate-partner business owners in Uganda: copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs with supporting spouses that operated a range of business ventures specializing in trade and service sectors. The businesses were established using men’s financial resources. Men’s access to and control of these resources originated from the patriarchal system that privileged males over women. A common source of men’s assets and resources is often through inherited property from their families where men attain land as transferable assets. Doss, Truong, Nabanoga and Namaalwa (2012) argue that land is by far the most important asset one could own in Uganda. This is because land works as collateral for accessing financial capital to start a business. As a result, men’s access to and ownership of land enables them to access financial resources such as loans, something that most women cannot attain, thus men’s dominance in business venturing as shown in this study.

In addition, legal pluralism obstructs women’s access to land inheritance due to the rigid customary practices common in the global south. Legal pluralism, defined as the co-existence and interaction of statutory laws with several legal orders such as customary, religious, local and state laws in enabling one’s claim to property rights (Meinzen-Dick and Pradhan, 2002) limits women’s efforts to own property through family inheritance like men. Constitutional law, especially in Uganda, is often influenced by customary law which implies that patrilineal lineage of rights and ideologies often denies women the ability to own land and other productive

resources like livestock, food etc. (Doss et al, 2012). For example, customary law often privileges men prohibiting women's ownership of land through inheritance, thus relegating women to the sidelines and stifling their chances to own or access land and other resources within most Ugandan communities (Kameri-Mbote, 2005). Furthermore, local leaders have dominated land adjudication committees rendering the 1998 Ugandan Land Act, intended to secure women's property rights (Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003), dysfunctional for women.

The study further confirmed Lucaccini and Muscat's findings in Italy that "the copreneurial husband tends to be the primary business decision maker" (2001, p.6). While Lucaccini's study argued that the wife was an equal partner in sharing the roles and responsibilities of the firm, this study found that women were not equal partners since they performed a range of roles in the business and household domains with little or no spousal support. Despite women's multiple roles in the business, the male spouses were often the decision makers in both copreneur and solo entrepreneur category without consulting their spouses. When the spouses discussed and could not reach consensus, the male spouses' position often became the business position.

A surprising finding from this study is the participation of copreneur men (though limited) in household related tasks like washing their children, cooking, preparing children for school etc. The social norms in Uganda associate men with spending many hours of the day working and away from home. The men in this study often performed household roles only in the absence of their partners since they did not have nannies to help with household roles. In addition, all the men who performed household roles operated a home-based business, which meant that contrary to popular thought, they had no need to spend many hours away from home. The flexibility of working from home enabled the male spouses to balance between work and household roles.

However, a majority of male copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs spent limited hours in the household domain and more hours in the public domain working. This implies that women, even if they wanted, could not get any spousal support within the household domain. The strict adherence to the traditional allocation of roles resonates with Marshack's 1994 study in the United States that found limited involvement of men in the household due to their participation in the public domain.

The study also shows that women's outcomes vary depending on their age, number of children, level of education and socio-economic class despite their involvement in intimate partner business venturing. For example, highly educated women who often had fewer children attained business incomes and were able to decide where to spend those incomes, whereas lesser educated women often married early, had more children, which required managing household roles further limiting their business growth prospects and resultantly their incomes. In addition, highly educated women could often afford supplementary household services, such as nannies, which implied less conflict between their business roles and household responsibilities. Women with less education often managed the households by themselves with little or no support from their spouses while actively engaged in the business domain. The study did not find any correlation between men's education and class with their household participation. This is because only a small portion of men in the study were involved in household related roles. As a result, it is plausible to argue that that education, class and number of children influence women's ability to access, control financial resources due to their ability to access support services within the household domain, which increases their business participation and possibly the success of the business. However, negative male spousal attitudes about women's public

participation remains a barrier since social norms in Uganda dictate that a woman's domain is the household.

Education provides women with opportunities to undo the internalized oppression that has been normalized by the cultural norms and gendered practices within the Ugandan society. The ability to maximize outcomes from close relationships indicates how educated copreneur women navigated their assigned gender roles in a way that permitted increased business participation unlike the women who could not negotiate such outcomes either due to deeply entrenched gender norms or inability to afford such options due to their class and level of education. However, male copreneurs and solo entrepreneurs were the beneficiaries of women's contributions to the business in the form of their labour, emotional support as well as women's dominant role in the household. Overall, only a handful of managerial copreneur women gained the same level of benefits such as wages, other work-related benefits like allowances and decision making within the business and household domains. These benefits can be attributed to diverse intersectional factors such as gender, level of education, class and number of children that influence women's ability to work in the business and at the same time perform household responsibilities.

The decision to run a business with one's partner or working together is still new to most Ugandan business owners and the public. Due to the strict dichotomy between the private and public domains, public perceptions about women's business participation, especially in a copreneurial or solo entrepreneurial arrangement, are curiosity and sometimes disbelief. None of the respondents intentionally ventured into business in order to work with their spouse, which is unlike most of the literature on copreneur ventures in developed economies. In Uganda, the need to meet their household needs was a primary motivation among men and women who were both copreneur and solo entrepreneurs. While several respondents identified the benefits of working

with a spouse, others reported the fair share of challenges that come with working with a spouse, including different role expectations, rigid social norms, and work/family conflict among others. Overall, over 90 percent of the respondents indicated that they would work with their partner had they to open another business venture. This means that working with a spouse was overall a pleasant experience for most of the respondents. Among those interviewed, only one male solo entrepreneur spouse had discontinued the intimate partner business relationship due to conflict in the workplace but maintained their marital relationship, while one female solo entrepreneur suggested that she would not start a new venture with her spouse. This finding supports Muske and Fitzgerald's 1997 study that men and women would discontinue a business relationship if it threatened the stability of the family relationship (2006).

Gender relations reveal the division of labor and the ideologies that reinforce the attitudes, behaviours and personality traits between men and women (Agarwal, 1997). As such, gender relations are a product of social norms that shape men and women into "acceptable" masculine and feminine ways of doing gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987). In the case of Uganda, it clear that argues that the "public" domain works as a resource within which males have access to power, privilege, opportunity and wealth while women's access to the "public" domain is restricted through patriarchal tools such as culture, the law and religion which safe guards the domain for males while giving males unlimited access to the domestic domain (Tamale (2004). Women, on the other hand, continue to define their identities through the domestic roles of motherhood, homemaker and wife which confirms women to domesticity (Tamale, 2004). Overall, gender relations in Uganda remain carefully configured to accommodate some aspects of women's rights while maintaining of male superiority and domination (Wyrod, 2008). As a

result, successful women in politics, business or even an academic with three PhD's, but never married and childless, are perceived to be lacking in a fundamental way (Tamale, 2004)

One of the limitations of this study is the exploratory nature of the case study that generated a smaller sample of respondents. Only two couples were both interviewed while the rest were interviewed individually. As a result, these findings cannot be generalized as representative of all the Intimate-partner business owners within the Ugandan population. The use of snowball sampling also limited the geographical scope of the study to three districts of Gulu, Soroti and Wakiso. These districts were chosen due to the growing economic activity that would make it suitable to find intimate partner business owners. In addition, a few spouses were reluctant to talk about their finances, something that was crucial to this study – access, control and decision making around resources. This limited the depth of the study thereby making the findings hard to generalize.

However, exploring intimate-partner business outcomes using Gender and Development and Border Theory opened a new way in investigating issues of access, control of resources and decision making, which are central in not just individual agency but in entrepreneurial success. This study is significant in that it provides a theoretical basis for incorporating Gender and Development theory in future studies on intimate-partner business ventures – a field that has often relied on organisational theories that are gender neutral or gender blind in their treatment of the issue. The use of GAD theory in this study exposes the multi-dimensional ways that access to and control of resources is closely related to the patriarchal social norms within a specific context. According to my study findings, it is plausible to argue that intersectional variables such as education, class, age and number of children influence the individual agency of women by influencing their ability to negotiate within close relationships with their spouses to be able to

access, control resources and make business related decisions within the business sphere. This enables government departments and development agencies to understand why not all women attain equitable outcomes while engaging in entrepreneurial activity since one's entrepreneurial experience is shaped by their gender, level of education, number of children, socio-economic class – all which impact men more positively than women, as well as elite/privileged urban women over rural women. Entrepreneurial venturing only builds women's capacities when they can negotiate and influence outcomes within both the business and household domains. Education plays a key role in shaping women's opportunities by expanding their horizons beyond the socially structured household domain. A radical change in male attitudes about women's roles is necessary so men and women can pursue individual and collective goals without compromising on their well being as shown by the women who laboured managing the business and household roles as shown by the study. This study also provides a grounding for future studies on intimate partner business owners in the global south since current studies are focussed on the global north, Australia and New Zealand.

Areas for future research

Future studies should seek to explore in detail if and how copreneurship may lead to women's empowerment. Such studies should also examine the role of intersectional factors such as age, education, race, class, religion and number of children play in bringing about this empowerment. In addition, more research is needed to explore how childbirth affects men and women in a copreneurial partnership. The women in this study emphasized the complex demands of balancing household roles such as care for children, household management and running a business venture. Such a study should ideally include intimate-partner business owners who

have, out of choice or biological complications, not had children. This is especially useful in explaining how much children may constrain the entrepreneurial abilities of women by demanding the ability to balance work and family roles at the same time. Another area of future research is the role of gender relations in shaping household roles among dual-career or Intimate-partner business owners in the LGBTQ+ community. This would enable us to explore the nuance in gendered identities among such spouses and how such spouses navigate the dominant masculine-feminine dichotomy. This would be insightful especially when examined within the structure-agency framework.

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APPENDIX A: BIODATA FROM THE RESPONDENTS.

Pseudonym	Age	Years married	kids	Education	Type of business	Sector	Duration in business	Business location
Jasmine ♀ & Joe ♂	36 40	6	10	High school High school	Copreneur	Cleaning firm	2 years	Rented space
Yusuf ♂ & Leah ♀	38 32	8	2	Degree Degree	Copreneur	Grocery store	9 years	Rented space
Hussein ♂	43	13	4	Degree	Copreneur	Restaurant	4 years	Rented space
Otim ♂	35	2	1	Master's degree	Copreneur	Food distributor	5 months	Home-based
Mbogo ♀	34	15	6	Degree	Copreneur	Elementary school	4 years	Owned
Cynthia ♀	32	12	4	High school	Solo	Hair Salon	2 months	Rented space
Oddi ♂	33	4	1	Degree	Solo	ICT firm	7 years	Rented space
George ♂	54	13	3	High school	Solo	Grocery store	20 years	Rented space
Siima ♀	30	3	2	Degree	Solo	Grocery store	6 years	Rented space
Jose ♂	37	4	1	Degree	Solo	Car hire services	8 years	Home-based

Note: ♂ represents male, ♀ represents female.

APPENDIX B: Interview guide for respondents

Introductory/demographic information

What is your name?

What is your occupation?

What is your level of education?

Are you married? If yes, how long?

Do you have any children? If yes, how many?

II) Business/ family.

What type of business do you own?

How long have you operated it?

What was your motivation to start this business?

Was it the only goal?

How much of your income/labor went into the business creation?

What skills did you have that were useful to enable you to start the business?

Who suggested the business idea?

Would you say your partner is supportive? If yes, how?

How was your relationship with your partner before you opened the business?

What do you think has changed in terms of your personal relationship since the start of the business?

III) Role divide.

How are roles and responsibilities divided within your current business?

How about within the household sphere? Does your spouse provide household help?

What roles do you perform daily in this business?

How do you separate work and family life while performing your roles within the business?

How has the business impacted you personally?

How has the business impacted on your relationship with your partner?

What role do you wish you could be more involved in the business?

What would you say has been the most rewarding experience about owning and working with your partner?

What would you say has been the most challenging experience working with a married partner?

Knowing what you know now, would you choose to work with a partner? If yes, why?

Would you say this business has empowered you/your partner? If yes,

How??

Would you wish to be paid a salary? If Yes,

How much?

Would you wish to earn more, less or equal with your partner?

How do you spend your business incomes?

Who purchases the household needs?

How much of your business income goes into household needs? Are there other sources?

Do you have any questions for me?