# Gender Stereotypes and the Entrepreneurial Intention of Women: An Integrative Literature Review

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27 July 2021

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### Glossary

Term	Definition
Entrepreneurial action	Entrepreneurial action describes the proactive behaviour to establish one's own business.
Entrepreneurial intentions	Entrepreneurial intentions describe the thoughts and desires of establishing one 's own business. Usually, entrepreneurial intentions are antecedents to entrepreneurial actions.
Gender stereotypes	Gender stereotypes are the presumptions on how women and men should behave.
Integrative literature review	It is a review method used to summarise, synthesise and criticise the previous research about a particular topic.
STEM	STEM stands for science, technology, engineering and mathematics.
Theory of Planned Behaviour	This theory explains how beliefs influence behaviour. The theory consists of three components: attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control.

#### **Abstract**

Introduction: The number of female entrepreneurs has risen in the last couple of years, yet female entrepreneurs are still underrepresented compared to men. Researchers have proposed that gender stereotypes could play an essential role in the low entrepreneurial intentions of women. Thus, this study aimed to answer the following research question: "What effect do gender stereotypes have on women's entrepreneurial intentions?" Sub-questions dealt with the development as well as maintenance of gender stereotypes and possible solutions to reduce them. Furthermore, attention was also paid to potential culturally unique gender stereotypes because previous studies had demonstrated that women from specific cultures are more likely to suffer from gender stereotypes.

Methods: An integrative literature review was conducted between 01 March to 15 June. Three databases were searched: Scopus, Web of Science, and PsycINFO. Fifteen studies were included after screening the titles and abstracts and applying the inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Results: Gender stereotypes influenced entrepreneurial intentions in three different ways:

positively, negatively or as a negative moderator variable influencing the relationship between self-efficacy, prior exposure to entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial intentions. The found gender stereotypes were: "Women are not real entrepreneurs", "Women must be like men to become entrepreneurs", and "Women cannot be mothers and entrepreneurs". Three other stereotypes were identified, which were only applied to women from non-Western countries. Those were: "Female entrepreneurs use witchcraft", "Female entrepreneurs are not honourable women", and "Entrepreneurship is for uneducated women". Media were essential in maintaining gender stereotypes. Solutions to decrease gender stereotypes should include entrepreneurial education for women and gender-neutral language when addressing entrepreneurship. The consequences of such gender stereotypes were mainly negative such as lack of support and preferences for smaller businesses.

**Discussion:** These results show that gender stereotypes can influence the entrepreneurial intentions of aspiring female entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of better understanding how these stereotypes are created and maintained, but most importantly, how they can be reduced. Hence, it should be worked towards challenging these gender stereotypes. This step would increase the number of female entrepreneurs, which would have many advantages such as gender equality and an improved economy.

### Gender Stereotypes and the Entrepreneurial Intentions of Women

"The future is not a place that we are going to go to. It is a place that you get to create."

- Nancy Duarte, Founder of Duarte Design

Nancy Duarte is one successful entrepreneur and a woman. Female entrepreneurs are still not the norm, as women are still underrepresented in the area of entrepreneurship in comparison to men (de Bruin et al., 2007; Díaz-García & Jiménez-Moreno, 2010; Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2021; Marlow & McAdam, 2012; Rocha & van Praag, 2020; Shinnar et al., 2012). There are significantly more male entrepreneurs in almost every country than female entrepreneurs (Dezső et al., 2016; Ozkazanc-Pan & Clark Muntean, 2018). In 2020, there were 15% male entrepreneurs in Iran and only 4% female entrepreneurs (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2021). Equal numbers can be found in other countries such as the Netherlands, Croatia, Greece and Latvia. Those are just a few countries where the number of male entrepreneurs is double as high as that of female entrepreneurs (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2021). The most significant differences in ratios of female to male entrepreneurs are presented in Italy, Poland and India, where the ratio lies at one woman to three men (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2021).

When trying to explain the low number of female entrepreneurs, business researchers have focused on female qualifications (Aterido et al., 2013; Belwal et al., 2012). They demonstrated that low education and poor managerial skills are vital to describe the difference between the number of female and male entrepreneurs (Huarng et al., 2012; Raghuvanshi et al., 2017). Nonetheless, even when women have the same skills as men or surpass them, women are still less likely to follow an entrepreneurial path or even have entrepreneurial intentions (Futagami & Helms, 2009). This evidence suggests that other factors than differences in skills and performance must play a role in the low entrepreneurial intentions of women.

As the psychological factors have been neglected when trying to explain the entrepreneurial intention of women, it could be possible that they play an essential role in describing this phenomenon. This study intends to take a look at one psychological factor - gender stereotypes. Therefore, this integrative literature review aims to identify the effect gender stereotypes have on women's entrepreneurial intentions. Gender stereotypes were chosen due to two reasons. Firstly, researchers from multiple fields have suggested that gender stereotypes are central factors that may prevent women from having intentions to become entrepreneurs (Baron

et al., 2001; Cowling & Taylor, 2001; Tonoyan et al., 2020). Secondly, gender stereotypes also contributed to low intentions of women to work in the STEM, sports and business fields. This raises the question of whether they could also contribute to the low entrepreneurial intentions of women.

### The Societal Importance of Female Entrepreneurship

The above-presented numbers illustrate the difference between women and men in entrepreneurship and demonstrate the importance of further increasing women's quota in the entrepreneurial world. Encouraging female entrepreneurship has several advantages which benefit different target groups (Minniti & Naudé, 2010; Weber & Zulehner, 2010). Firstly, promoting women's entrepreneurial intentions can contribute to the equality of both genders because women would be able to receive equal socioeconomic conditions such as a higher income and improvement of the social status of women (Cho et al., 2019). These advantages result in increased confidence, independence and self-fulfilment in the female entrepreneurs (Itani et al., 2011). Secondly, future female generations would also benefit from this because having female role models increases their entrepreneurial intentions as they can observe other women running their business successfully (Adom, 2015; Ahuja, 2002; Aramand, 2013; Byrne et al., 2019; Dzisi, 2008; Laviolette et al., 2012; Tlaiss, 2015; Trauth et al., 2016). Thirdly, having more entrepreneurs contributes to the growth of the economy (Gorgievski & Stephan, 2016; Henry et al., 2016; Jamali, 2009; Langowitz & Minniti, 2007; Loh & Dahesihsari, 2013; Revell-Love & Revell-Love, 2016).

Apart from the target groups that benefit from increasing female entrepreneurship, there is also a growing body of literature that recognises the skills that women can bring to the field of entrepreneurship (Hillman et al., 2007; Kuhn & Villeval, 2015). Women have a different way of thinking; therefore, they often bring new ideas when they are in charge (Burgess & Tharenou, 2002). Next, women spend more time collecting and analysing information, resulting in better decision-making skills (Amason, 1996; Hillman et al., 2007). In general, having women as firm owners positively impacts the firm's performance (Dezsö & Ross, 2012; Dezső et al., 2016; Dwyer et al., 2003; Flabbi et al., 2019).

### **Previous Literature about Female Entrepreneurship**

Previous literature about female entrepreneurship focused on the factors that encourage or hinder female entrepreneurship (DeMartino & Barbato, 2003; Yordanova & Tarrazon, 2010). One of the latest articles focusing on motivators demonstrated that the three factors that influence women to become entrepreneurs are their desire for independence, financial rewards and the lack of other employment alternatives (Jafari-Sadeghi et al., 2021). Further studies confirmed that financial rewards and the desire of being independent appeared to be an essential factor in motivating women to become entrepreneurs (Robichaud et al., 2016; Unruh et al., 2014). Other encouraging factors were balancing family and work life and feeling self-fulfilled (DeMartino & Barbato, 2003; Robichaud et al., 2016).

Nevertheless, previous research has also established diverse factors that hinder the entrepreneurial actions of women, such as the difficulty of finding financial support and lack of education (Koller et al., 2021; Raghuvanshi et al., 2017). According to researchers from the field of business, female education is the most crucial factor in hindering female entrepreneurial action because women tend to not only have lower educational levels than men, but they also lack knowledge about entrepreneurship skills and experiences in the business field (Aterido et al., 2013; Belwal et al., 2012, Huarng et al., 2012; Lockyer & George, 2012). Another factor that influences the entrepreneurial action of women is their low entrepreneurial intentions because the intentions are habitually predecessors of entrepreneurial action (Futagami & Helms, 2009; Ozaralli & Rivenburgh, 2016; Yordanova & Tarrazon, 2010).

### The Nature of Gender Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are the presumptions on how women and men should behave (Bourdieu, 1990; Ellemers, 2018). They describe attributes and traits that are considered to be typically masculine or feminine. These gender stereotypes influence the skills and interests of women and men (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979). These expectations of how the genders should act starts at an early age and are often promoted by caregivers (Kollmayer et al., 2018). It is difficult to diminish gender stereotypes as they prove to be stable over time in their content (Haines et al., 2016). Prototypical examples of gender stereotypes are the ideas that women are kinder and more helpful, whereas men are aggressive and independent (Kite et al., 2008)

The mechanism behind gender stereotypes can be best described with the stereotype threat theory (Steele, 1997). When individuals of a stereotyped group are aware of the

stereotypes of their social group, they tend to underperform in the given task (Steele, 1997). To give an example, when girls receive the information that boys tend to perform better in math tasks, girls' performance in math tasks suffer (Spencer et al., 1999). Two processes can cause this underperforming. First, when people of a stereotyped group are aware of stereotypes about their group, they fear confirming the stereotype, which makes them control their behaviour excessively, resulting in an inability to perform well (Schmader et al., 2008). Second, when individuals want to disprove such gender stereotypes, they are predisposed to perform worse (O'Brien & Crandall, 2003). This is due to the individual's excessively thinking as these thoughts hinder them from focusing on the given task (Spencer et al., 1999). However, when the information about gender performance is omitted, both genders perform equally.

In general, women experience more gender stereotypes than men and thus also more consequences of such stereotypes (Howard, 1984). Stereotyped individuals have difficulties in accurately perceiving their skills (Biddle et al., 2011). They often underestimate their abilities and are less motivated to engage in the stereotyped task (Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Hilland et al., 2009). It becomes difficult for stereotyped individuals to demonstrate their true potential (Chalabaev et al., 2013). Furthermore, they believe their options are limited as they often lose interested in the stereotyped activities and careers (Davies et al., 2002; Fogliani & Bussey, 2013; Gunderson et al., 2011; Shahriar, 2018; Shapiro & Williams, 2012; Steele & Ambady, 2006; Woodcock et al., 2012). Most peculiar, gender stereotypes results in gender discrimination (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011).

### The Relationship between Gender Stereotypes and Entrepreneurial Intentions

Gender stereotypes have complicated the entering of women in different job fields such as sports, politics and business (Chalabaev et al., 2013; Deemer et al., 2014; Greene et al., 2013; Hardin et al., 2007; Shaffer et al., 2013; Shapiro & Williams, 2012; Woodcock et al., 2012). This is because women who are being stereotyped develop anxiety as they become more and more resentful of reinforcing the stereotypes. Suppose they decide to follow the stereotyped career. In that case, they will have to learn how to cope with anxiety and perform under these circumstances (Forbes & Schmader, 2010; Jamieson & Harkins, 2007; Steele 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Henceforth, women often prefer to engage in a career in which they feel capable of success and hence, abandon the idea to enter the stereotyped profession for them (Casad et al., 2019; Günther et al., 2010; Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Steele, 1997; Steinberg et al., 2012).

Additionally, gender stereotypes lead to a diminishing of womens' interest in the stereotyped career (Fogliani & Bussey, 2013; Gunderson et al., 2012; Shapiro & Williams, 2012; Steele & Ambady 2006; Woodcock et al., 2012).

Because gender stereotypes have influenced women's career choices before (Murphy et al., 2007), several researchers have suggested that gender stereotypes could also affect the entrepreneurial intentions of women (Baron et al., 2001; Cowling & Taylor, 2001; Tonoyan et al., 2020). Baron et al. (2001) theorised that when women are aware of such gender stereotypes, they could perceive entrepreneurship as less achievable. This hypothesis is in line with the stereotype-threat theory of Steele and Aronson (1995) that explains that the performance of individuals declines as soon as they become aware they are stereotyped. Since entrepreneurship is a men-dominated area and successful entrepreneurs tend to have stereotypically male traits, women might feel less capable of achieving a successful career in the entrepreneurial area, or they anticipate the barriers that they will face due to those gender stereotypes such as anxiety or diminished performance (Ahl, 2006).

Moreover, because entrepreneurial intentions can be better understood using the theory of planned behaviour (Liñán & Chen, 2009), gender stereotypes could likely influence them. This is because the three factors of the theory of planned behaviour that explain entrepreneurial intentions are: attitude towards entrepreneurial behaviour, perceived social norms and perceived behaviour control (Sabah, 2016). Gender stereotypes might be able to affect all of the three factors. As described above, women often lose interest in the stereotyped career (Fogliani & Bussey, 2013; Gunderson et al. 2012), meaning that the attitude towards entrepreneurial behaviour would be adulterated. Next, perceived social norms reflect individuals' beliefs whether other people would approve of their behaviours (Ajzen, 1991). Because entrepreneurship is still a men-dominated field (Ahl, 2006), women could believe that other people would disapprove of their decision to become entrepreneurs. Lastly, due to gender stereotypes, women might feel they cannot be entrepreneurs (Baron et al., 2001), resulting in low behaviour control. As can be seen, gender stereotypes may influence all factors of which entrepreneurial intentions consist. Hence, there might be a relationship between gender stereotypes and women's entrepreneurial intentions.

For women from certain cultures, gender stereotypes could significantly impact their entrepreneurial intentions more as they might suffer from more culturally-based gender

stereotypes (Bonefeld et al., 2021; Welter, 2011; Wennberg et al., 2013). This is because gender stereotypes demonstrate a cultural variation in their content (Fiske, 2017). For example, the gender stereotype that women should stay at home and men should work has a different prevalence in different countries (Zeidan & Bahrami, 2011). Generally, more patriarchal countries such as India or Turkey look down on women who decide to work, not to mention starting their own business (Collinson & Hearn, 1998; Singh & Sebastian, 2018). Turkish and Moroccan society strongly believes that it is the women's job to take care of the household tasks and the children. In contrast, Dutch society is more open-minded (van de Vijver, 2007).

This cultural variation in gender stereotypes is also visible in women's career preferences (Trauth et al., 2016). Previous research has already demonstrated that female entrepreneurship varies across countries due to the women's role in those cultures and gender stereotypes (Eagly, 2013; Monjarás et al., 2010). If a culture scores high on the masculinity dimension, it is unlikely that it has a high rate of female entrepreneurs (McGrath et al., 1992; Shane, 1993). This is because of the expectations that society has on men and women. As explained above, these expectations are translated into gender stereotypes (Bourdieu, 1990; Ellemers, 2018). Some gender stereotypes that influence women's entrepreneurial intentions may be more severe in certain cultures, but it could also be that there exist some culturally unique gender stereotypes that affect women's entrepreneurial intentions.

#### **The Present Study**

Several factors have been suggested that impede women to become entrepreneurs, especially the business field has paid particular attention to them. Nevertheless, the focus is on entrepreneurial action instead of intentions (Koller et al., 2021; Raghuvanshi et al., 2017). Considering that entrepreneurial intentions are antecedents for entrepreneurial action, it is an excellent start to observe what could contribute to the low entrepreneurial intentions of women (Ozaralli & Rivenburgh, 2016). As has been suggested, gender stereotypes could play a crucial role in the low entrepreneurial intentions of women (Baron et al., 2001; Cowling & Taylor, 2001; Tonoyan et al., 2020). Nevertheless, until now, this relationship remained relatively unexplored. If there indeed is a relationship between the two variables, two negative consequences result from this. First, the low number of female entrepreneurs will remain if nothing is done against it. As explained above, having more female entrepreneurs brings several advantages. Second, gender stereotypes about female entrepreneurs contribute to gender inequality, and it is difficult

to overcome. Therefore, it is necessary to gain as much understanding as possible about what gender stereotypes exist and how they are developed. Only after achieving this insight steps can be taken to reduce those gender stereotypes.

To conclude, this paper will use the methodological approach *integrative literature* review to answer the following research question: "What effect do gender stereotypes have on women's entrepreneurial intentions?" Five further sub-questions are formulated to ensure that the relationship between the two variables is adequately explored.

- I. What are gender stereotypes that influence the entrepreneurial intentions of women worldwide?
- II. What culturally unique gender stereotypes, if any, exist that influence the entrepreneurial intentions of women and which women do they target?
- III. How are gender stereotypes that influence the entrepreneurial intentions of women developed and maintained?
- IV. What are the consequences of these gender stereotypes?
- V. What possible solutions exist to decrease gender stereotypes that influence the entrepreneurial intentions of women?

#### Method

The methodological approach taken in this study to answer the research question was an integrative literature review. An integrative literature review is about reviewing and synthesising research, and this approach was chosen based on three factors (Baumeister & Leary, 1997). First, the topic of female entrepreneurship has had tremendous growth in the last couple of years (Teoh & Chong, 2014). Thus, it is crucial to provide a comprehensive and updated review of the published articles. Second, with an integrative literature review, a contribution to the emergence of new theoretical frameworks and perspectives can be made (Torraco, 2016). Third, women's entrepreneurial intention is a topic of study that multiple disciplines deal with, namely the business and management area, social studies and psychology (Cardella et al., 2020). Combining this multi-disciplinary knowledge helps obtain a good insight into the given topic (Jahan et al., 2016). This integrative literature review was conducted in line with the PRISMA guidelines for systematic reviews and meta-analyses (Appendix A; Moher et al., 2009).

#### **Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria**

Five inclusion and five exclusion criteria were formulated and can be found in Table 1. If the entire article was not available, it was excluded from the review. Additionally, only English, German or Portuguese articles were included due to the researcher's limited proficiency in other languages. Furthermore, only articles that paid particular attention to women and their entrepreneurial intentions were included. Thus, articles about children were excluded. Articles that discussed the differences in gender stereotypes between women and men were included. However, articles that solely focused on men were excluded. Book chapters were excluded to ensure the information is not covered twice as they often cover the findings of empirical studies. Lastly, the focus of this study is about stereotypes that lower or increase the entrepreneurial intentions of women (e.g., as opposed to entrepreneurial action). Herewith, articles centralising barriers women face when they create their business were excluded.

**Table 1** *Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria of Studies* 

Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Full text available	Full text not available
Variables of interest: Women and entrepreneurial intentions	Variables of interest: Children or solely men
Objective: barriers that hinder entrepreneurial intention of women	Objective: barriers when creating a business
Language: English, German, Portuguese	Language: all other languages
Peer-reviewed articles	Book chapters

### **Search Strategy**

This study was performed through structured data collection within the Scopus, PsycINFO and Web Of Science databases from 1 March 2021 until 15 June 2021. These databases were chosen because they are multidisciplinary. Thus, peer-reviewed articles from the area of business and psychology are included (Aghaei Chadegani et al., 2013). All three

databases were searched for English, German and Portuguese journal articles. The search was performed by the author of this thesis (Psychology Master student). To create a search string that would increase the possibility of finding useful articles to work towards the aims of this study, three different sets of keywords were constituted. The first set dealt with the topic of entrepreneurship. By using truncation, it was ensured that all articles regarding this topic were found. Set 2 was about the target group of this study. The third set of keywords is about the stereotypes that women could encounter when developing their entrepreneurial intentions.

Set 1: entreprene\*

Set 2: gender, women, female, girls

Set 3: stereotypes

To combine the different sets, the Boolean operator "AND" was used. Within the sets, the Boolean operator "OR" was used. As can be seen from table 2, three search strings were established. In addition to the search on the databases, the principle of snowballing was utilised. In this way, references lists of potentially relevant articles were examined.

**Table 2**Created Search Strings

Date	Database	Search String	Results
01.06.2021	Scopus	( TITLE-ABS-KEY ( entrepren* ) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ( gender OR female OR women OR girls ) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ( stereotypes ) )	165
08.06.2021	Web of Science	ALL FIELDS: (entrepren*) <i>AND</i> ALL FIELDS: (gender OR female OR women OR girls) <i>AND</i> ALL FIELDS: (stereotypes)	240
15.06.2021	PsycINFO	TX entrepr* AND TX ( gender OR female OR women OR girls ) AND TX stereotypes	56

### **Study Selection**

A total of 461 articles were found in the search process. Firstly, duplicates were eliminated by using endnote X9. This left 215 articles. Secondly, titles and abstracts were screened, and if they did not fit the aim of this research, they were excluded. Lastly, the remaining articles were chosen for the full-text review and evaluated whether they fitted the

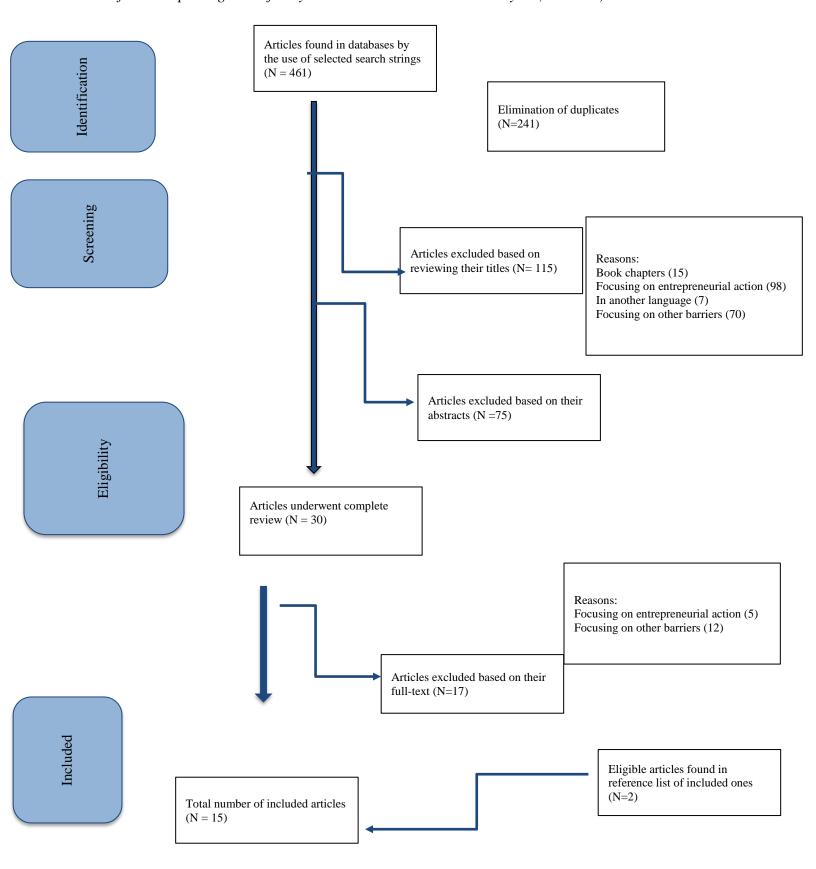
inclusion criteria. Furthermore, lists of references of potential articles were examined to find more relevant articles. These steps led to the inclusion of 15 articles in this study. A better understanding of the study selection process is displayed in Figure 1.

#### **Data Extraction**

Different data were extracted from the included articles. First, publication information (e.g., authors, publication date and journal), research characteristics (e.g. qualitative or quantitative data collection) and participants characteristics (e.g. age and nationality) were summarised. This information was often presented in the methods section of the articles. Second, information about the aims and findings of each study were reviewed, as table 3 shows. This information was illustrated in the introduction and discussion section of the articles. Third, information that answered the question of this study was extracted from the results sections of the included articles.

Figure 1

Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) Flowchart



### **Results**

This integrative literature review included 15 articles from 14 different journals. The included 15 articles presented 17 different studies, of which eight studies were qualitative, seven were quantitative, and two studies used a mixed method. The articles included in this review to answer the different questions are presented in Table 3. The aims and findings of the included article are summarised in table 4. The pie chart below (figure 2) shows the articles per continent, and as can be seen, articles of Asia and North America were overrepresented.

**Table 3**Articles Included in the Integrative Literature Review

Authors	Year	Journal	Study Design	Country/Nationality	Number of Participants	Age range
1. Anambane, G. & Adom, K.	2018	Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship	Interviews (qualitative)	Ghana	20	24 to 59
2. Andrejuk, K.	2018	Anthropological Notebooks	Interviews (qualitative)	Ukrainian Women in Poland	20	Not mentioned
3. BarNir, A.	2021	Sex Roles	Questionnaire (quantitative)	United States	164	19 to 54

4. Cho, Y., Park, J., Jeoung Han, S., Sung, M., & Park, C.	2020	European Journal of Training and Development	Semi-structured interviews and surveys (mixed-method)	South Korea	148	48 to 66
5. Ezzedeen, S. R., & Zikic, J.	2012	International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship,	Interviews (qualitative)	Canada	12	Mids 20 to mids 50
6. Gupta, V. K., Turban, D. B., & Bhawe, N. M.	2008	Journal of Applied Psychology	Questionnaire (qualitative)	United States	469	Average age: 21 years
7. Gupta, V. K., Turban, D. B., Wasti, S. A., & Sikdar, A	2009	Entrepreneurship Practice	Questionnaire (quantitative)	United States, India, and Turkey	277	18 to 41
8. Hentschel, T., Lisa Kristina Horvath, L. K., Peus, C., & Sczesny, S.	2018	Journal of Personnel Psychology	Questionnaire (quantitative)	Germany	156	Mean: 22,2 years
9. Javadian, G., & Singh, R. P.	2012	Gender in management: An international journal	Interviews (qualitative)	Iran	28	25 to 77

10. Kraiser & Mota- Santos	2021	Revista de Gestão e Secretariado	Interviews (qualitative)	Brasil	22	22 -58
11. Sandhu, M.A., Farooq, O., Khalid, S. and Farooq, M.	2021	Benchmarking: An International Journal	Survey (quantitative)	United Arab Emirates	283	-
12. Stefan, D., Vasile, V., Oltean, A., Comes, C. A., Stefan, A. B., Ciucan-Rusu, L., Bunduchi, E., Popa, M. A., & Timus, M.	2021	Sustainability	SWOT-Analysis (quantitative)	Romania	10	-
13. Suseno, Y, Abbott, L.	2021	Information Systems Journal	Semi-structured interviews (qualitative)	Australia	17	Mid-20s to late 50s,
14. van Ewijk, A. & Belghiti - Mhut, S.	2019	International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship	Pre-post survey design (quantitative)	United Arab Emirates (UAE).	246	Average age: 23 years
15. Wheadon., M. & Duval-Couetil, N.	2019	Journal of Small Business Management	Media framing analysis (qualitative)	USA	-	-

**Table 4** *Aims and Findings of the Included Articles* 

Authors	Identified Stereotype	Aims	Findings	Used to answer questions:
Anambane & Adom	<ul> <li>Entrepreneurship is for uneducated women</li> <li>Female entrepreneurs use witchcraft</li> <li>Women cannot be entrepreneurs and mothers at the same time.</li> </ul>	This study aimed to explore the effects of culture on female entrepreneurship in Ghana using the stereotype threat theory.	The main finding was that several cultural influences and gender stereotypes lead to lower interest of women in entrepreneurship.	2, 3, & 5
Andrejuk	- Women cannot be entrepreneurs and mothers at the same time	This study aimed to describe the experiences that immigrant female entrepreneurs have in the host country.	The study's main findings were that women faced challenges in all their life areas: family, business, and social life. They are often discriminated against, especially in their work lives.	2

BarNir -	Women have to be like men to be entrepreneurs.	The aim was to explore the relationship between gender stereotypes and female entrepreneurial intentions.	In this study, it was shown that gender stereotypes were negatively correlated with female entrepreneurial intentions.	1, 2 & 5
Cho et al	Women have to be like men to be entrepreneurs.	This study aimed to explore the factors that encouraged or hindered women from becoming entrepreneurs.	Aim findings were that necessity-driven push factors increased women's entrepreneurial intentions, whereas challenges such as gender stereotypes hindered them.	1, 2 & 5
Ezzedeen & - Zikic	Women cannot be mothers and entrepreneurs at the same time	The aim was to describe the experience of female entrepreneurs in a male-dominated field.	This study found that aspiring female entrepreneurs are often stereotyped, and they lack female role models in this field.	2
Gupta et al., - (2008)	Women have to be like men to become entrepreneurs.	This study aimed to discover whether gender stereotypes could prevent women from entering a masculine career such as entrepreneurship.	The main finding was that when women perceived entrepreneurship as a masculine profession, they had lower entrepreneurial intentions.	1 & 2
Gupta et al., - (2009)	Women have to be like men to become entrepreneurs.	The aim was to explore the relationship between gender stereotypes and female	Women who perceived themselves as having more masculine traits had higher entrepreneurial intentions, whereas women who perceived	1 & 2

		entrepreneurial intentions.	themselves as having more feminine traits had lower entrepreneurial intentions.	
Hentschel et al.,		This study aimed to explore how advertisements should be made to increase the entrepreneurial intentions of women.	The main findings were that women had fewer intentions to engage in this field when entrepreneurship is portrayed as a maledominated area. To increase female entrepreneurial intentions, entrepreneurship should be presented using gender-neutral language.	6
Javadian & - Singh -	Female entrepreneurs are not honourable Women are not "real" entrepreneurs	The aim of this was to explore the different factors that influence the entrepreneurial intentions of women.	The main findings were that gender stereotypes hindered their intentions. In contrast, high levels of self-efficacy and risk-taking encourage their intentions.	1,2, 3 & 5
Kraiser & - Mota-Santos	Women cannot be mothers and entrepreneurs at the same time	This study aimed to compare the challenges faced by female homeworkers and female entrepreneurs.	This study demonstrated that female entrepreneurs had difficulties combining their different life roles and were often stereotyped by their surroundings.	1, 2 & 5
Sandhu et al.		This study aimed to establish what type of entrepreneurial education	Although all types of entrepreneurial education effectively increase women's entrepreneurial	6

	(entrepreneurship courses, seminars or involvement in the activities of innovation/incubation) is the most effective to increase entrepreneurial intentions.	intentions, entrepreneurship courses proved to be the most effective.	
- Women have to be like men to become entrepreneurs.	This study aimed to explore the factors that encouraged or hindered women from becoming entrepreneurs.	Women reported several factors that hindered their entrepreneurial intentions, such as lack of support (social or financial) and gender stereotypes.	1 & 2
<ul><li>Women are not real entrepreneurs.</li><li>Women have to be like men to become entrepreneurs.</li></ul>	This study aimed to describe the challenges faced by female entrepreneurs.	The findings indicate that individual identity, individual influences and social and structural factors had a hindering factor on female entrepreneurship.	1 & 2
	This study aimed to demonstrate the relationship between entrepreneurial education and entrepreneurial intentions.	Aim findings were that gender stereotypes negatively influence female entrepreneurial intentions. Furthermore, entrepreneurial education positively influenced the entrepreneurial intentions of women.	6

Stefan et al.

Suseno &

van Ewijk &

Belghiti -Mhut

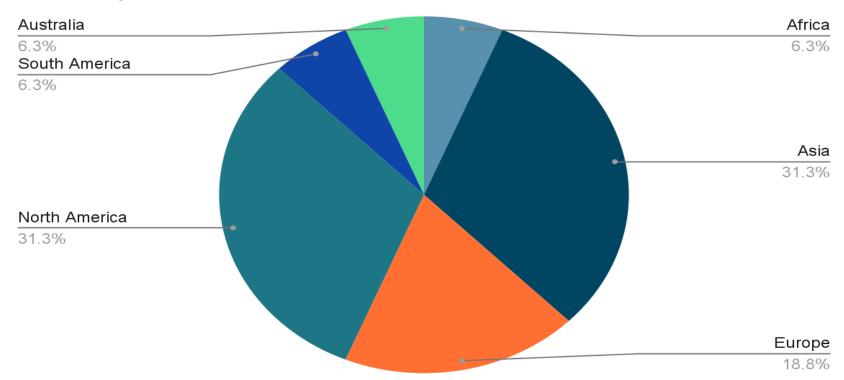
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Wheadon. &	-	Women are not real	This study aimed to establish the	The authors demonstrate that reality programmes	4
Duval-Couetil		entrepreneurs	maintenance process of gender	such as "Shark Tank" portray female	
	-	Women have to be	stereotypes about female	entrepreneurs as less capable than men.	
		like men to become	entrepreneurs.		
		entrepreneurs.			

*Note*. Question 1 refers to the research question of this study. Thus, question 2 refers to sub-question 1, and the other questions follow the same principle.

**Figure 2** *Pie-Chart about Articles per Continent* 

### Articles per Continent



### Research Question: What Effect do Gender Stereotypes Have on Women's Entrepreneurial Intentions?

The relationship between gender stereotypes and the low entrepreneurial intention was explicitly explored in eight out of the 15 included articles. The majority of the articles (6/15) indicated a negative effect of gender stereotypes on women's entrepreneurial intentions (BarNir, 2021; Cho et al., 2020; Gupta et al., 2008). The articles explained that when women became aware of gender stereotypes, they had fewer intentions to work in entrepreneurship (Gupta et al., 2009; Javadian & Singh, 2012; Stefan et al., 2021). Nevertheless, the articles did not explain precisely how gender stereotypes negatively influenced the entrepreneurial intentions of women.

In BarNir's (2021) article, another relationship between gender stereotypes and women's entrepreneurial intentions is described. Here, gender stereotypes do not directly have a negative effect on gender stereotypes, but they inhibit the positive effect that entrepreneurial self-efficacy and prior exposure to entrepreneurship have on the entrepreneurial intentions of women. Thus, gender stereotypes act as a moderator variable in the relationship of self-efficacy, prior exposure to entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial intentions. Usually, self-efficacy and prior exposure to entrepreneurship encourage women's entrepreneurial intentions, but according to the articles, this relationship is weakened as soon as women become aware of gender stereotypes.

The most striking result to emerge from reviewing the literature was that two articles indicated that gender stereotypes could positively affect women's entrepreneurial intentions. When some women became aware of gender stereotypes, they felt the urge to become role models in entrepreneurship to demonstrate that women are capable of becoming entrepreneurs (Suseno & Abbott, 2021). The articles explained that women believed that by becoming entrepreneurs and showing that women can be confident, hard-working, and successful, they could change the role of women in society and disprove those gender stereotypes (Kraiser & Mota-Santos, 2021).

### Sub-Question 1: What are Gender Stereotypes that Influence the Entrepreneurial Intentions of Women Worldwide?

This sub-question was about different gender stereotypes that influence the entrepreneurial intentions of women. In total, nine of 15 articles dealt with this question, and by reviewing them, three gender stereotypes were found that affected all women in general

independently of their origin and culture. Those were: "Women are not real entrepreneurs", "Women have to be like men to become entrepreneurs", and "Women cannot be entrepreneurs and mothers". The stereotypes are illustrated in more detail in the following paragraphs.

What stood out from the included articles is that none of them incorporated any positive gender stereotypes about female entrepreneurs. In one of the articles, women reported that gender stereotypes are even more severe when women want to create a business in maledominated areas such as the technology and construction industry (Suseno & Abbott, 2021).

### Stereotype 1: Women are not "real" Entrepreneurs

Out of the 15 articles, three pointed at the gender stereotype that women are not real entrepreneurs (Javadian & Singh, 2012; Suseno & Abbott, 2021; Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019). The articles explained that people, especially men, tend not to take female entrepreneurs seriously, and female entrepreneurship is often seen as a hobby rather than a profession (Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019). Additionally, one article showed that businesses of female entrepreneurs are seen as small and not successful (Suseno & Abbott, 2021). Further, the article by Javadian and Singh (2012) demonstrated how only after working ten years in the area of entrepreneurship, men started to see women as equal and offering them help. Solely, after such an extended period, men started to trust the abilities of female entrepreneurs. Moreover, the articles also explained that women encounter scepticism from male entrepreneurs and potential clients (Javadian & Singh, 2012). In the same study, women mentioned that they frequently heard the question, "Are you still around?". This phrase demonstrates the distrust that society has in the women who aspire to an entrepreneurial career.

### Stereotype 2: Women Cannot be Entrepreneurs and Mothers

The following stereotype that three out of 15 studies pointed at was that potential female entrepreneurs could not be entrepreneurs and mothers simultaneously (Anambane & Adom, 2018). The articles also suggested that if women are married, they will be stereotyped because others believe that women cannot be good wives and entrepreneurs (Ezzedeen & Zikic, 2012). Reviewing the articles highlighted that women are often attacked or criticised by others, including their friends and family, when opting to balance both roles simultaneously and accused of putting their career above their family (Anambane & Adom, 2018; Andrejuk, 2018).

In the study of Kraiser and Mota-Santos (2021), a woman was talking about the passion she has for the job and how she would love to start her business, but then she added that it would

not be right to put her profession before her family. She reported feeling guilty to find a career more fulfilling than motherhood. This statement showed that women incorporate this stereotype and start to internalise this gender stereotype. According to women, it would be socially acceptable for women to enter the field of entrepreneurship as long as they do not neglect their tasks as mothers and wives (Kraiser & Mota-Santos, 2021). It is expected that women give up their entrepreneurial intentions to stay home and take care of their children, which is often the case (Anambane & Adom, 2018). Men are rarely confronted with a similar stereotype indicating that they cannot be an entrepreneur and a good father at the same time (Ezzedeen & Zikic, 2012).

### Stereotype 3: Women Have to be Like Men to Become Entrepreneurs

The most found gender stereotype influencing women's entrepreneurial intention was that women had to be like men to become entrepreneurs. Seven of the 15 articles thematised this gender stereotype. After analysing the articles, it became clear that men and women perceived entrepreneurship as a male-oriented profession (Gupta et al., 2009; Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019). Further, the articles illustrated that only when individuals identified themselves as more masculine they were more likely to have increased entrepreneurial intentions (Cho et al., 2020; Gupta et al., 2008). This means that women who saw themselves as having characteristics considered to be more masculine such as autonomous, independent and brave, had higher entrepreneurial intentions than women who perceived themselves as more feminine (BarNir et al., 2021; Gupta et al., 2008). Furthermore, the articles explained why it was believed that women needed to be like men to become entrepreneurs. This was because it was assumed that one has to have typically male characteristics to become an entrepreneur, such as being emotionally strong and risk-taking (Stefan et al., 2021; Suseno & Abbott, 2021).

# Sub-Question 2: What Culturally Unique Gender Stereotypes, if any, Exist that Influence the Entrepreneurial Intentions of Women and Which Women do they Target?

In general, it appears that women from certain cultures and ethnicities may have a more difficult time developing their entrepreneurial intentions (Andrejuk, 2018). Not only do international women have to face the stereotypes that all women encounter, but they also have to face the stereotype that originated in their culture (Javadian, & Singh, 2012). To give an example, the gender stereotype that women cannot be mothers and entrepreneurs at the same time is even more severe for women from patriarchal countries such as Japan as women there should not even have a job not to mention to create their own business (Cho et al., 2020).

Interestingly, after analysing the articles, no culturally unique gender stereotypes were found that solely apply to women from western countries. However, two articles thematised some culturally unique gender stereotypes that target women from some African and Asian countries.

### Stereotype 1: Female Entrepreneurs are not Honourable

Two articles highlighted the gender stereotype that in specific cultures, such as in the Nabdam community and Iran, it is not well-seen that women work for their money (Anambane & Adom, 2018). According to these cultures, women should not chase money. They should rather stay at home and take care of their husband and children (Javadian, & Singh, 2012). Otherwise, they are seen as too money-focused and industrious (Anambane & Adom, 2018). This results in the stereotype that women who strive for an entrepreneurial career are not honourable individuals (Javadian, & Singh, 2012). Further, the articles also describe that when female entrepreneurs go against those gender stereotypes and establish a successful business, they are seen as disrespectful humans (Anambane & Adom, 2018).

### Stereotype 2: Female Entrepreneurs are Witches

Solely, one article pointed at the gender stereotype that women in African countries can encounter is that successful female entrepreneurs are witches (Anambane & Adom, 2018). The article explained that women in these cultures often have to hear that they either use witchcraft or voodoo to run their business (Anambane & Adom, 2018). Successful male entrepreneurs did not hear such accusations. This displays that people of these cultures cannot combine the idea of being a woman and a successful entrepreneur. The connection to witchcraft is anything but admiral. Hence, this stereotype negatively influences the entrepreneurial intentions of international women because they do not want to be associated with such a stereotype as it can have a negative impact on their lives (Anambane & Adom, 2018).

### **Stereotype 3: Entrepreneurship is for Uneducated Women**

Another gender stereotype that one article pointed at was that women from certain African countries such as Ghana were not well seen when following their entrepreneurial intention because society believed that they did not have any other option than to establish their own business (Anambane & Adom, 2018). They associated female entrepreneurial intentions with a failure in previous jobs or a lower education which hinders them from obtaining a job in a company. In these districts, female entrepreneurs have no or low levels of education. Women

who have a high level of education aim to work in the government sector (Anambane & Adom, 2018).

# Sub-Question 3: How are Gender Stereotypes that Influence the Entrepreneurial Intentions of Women Developed and Maintained?

After analysing the stereotypes that hinder women's entrepreneurial intentions, it is vital to understand how these stereotypes are formed. The majority of studies reported in Table 3 did not provide well-grounded explanations on how these stereotypes are created. When articles vaguely took up the subject of the development of these gender stereotypes, they mainly focused on how gender roles always existed and, thus, such stereotypes could develop. Only the article of Wheadon and Duval-Couetil (2019) took a step further to explain how such gender stereotypes are developed and claimed that the media play an essential role in developing gender stereotypes. To support this claim, they used the television programme "Shark Tank". This programme is about individuals who intend to create their own business or extend it, henceforth, asking for funding. The authors described six ways how this show contributed to the development of gender stereotypes. After reviewing the article, it was apparent that the article only focused on gender stereotypes that apply to women worldwide, but it did not provide an overview of how culturally unique gender stereotypes were created.

First, the show not only has more male investors than females (3:1 ratio), but it also displays twice as many male entrepreneurs than female entrepreneurs by having more men in the show and providing them more screen time. This reinforces the idea that female entrepreneurs are still not the norm (Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019). Second, women tend to negotiate less than men when offered a worse deal than they had proposed. In general, women asked for 63% less money than their male counterparts. By showing this, the idea that women lack assertiveness is shown (Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019). Third, women were displayed as not having the necessary skills to become successful entrepreneurs. They were described as risk-aversive, inexperienced and as too emotional (Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019).

Fourth, in ½ of the episode's, women were shown to call their partners whether they should or not take a deal demonstrating that they could not take important decisions on their own. No man was shown calling his relatives for decisions (Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019). Fifth, women never described themselves as entrepreneurs but rather as mothers who stay at home and want to earn some extra money. This reinforces the idea that women are not "real"

entrepreneurs (Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019). Sixthly, even the female investor was not taking it seriously. When a participant chose the woman as an investor instead of one of the male investors, the head jury often commented that she did not know what she was doing and how the other men lost against her. This behaviour shows that even when a woman is a successful entrepreneur, she might still not be taken seriously by her male counterparts (Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019).

Even though Shark Tank is merely a television show, the narrator begins the show by telling viewers that what they are about to see is real. By doing this, the viewers accept this as the reality of entrepreneurship, which might reinforce gender stereotypes or even create them.

### **Sub-Question 4: What are the Consequences of These Gender Stereotypes?**

The included articles described how gender stereotypes influenced women's entrepreneurial intentions and what other consequences these stereotypes can bring. Despite the fact that gender stereotypes can encourage the entrepreneurial intentions of women, no other positive consequence was found when reviewing the literature. The four articles that thematised the consequences of gender stereotypes focussed on negative consequences such as the lack of support for women. All articles describe a lack of support either from their surroundings or bankers and funders (Anambane & Adom, 2018; Cho et al., 2020; BarNir, 2021; Suseno & Abbott, 2021). The articles explained that the lack of support from their family and friends makes it almost impossible for women to balance their role as entrepreneurs and mothers (Anambane & Adom, 2018).

Two articles also addressed the psychological burden that such stereotypes can cause (Anambane & Adom, 2018; BarNir, 2020). In those articles, women reported that being aware of gender stereotypes affect them psychologically. They started to have more self-doubts which often resulted in very low self-esteem (Anambane & Adom, 2018). One article also highlighted that because female entrepreneurs worried about not confirming gender stereotypes, they started to suffer from anxiety and panic attacks (Anambane & Adom, 2018).

Lastly, two articles focussed on women's venture preferences due to gender stereotypes (Anambane & Adom, 2018; BarNir, 2021). The articles described that to avoid catching too much attention and running the risk of confirming the gender stereotypes; they opt for smaller businesses (Anambane & Adom, 2018; BarNir, 2021). When women feel stereotyped, they prefer communal-typed ventures instead of agentic-typed ventures (BarNir, 2021). Henceforth,

gender stereotypes contribute to the underrepresentation of women in high-growth ventures (Anambane & Adom, 2018; BarNir, 2021).

### Sub-Question 5: What Possible Solutions Exist to Decrease Gender Stereotypes that Influence the Entrepreneurial Intentions of Women?

The literature review did not yield many articles regarding how the gender stereotypes could be combated and, as a result, increase the entrepreneurial intention of women. Three articles proposed two solutions to decrease the negative impact of gender stereotypes on women's entrepreneurial intentions (Hentschel et al., 2018; Sandhu et al., 2021; van Ewijk & Belghiti-Mhut, 2019). Two articles concluded that providing female students with entrepreneurial education can increase their entrepreneurial intentions (Sandhu et al., 2021; van Ewijk & Belghiti-Mhut, 2019). In one article, the researchers asked female students about their entrepreneurial intentions before entering different courses. The same questions were asked at the end of the academic year. Students who took an entrepreneurial course had significantly higher entrepreneurial intentions than their counterparts who took another course (van Ewijk & Belghiti-Mhut, 2019). The same finding was reported in the article from Sandhu et al. (2021), as it showed that entrepreneurial courses are the most effective way to increase female entrepreneurial intention. Furthermore, seminars and being involved in the activities of innovation/incubation centres can also increase women's entrepreneurial intentions.

Nevertheless, they did not provide any information on how the courses were built, providing almost no information on how universities should build entrepreneurial courses to enhance female entrepreneurial intentions. The only information given about the course is that students were separated by gender, meaning that female students received one course and male students received their course (Sandhu et al., 2021). Further, van Ewijk and Belghiti-Mhut (2019) suggested what factors entrepreneurial education must include in increasing the entrepreneurial intentions of female students. Those were course content and pedagogy settings.

The other solution to increase women's entrepreneurial intentions was presented in one article (Hentschel et al., 2018). It was based on the language used to present entrepreneurship, and it was proposed that it should either be presented as a female area or gender neutral (Hentschel et al., 2018). This could be achieved by paying particular attention to the words and images that are used when discussing entrepreneurship. To give an example, instead of using the masculine linguistic form (Unternehmer = entrepreneur masc.) as it is used as generic, the

gender-fair pair should be used (Unternehmer = entrepreneur masc. and Unternehmerin = entrepreneur fem.). In the educational setting, special attention should be paid to gender stereotypes. Otherwise, women will not develop entrepreneurial intentions (Hentschel et al., 2018).

#### **Discussion**

### **Principal Findings**

The first aim of this study was to identify the effect gender stereotypes had on women's entrepreneurial intentions. Six articles reported that gender stereotypes negatively influence the entrepreneurial intentions of women. Thus, gender stereotypes hinder women's intentions to become entrepreneurs. Furthermore, in one article, it was stated that gender stereotypes could act as a moderator variable in the relationship of self-efficacy, prior exposure to entrepreneurship and women's entrepreneurial intentions. The variables self-efficacy and prior exposure to entrepreneurship encourage women's entrepreneurial intentions. However, when women are aware of gender stereotypes, the positive effect of the variables is inhibited. Interestingly, two articles pointed out that gender stereotypes could positively affect women's entrepreneurial intentions. The articles explained that women saw such gender stereotypes as an incentive to display that women are capable of being successful entrepreneurs. In such cases, gender stereotypes have an encouraging influence on the entrepreneurial intentions of women.

The second aim of this study was to assess the gender stereotypes that influence women's entrepreneurial intentions worldwide. The articles pointed at three gender stereotypes that apply to women worldwide, independently of their culture and origin. The most reported gender stereotype (7 out of 15 studies) was that women had to be like men to become entrepreneurs. The other two gender stereotypes were each mentioned in three articles. Those were: "Women cannot be entrepreneurs and mothers" and "Women are not real entrepreneurs".

The third aim was to describe the culturally unique gender stereotypes and which women they target. After reviewing the literature, two articles were found that reported three culturally unique gender stereotypes targeting especially women from Ghana and Iran. The two articles focused on the gender stereotype: "Female entrepreneurs are not honourable". This gender stereotype indicated that it was not well seen when women desired to establish their businesses. Two other gender stereotypes were found in one article: "Female entrepreneurs are witches" and

"Entrepreneurship is for uneducated women". These gender stereotypes applied explicitly to women from African countries. This shows that women from non-Western cultures and ethnicities face more gender stereotypes that can influence their entrepreneurial intentions.

The fourth aim of this study was to investigate the development and maintenance processes of gender stereotypes. In reviewing the literature, only one article was found that paid significant attention to how these stereotypes about female entrepreneurship are developed. The focus of the article was on media, more precisely on the television programme Shark Tank. It was explained that such shows could play a crucial role in establishing such stereotypes as they present women as less capable of being an entrepreneur.

The fifth aim was to address other consequences these gender stereotypes could have. As explained above, gender stereotypes can encourage women to become entrepreneurs. Apart from this, reviewing the literature demonstrated that gender stereotypes only had negative consequences for aspiring female entrepreneurs. The articles described that due to gender stereotypes, women receive less funding and support when creating their business. Furthermore, they opt for smaller businesses compared to men to reduce attention in case they fail as entrepreneurs.

The final aim was to present solutions to overcome these gender stereotypes. Also, here, the literature was relatively sparse. Here, only two studies were found that emphasise the importance of entrepreneurial education to decrease the stereotypes about female entrepreneurs and the use of gender-fair language when promoting entrepreneurship.

### **Interpretations of the Results**

Although the relationship between gender stereotypes and female entrepreneurial intentions was rather unexplored, several gender stereotypes that hinder women's entrepreneurial intentions were found, as explained above. Except that progress has been made to reach equality of genders in several life areas (Gupta et al., 2019), multiple researchers still presumed that gender stereotypes could be a crucial hindering factor for women to enter the world of entrepreneurship (Baron et al., 2001; Cowling & Taylor, 2001; Tonoyan et al., 2020). This is due to two factors. On the one hand, women are significantly more often stereotyped than men in job positions (Spencer et al., 1999). They are seen as less capable when it comes to professions in STEM, business or sports (Deemer et al., 2014; Greene et al., 2013; Shaffer et al., 2013; Shapiro & Williams, 2012; Woodcock et al., 2012).

On the other hand, entrepreneurship is a male-dominated field (Ahl, 2006). Therefore, people have difficulties associating women with this area. When thinking about entrepreneurs, mainly men like Bill Gates or Sam Walton are mentioned, and they are often used as role models to increase students' entrepreneurial intentions in entrepreneurial courses (Boje & Smith, 2010). As described in the results, entrepreneurial education is a valuable way of increasing entrepreneurial intentions (van Ewijk & Belghiti-Mhut, 2019). Nevertheless, in other studies, women have reported they missed having female role models and the lack of those made them question whether entrepreneurship would be the right path for them (Ahuja, 2002; Byrne et al., 2019; Trauth et al., 2016).

The assumptions made previously by researchers that gender stereotypes negatively influenced women's entrepreneurial intentions (Baron et al., 2001; Cowling & Taylor, 2001; Tonoyan et al., 2020), were supported by the findings of this study. Despite the articles not having explained fully why gender stereotypes have a negative effect on gender stereotypes, this effect can likely be described with the stereotype threat theory (Steele, 1997). When women feel that they are being stereotyped, they start to question whether they are capable of being successful in the job and often prefer a non-stereotyped career (Casad et al., 2019; Davies et al. 2002; Fogliani & Bussey, 2013; Gunderson et al., 2012; Günther et al., 2010; Inzlicht & Kang 2010; Steinberg et al., 2012). Surprisingly, two of the included articles in this integrative literature review reported that gender stereotypes influenced the entrepreneurial intentions of certain women positively. This might have been due to certain personality traits of women, such as high levels of self-esteem and assertiveness. Nevertheless, previous studies have demonstrated that when individuals want to show that such gender stereotypes are false, they are more likely to perform worse (O'Brien & Crandall, 2003; Spencer et al., 1999). Henceforth, it would be interesting to investigate whether the women who reported that gender stereotypes encouraged their entrepreneurial intentions also followed these intentions and became entrepreneurs.

Moving on to consider the gender stereotype that women cannot be entrepreneurs and mothers simultaneously, two sides can be presented. On the one hand, this gender stereotype might be present because women still do not feel comfortable admitting that they prefer the role of entrepreneur to that of the mother. As indicated in the article by Kraiser and Mota-Santos (2021), women reported that they felt judged, putting entrepreneurship above motherhood. This resulted in them putting more effort into their role as mothers and neglecting their role as

entrepreneurs. Moreover, in society, women are still seen as responsible for the children, whereas men are less involved in the education of the children (Adom, 2015). Therefore, women tend to balance both roles, which is not the case for men (Anna et al., 2000).

On the other hand, due to the term *mompreneur* having received more attention in the last years, the gender stereotype that women cannot be mothers and entrepreneurs at the same time might slowly lose its impact. This newly created term describes a woman who balances motherhood and her business (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Mothers affirmed that their entrepreneurial intentions increased after becoming mothers and thus decided to launch their own business (Rogers, 2012). The increase of entrepreneurial intentions of mothers could be traced back to two things. Firstly, when they thought about taking care of the children best, they brainstormed about different ideas that led to creating new products (Rogers, 2012). One example was a mother who needed a board book for her daughter who had speech problems. As she could not find such a piece, she decided to create her own and start a business. Secondly, mothers wanted to become role models for their children and entered entrepreneurship (Rogers, 2012). Nevertheless, so-called *mompreneurs* often receive the question of whether that is a real career (Weidhaas, 2020). This accusation reinforces the idea that women are not seen as real entrepreneurs and that their business is instead seen as a hobby.

Having now discussed some of the gender stereotypes that affect all women independently of their culture, the following section deals with the gender stereotypes that affected women from non-western countries. Such countries tend to be more patriarchal and have difficulties accepting women working, not to mention being independent in their work (Collinson & Hearn, 1998; Singh & Sebastian, 2018). Hence, this gender stereotype that female entrepreneurs are not honourable might persist for a more extended time as such societies must change the role of women before the stereotypes can be tackled (Javadian, & Singh, 2012). These findings can be of particular value for understanding the low entrepreneurial intentions of international female students. Even when they leave their native country, they might still be influenced by the culturally-based gender stereotypes of female entrepreneurs and decide against becoming entrepreneurs.

Regarding the development of such gender stereotypes, the articles have been unable to answer this sub-question fully. Only one article focused on developing gender stereotypes in which the authors described the importance of the media. This may be explained by the fact that

the media play a significant role in the lives of individuals (Grabowski, 2009). However, it was hoped that more insights could be gained into why women are viewed as less capable of becoming entrepreneurs in the media. Additionally, this explanation was only applicable to the gender stereotypes that apply to all women, but the development of culturally unique gender stereotypes could not be explained using this approach. A further study with more focus on the development of culturally unique gender stereotypes is therefore suggested.

Based on the consequences of gender stereotypes that were found in this study, the question arises whether the process of self-fulling prophecy contributes to the maintenance of gender stereotypes. This is because women are less likely to receive funding from banks and receive significantly less support from their surroundings when starting a business (Cho et al., 2020). The low financial capital and the lack of support reduce the chance of creating a successful business or expanding it, reinforcing the idea that women cannot be successful entrepreneurs (Anambane & Adom, 2018; Cho et al., 2020; BarNir, 2021; Suseno & Abbott, 2021). This could create a vicious circle. Due to gender stereotypes, bankers might believe women will not be able to use the money to become successful entrepreneurs. Thus, they refuse the investment. Without the investment, women cannot establish a successful business. Based on this idea, a further study with more focus on gender stereotypes in the entrepreneurship field and self-fulling prophecy is suggested.

## Limitations and Strengths of the Study

The generalisability of these results is subject to certain limitations. For instance, the scope of this study was limited to one psychological aspect - gender stereotypes. Based on the findings, the relationship between gender stereotypes and female entrepreneurial intentions was established. Nevertheless, as explained in the introduction, previous research has neglected psychological aspects when exploring the low entrepreneurial intentions of women. This integrative review focused only on one of many psychological aspects. Considerably more work will need to be done to determine whether other psychological factors such as attitudes, perception, or motivations influence women's entrepreneurial intentions.

Next, it was not possible to authenticate causality with this integrative literature as none of the included articles focused on this matter. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether gender stereotypes cause low entrepreneurial intention of women. It can only be said that there

exists a relationship between the two variables (BarNir, 2021). The issue of causality is an intriguing one that could be usefully explored in further research. Henceforth, it is recommended that researchers develop an experiment in which they first measure women's entrepreneurial intentions, make them aware of the different gender stereotypes, and measure entrepreneurial intentions again. By doing this, it would be possible to see whether gender stereotypes indeed cause low entrepreneurial intentions of women.

Lastly, not a complete picture of the relationship between gender stereotypes and entrepreneurial intentions of women could be obtained. To give an example, no insight could be gained on developing the gender stereotypes that occur in non-western countries. This insight would be essential to be able to break those stereotypes. This lack of information might be based on the limited empirical research on this topic which this integrative literature review relied on.

Despite the limitations of this study, it also had some significant strengths. Firstly, this was, to the author's knowledge, the first literature review on the topic of female entrepreneurial intentions and gender stereotypes. Several insights could be gained, about gender stereotypes that affect all women and gender stereotypes that only apply to certain cultures. Furthermore, information about how these gender stereotypes are maintained and developed, the consequences of those stereotypes and ways to diminish the presence of those were described. These findings contribute in several ways to our understanding of the relationship between gender stereotypes and entrepreneurial intentions of women.

Additionally, it provides a basis for future research that will be thematised in more detail in the following paragraphs. Moreover, this study showed the complexity of gender stereotypes as there is not one gender stereotype but multiple ones that influence women's entrepreneurial intentions. In addition, it could be seen that culture plays another central factor in the content of these gender stereotypes. Most importantly, it showed that it is more difficult than expected to explain the influence of gender stereotypes on women's entrepreneurial intentions as this study showed that gender stereotypes could influence women's entrepreneurial intentions in three different ways.

Moreover, the women in the included articles showed diversity, which facilitates generalising the results to most women. Women from all age groups and the different educational levels ranging from low to high were represented in the different articles.

Furthermore, articles from all continents were included, reinforcing the idea that specific gender stereotypes from different regions of the world were found.

## **Implications for Future Research**

Providing more entrepreneurial education to women might already be the first step that must be taken to rupture those gender stereotypes. By putting more emphasis on female entrepreneurs in entrepreneurial courses, the gender stereotype "Women must be like men to become entrepreneurs" can be broken as female role models demonstrate that being a woman and an entrepreneur are not two distinctive things (Inzlicht & Schmader, 2012; Marx et al., 2013; McIntyre et al., 2005; von Hippel et al., 2011). It is, however, important that female students identify with the role models; hence, role models should meet the cultural background and area of interest of students (Marx & Roman, 2002; Marx et al., 2009).

Additionally, mompreneurs should also be included as role models and the advantages of combining these two roles (mother and entrepreneur) should be presented Female entrepreneurs who are also mothers summarised the benefits of playing both roles simultaneously (Verheul et al., 2007). Firstly, they earned an extra income which they used to help their families. Secondly, being an entrepreneur helped them to balance their time at work and with family. They mentioned that this balance would not be possible for salaried employees. Thirdly, they felt fulfilled and happy, making them more patient and better mothers for their children (Verheul et al., 2007). Furthermore, it is important to also highlight the more feminine traits that contribute to successful entrepreneurship such as being relationship-oriented, nurturing, and caring (De Bruin et al., 2007). In co-educated classes, it might be difficult only to emphasise female role models. It is of utmost importance to present entrepreneurship as gender-neutral as possible (Hentschel et al., 2018).

However, this might not be enough. As explained above, when women perceive the gender-stereotype threat as high, the effects of entrepreneurial education are lowered (BarNir, 2021). Consequently, other steps must be taken to tackle this issue. One potential solution would be to use the media. As mentioned, programmes such as "Shark Tank" contribute to the maintenance of gender stereotypes (Wheadon &Duval-Couetil, 2019), so it would be a solution to use such programmes to break those gender stereotypes. A reality show could be produced that would follow different female entrepreneurs and show how they succeed in

entrepreneurship. This would provide women access to role models and slowly change the perspective that entrepreneurship is for men.

## Conclusion

This study showed the complexity of the relationship between gender stereotypes and women's entrepreneurial intentions. The findings suggested that gender stereotypes can have different effects on the entrepreneurial intentions of women. It can either encourage or discourage women from becoming entrepreneurs. Additionally, gender stereotypes also moderate the relationship between self-efficacy, prior exposure to entrepreneurship and women's entrepreneurial intention negatively. Thus, again gender stereotypes have a negative influence on the entrepreneurial intentions of women.

Furthermore, three gender stereotypes were found that influence women's entrepreneurial intentions worldwide independently of their cultural background. Those were: "Women are not real entrepreneurs", "Women cannot be mothers and entrepreneurs", and "Women have to be like men to become entrepreneurs". The last-mentioned gender stereotype was the most investigated in research as it appeared in seven out of the fifteen articles.

Additionally to the found gender stereotypes that applied to women worldwide, there were also found gender stereotypes that only influence women's entrepreneurial intentions from certain cultures, suggesting that women from particular cultures suffer more from gender stereotypes. Those culturally unique gender stereotypes were: "Female entrepreneurs are honourable", "Female entrepreneurship is for uneducated women", and "Female entrepreneurs use witchcraft". These gender stereotypes applied especially to women from non-western countries such as Ghana and Iran.

Next, solely one article focussed on the maintenance and development of gender stereotypes that influence women's entrepreneurial intentions. The article pointed out that the media plays a central factor in the maintenance of such gender stereotypes. Moreover, this study focused on other consequences of those gender stereotypes. Apart from gender stereotypes being able to encourage women's entrepreneurial intentions, other consequences remain negative. Due to such gender stereotypes, women receive less support, suffer from psychological disorders and opt for smaller businesses. Lastly, two solutions were presented to confront these gender stereotypes. Those were entrepreneurial education and gender-neutral language when presenting entrepreneurship.

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Appendix A:
PRISMA guidelines for systematic reviews and meta-analyses

Section and Topic	Checklist item	The location where the item is reported
TITLE		
Title	Identify the report as a systematic review	1
ABSTRACT		
Abstract	See the PRISMA 2020 for Abstracts checklist.	5
INTRODUCTION		
Rationale	Describe the rationale for the review in the context of existing knowledge.	11
Objectives	Provide an explicit statement of the objective(s) or question(s) the review addresses.	11
METHODS		

Eligibility criteria	Specify the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the review and how studies were grouped for the syntheses.	12
Information sources	Specify all databases, registers, websites, organisations, reference lists and other sources searched or consulted to identify studies. Specify the date when each source was last searched or consulted.	14
Search strategy	Present the entire search strategies for all databases, registers and websites, including any filters and limits used.	13
Selection process	Specify the methods used to decide whether a study met the review's inclusion criteria, including how many reviewers screened each record and each report retrieved, whether they worked independently, and, if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	16
Data collection process	Specify the methods used to collect data from reports, including how many reviewers collected data from each report, whether they worked independently, any processes for obtaining or confirming data from study investigators, and, if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	14
Data items	List and define all outcomes for which data were sought. Specify whether all results that were compatible with each outcome domain in each study were sought (e.g. for all measures, time points, analyses), and if not, the methods used to decide which results to collect.  List and define all other variables for which data were sought (e.g. participant and intervention	16
	characteristics, funding sources). Describe any assumptions made about any missing or unclear information.	

Study risk of bias assessment	Specify the methods used to assess the risk of bias in the included studies, including details of the tool(s) used, how many reviewers assessed each study and whether they worked independently, and if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	12
Effect measures	Specify for each outcome the effect measure(s) (e.g. risk ratio, mean difference) used in the synthesis or presentation of results.	-
Synthesis methods	Describe the processes used to decide which studies were eligible for each synthesis (e.g. tabulating the study intervention characteristics and comparing against the planned groups for each synthesis.	-
	Describe any methods required to prepare the data for presentation or synthesis, such as handling missing summary statistics or data conversions.	
	Describe any methods used to tabulate or visually display the results of individual studies and syntheses.	
	Describe any methods used to synthesise results and provide a rationale for the choice(s). If meta- analysis was performed, describe the model(s), method(s) to identify the presence and extent of statistical heterogeneity, and software package(s) used.	
	Describe any methods used to explore possible causes of heterogeneity among study results (e.g. subgroup analysis, meta-regression).	

	Describe any sensitivity analyses conducted to assess the robustness of the synthesised results.	
Reporting bias assessment	Describe any methods used to assess the risk of bias due to missing results in a synthesis (arising from reporting biases).	-
Certainty assessment	Describe any methods used to assess certainty (or confidence) in the body of evidence for an outcome.	-
RESULTS		
Study selection	Describe the search and selection process results, from the number of records identified in the search to the number of studies included in the review, ideally using a flow diagram.	16
	Cite studies that might appear to meet the inclusion criteria but were excluded, and explain why they were excluded.	
Study characteristics	Cite each included study and present its characteristics.	18
Risk of bias in studies	Present assessments of risk of bias for each included study.	-
Results of individual studies	For all outcomes, present, for each study: (a) summary statistics for each group (where appropriate) and (b) an effect estimate and its precision (e.g. confidence/credible interval), ideally using structured tables or plots.	-
Results of syntheses	For each synthesis, briefly summarise the characteristics and risk of bias among contributing studies.	-

	Present results of all statistical syntheses conducted. If meta-analysis was done, present for each the summary estimate and its precision (e.g. confidence/credible interval) and measures of statistical heterogeneity. If comparing groups, describe the direction of the effect.  Present results of all investigations of possible causes of heterogeneity among study results.  Present results of all sensitivity analyses conducted to assess the robustness of the synthesized results.	
Reporting biases	Present assessments of risk of bias due to missing results (arising from reporting biases) for each synthesis assessed.	-
Certainty of evidence	Present assessments of certainty (or confidence) in the body of evidence for each outcome assessed.	-
DISCUSSION		
Discussion	Provide a general interpretation of the results in the context of other evidence.	35
	Discuss any limitations of the evidence included in the review.	38
	Discuss any limitations of the review processes used.	
	Discuss implications of the results for practice, policy, and future research.	39

OTHER INFORMATION		
Registration and protocol	Provide registration information for the review, including register name and registration number, or state that the review was not registered.	-
	Indicate where the review protocol can be accessed or state that a protocol was not prepared.	
	Describe and explain any amendments to the information provided at registration or in the protocol.	
Support	Describe sources of financial or non-financial support for the review, and the role of the funders or sponsors in the review.	-
Competing interests	Declare any competing interests of review authors.	-
Availability of data, code and other materials	Report which of the following are publicly available and where they can be found: template data collection forms; data extracted from included studies; data used for all analyses; analytic code; any other materials used in the review.	-