

5. Cultural repertoires of the division of labour market and family responsibilities between Slovak entrepreneurial couples and their gendered nature

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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary research in the area of entrepreneurship highlights the contextual embeddedness of entrepreneurship. The emphasis on context is based notably on criticism of the conventional entrepreneurial research, which mostly applied an individual perspective and disregarded structural influences, which both restrict and enable entrepreneurship (Welter, 2011). As pointed out by some authors, gender may even be understood as a central category influencing, and influenced by, all other contexts (Welter, 2011). Family embeddedness is understood as one of those contexts influencing entrepreneurship (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Brush et al., 2014; Dyer, 2003; Heck and Trent, 1999; Welter, 2011), studying the influence of this environment also upsets the conventional idea of entrepreneurship as a gender-neutral concept (Garcia and Welter, 2011).

Although there is no absolute agreement on the term copreneurs (Fitzgerald and Muske, 2002), general papers concur that they are partners (married couples or 'romantic partners') who share their responsibilities in both business and family, work and intimate spheres. Copreneurs are different from other family businesses in that they have a close relationship between the partners: they function as a whole or as a system (Marshall, 1994, p.52). Blenkinsopp and Owens (2010, p.359) mention that the union is realized through the 'romantic element' of partnership, which makes this unit specific and convenient for studying family and entrepreneurial dynamics. We challenge the romantic nature of this element – not all copreneurial couples need have a romantic component. We assume that the partnership element is similar to other partnerships in business – as Kamm

and Nurick (1993) noted – work with other people who you admire, know and trust is one of the most important elements for joining a new firm. The specificity of the partnership element in entrepreneurial couples is that it could work in the process of dividing up work and household roles, which are interconnected in those couples. This characteristic helps us to face the critique of the usual definition of copreneurship as a gendered concept – the thing is that traditional definitions are based on ownership, commitment, the condition of shared risk, or joint establishment of the business and so on (Fitzgerald and Muske 2002, p.4), ignoring the family sphere.

From this point of view, copreneurship appears to be a convenient setting where – due to the tight linkage between the home and work spheres – we can study the family embeddedness of entrepreneurship and the gendered nature of this embeddedness (Blenkinsopp and Owens, 2010). In this research we specifically study discursive practices about division of tasks at home and at work, paying close attention to how those practices are gendered and embedded in cultural settings. We approach this topic through the concept of cultural repertoires in an attempt to uncover the apparent automaticity of this division. Through revealing the gendered nature of the arguments used, we can reveal arguments that are used to justify inequalities in this area.

Focus on this area is particularly important because we can study the specificity of copreneurial couples to other entrepreneurship partners, focusing on the role of the partnership element in combination with sharing responsibilities at home and at work. Studies on specific aspects of copreneurship are very rare. We can also approach how the seemingly unquestioned reasoning of division of household and work tasks is embedded in culture (through studying cultural repertoires) and how this is gendered. This can reveal reasons for some conflicts in understanding the role of the entrepreneur and their partner, either at home or at work. Understanding those conflicts can help copreneurs to gain balance in the division of roles in both spheres. A focus on the specific context – Slovakia as a post-Communist country – could enrich contemporary research in two ways. First, not much research has been done on the social aspects of entrepreneurship in post-Communist countries in comparison to western countries, so we can give heightened attention to this context. Second, it can show how specific features coming from the Communist past and now are embedded in norms, values and attitudes (looking at it through cultural repertoires) and how those influence the form of copreneurship.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the literature review we will first describe the current trends in research into copreneurship and how our research fits in this. We will then describe in more detail the concept of cultural repertoires, which is our theoretical framework. As we would like to study the gendered nature of talking about the division of roles at home and at work, we will continue with an explanation of our approach to gender, and finally we will show more in detail the Slovak context, which influences the arguments used for division of roles in couples.

Research into Copreneurship

Research into copreneurs has already studied the division of roles between partners. Since it did not deal with the domestic sphere in the early stages, it produced the notion that shared responsibilities in the business imply sharing responsibilities in the home sphere as well (Bowman, 2009, p.10). Kathy Marshack (1994, 1998) has taken a critical stand against this notion and found that the actual division of roles between the home and work spheres is rather traditional – men have the main leading role in the business (McAdam and Marlow, 2012; Smith, 2000). This is due to not only the gendered nature of roles in society but also the greater effort of women to avoid conflict and thus conform to socially recognized roles rather than oppose them (Larsen, 2006). Moreover, the division of traditional roles between the work and home spheres leads to a heroization of men's roles in the work sphere (Connell, 2005; Williams, 2001), women's increasing invisibility in business (McAdam and Marlow, 2012) and belittling of domestic work. The rather traditional division of roles attributed to copreneurship therefore attributes different values to each of the spheres. The notion of equal division of roles in copreneurship has also been criticized by Maura McAdam and Susan Marlow. They decided to study the less frequent configurations where a woman is in the leading position of an enterprise (McAdam and Marlow, 2012). The neglected 'invisible' role of women has also been criticized. For example, Sharon M. Danes and Patricia D. Olson focused their research on companies where an invisible role of women is expected (companies owned by their male partners). In reality, however, their results indicated that the range of women's roles is broad, often highly visible (Danes and Olson, 2003).

However, none of the papers deals with various types of arrangements in a single research project, which is what we attempt here. This focus enables us to assess the universal or specific nature of arguments used for division of roles in various arrangements. We follow up on our previous

research where we studied also a post-Communist environment, specifically the Czech Republic. Our research showed that formal and informal institutions influence the division of roles in both family and household and thus it is highly gendered in the Czech Republic (Dlouhá et al., 2014; Jurik et al., 2016; Křížková et al., 2014). Research in a Slovak setting as presented in this chapter looks deeper into the specificity of copreneurial couples – a combination of partnership element and interconnectedness between the home and work spheres.

Cultural Repertoires

We have chosen the theoretical framework of cultural repertoires for our research. It is based on an understanding of culture as a ‘toolkit’ (Lamont, 1992, 1995, 1999; Swidler, 1986, 2001). According to Ann Swidler, we cannot understand the influence of culture on action as defining goals and values, but as providing tools from which individuals choose and based on which they construct more long-term action strategies (Silber, 2003, p.431; Swidler, 1986, p.273; Weber, 2005, p.228). In this understanding, culture (or cultural repertoires) represents a store of available tools – rituals, symbols, customs, stories, abilities, worldviews and acting styles that can be used in various configurations to solve various types of problems (Swidler, 1986). Both individuals and groups choose among them based on the situation and which of them are available, and they mobilize them at both the discursive and interactive levels in their actions. Cultural repertoires describe both the enabling and limiting effects of culture on actions – they are limiting, limited, flexible and relatively stable, but never absolutely static and closed (Silber, 2003, p.431). They exist independently of actors and are available to them, but they are also grasped, used and practically reshaped by them (Lamont and Thèvenot, 2000, pp.5–6; Silber, 2003, p.438). An individual’s freedom consists of the fact that he or she can choose and construct strategies, which permit a great variability of action. The fact that an individual utilizes a certain repertoire does not mean that he or she has no alternatives in the form of other repertoires (Grznár et al., 2014). That said, repertoires are often internally heterogeneous – they contain diverse, even contradictory elements and tools. Neither action nor repertoires have to be internally coherent or systematic; the contrary is true: the concept permits improvisation, dissonance and even logical contradiction between components. Following on this theoretical approach, we formulate our research question – how copreneurs in our research utilize specific cultural repertoires in talking about the division of labour in the home or work spheres, and what repertoires, components and tools they choose and what positions the individuals hold in the business and the family based on these repertoires.

Gender as Doing Structures

We understand entrepreneurial and gender roles not as something stable but rather as something negotiated, socially constructed. We thus build on social constructivism (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; West and Zimmerman, 1987). In agreement with West and Zimmerman (1987, p.145), we see gender as constantly done in social interactions. Through doing gender people sustain, reproduce and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex categories (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p.146).

The concept of cultural repertoire provides space to study the gendered nature of talking about roles in entrepreneurial couples. Entrepreneurs use cultural repertoires as narrative resources or sets of discursive practices that are used for each other's role at home and in entrepreneurship. We see gender relations as being produced in talking about the division of roles through rational sorting and optimal matching of tasks to household members and alignment with the roles of husband, wife, man or woman (Berk, 1985). They negotiate their own identities and roles in relation to their vision of masculinities and femininities (similarly to Redman, 2001). In our research we focus on doing gender as doing structures (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014). We see assumptions about work and family roles as gendered, and through cultural repertoires we would like to reveal how those structures are augmented as natural. Women and men in our research talked about their and their partner's roles at home and at work and through this they reveal their assumptions about women's and men's role in those spheres. So we study how structures become gendered through talking about roles at home and work and how those structures shape entrepreneur's expressions.

Slovak Setting

Since we are interested in the gendered nature of talking about division of roles between the home and work spheres in the Slovak setting, we focus on the values, norms and attitudes corresponding to it, specifically those connected to the roles of men and women in the family and household. Based on the approach of Aidis et al. (2007), who focuses on the nature of gender relationships in transition countries, we have defined our principal spheres of interest: traditional attitudes to the position of women and men on the labour market, religious values, the view of entrepreneurship (as a male activity), family values and values originating from the Socialist past (Aidis et al., 2007; Welter et al., 2003).

The Slovak setting is influenced by the country's Socialist past. The tradi-

tion of private ownership and entrepreneurship was interrupted until the Velvet Revolution of 1989, when the centrally planned economy slowly began to transform into a market economy. In the Socialist period, there was a pressure for full employment both for women and men, but there was quite strong vertical and horizontal segregation of the labour market (Čermáková, 1995). Due to traditional division of roles at home, women were expected to do unpaid housework in addition to their paid jobs (known as double burden) (True, 2003, p.39), which is still common today. The situation is supported by the strong Roman Catholic tradition: 68.9 per cent of the population professed Catholicism in 2002 (Výrost, 2011, p.10). Nowadays there is a predominant notion (among both men and women) that both partners ought to contribute to the family budget (Výrost, 2011), influenced among other things by the low wages in Slovakia and the necessity to secure the family with double incomes. At the same time, there is an enduring opinion that women should care for the family, while men's role is understood as the financial provision of the family (Bútorová, 2008). The conviction of the natural division of roles between the family and the work sphere also leads to men not perceiving women as equally capable in the work sphere with men (Bútorová, 2008). However, the emphasis on the traditional division of roles disrupts the men's sense of identity, particularly in consequence of the economic crisis, which has often jeopardized their breadwinning roles. Care for children under school age is also seen as a woman's primary task (Výrost, 2011). Parents generally prefer home care for preschool children to institutional care (Bodnárová et al., 2005). This depends on multiple factors: the long parental leave, which is three years in Slovakia (Bednárík, 2012); the low availability of childcare services (Bodnárová et al., 2005); and the traditional idea that a preschool child suffers if the mother does not dedicate herself to the child adequately (Výrost, 2011).

As for the entrepreneurial orientations and attitudes, Slovaks consider entrepreneurial opportunities to be extremely low compared to other European Union (EU) countries (Amorós and Bosma, 2014) and women perceived even less opportunities than men (Pilková et al., 2015). In 2014 the same percentage of women as men perceived entrepreneurship as a good career choice, but women felt that they have fewer capabilities than men and they have a much greater fear of failure (Pilková et al., 2015). Generally speaking, the perceived drawbacks of Slovakia's business environment include inadequate state support to small and medium-sized enterprises, a high administrative burden, and a lack of enterprise support schemes (GEM, 2014). Within the EU, Slovakia is a country with one of the highest proportions of necessity-driven business¹ (women and men start an enterprise out of necessity in 36 per cent of the cases) (Kelley et al., 2012).

METHODOLOGY

Since we decided to study micropractices of negotiating and constructing roles at the couple level, we chose a qualitative methodology – in-depth interviews. Qualitative methods are also suitable because they provide a more egalitarian collaborative relationship with participants (McDowell, 2011). We chose to do in-depth interviews because we could catch arguments used in reasoning copreneurial division of household/business tasks. Those arguments are very often undeclared in everyday interaction; through interviews we can challenge this naturalness.² Interviews could serve not only for studying the form of cultural repertoires, but also specific ways they are used. Our interview partners were copreneurs and we stressed the importance of the partnership element and sharing of home and work spheres. Hearing both sides was thus important – to see not only their own view of their own roles but also their partner's roles. We decided to do separate interviews because we would like to hear the suppressed voices – mostly it is women who are engaged in business in invisible positions (Lewis and Massey, 2011). That is why in our search for copreneurs we apply a definition of copreneurs similar to that mentioned by Fitzgerald and Muske (2002), that is, self-definition by respondents. In our opinion, this definition is best at describing the invisible roles as well, be they held by male or female entrepreneurs.

We concentrated on entrepreneurial couples engaged in the same business in various positions. In connection to previous research, we did not want to study only 'typical' couples – those where the man is in the leading position, or 'extreme' cases, where the woman is the leader. We therefore searched for joint enterprises where partners work in various positions (choice of maximum case variation: Neergaard, 2007, p.262), not from a formal point of view as much as an informal one (based on whom the entrepreneurs regarded as the main person in the business). We thus strove to include in our sample enterprises where the main position is attributed to the woman, the man, where the positions are divided equally and where there is an unequal division but without a leading position. We did not want the results to be affected by the gendered nature of the line of work that the copreneurs follow, so we searched for entrepreneurial couples in sectors that are not regarded as typically male or female. At the same time, due to our focus on negotiating roles within a couple, we chose businesses of a smaller size (up to 20 employees), as we assumed larger companies not to have such frequent contact between the partners and negotiation of roles. Due to these requirements (notably the requirement to identify different variations on the division of roles in the business) and due to the unavailability of official data that would describe entrepreneurial couples as we have defined them, we chose to make our selection in several ways.

We searched for copreneurs through our acquaintances, business clubs and business support organizations, as we expected they would be able to recommend entrepreneurs with the given characteristics. Simultaneously, we searched for entrepreneurial couples via the internet and various popularization articles from which we could learn more about their arrangements. In total, interviews with 11 couples with the given characteristics were conducted. The couples' detailed characteristics are shown in Table 5.1.

The interviews were made with each of the partners separately, thus totaling 21 interviews (one of the male entrepreneurs declined to participate). Since we were interested in what repertoires the different male and female entrepreneurs utilize when talking about dividing their responsibilities in the home and work spheres, we focused on these issues in the interviews: how the communicating partner views their own role, their partner's role, or the shared role (and those of other actors such as the broader family, institutions, and so forth, if any). The interviews took from 45 to 90 minutes, and were carried out in late 2014 and early 2015.

The process of interviewing could be influenced also by the interview situation. The interviews were conducted by female researchers, so the gender could have been done not only by words, in revealed repertoires, but also in the interview situation and influence statements (Deutsch, 2007). It was present in the interviews, for example, when a female interviewer asked a male participant about his role at home. Sometimes they didn't feel comfortable, because they felt that there is an expectation (from the interviewer) that they do those tasks. We noted the details of interview situations into field notes. The method of data production must be taken into account while reading the analysis and results.

ANALYSIS

In the analysis we searched for cultural repertoires used for talking about roles in work and home spheres. Culture was seen as resources and strategies of action, while cultural repertoires were viewed as patterns or common ways to do something (Swidler, 1986). We were looking for the arguments supporting a certain arrangement of dividing tasks between the home and work spheres. We were looking not only to the repertoires but also into the praxis of using them. The aim was to see not only the form of those repertoires, but also the combination of different repertoires used, and possible conflict in the usage. For this reason we used the analytical steps designed by Gioia et al. (2012). In connection to this methodology, we focused in the first phase generally on the reasoning in talking about the speakers' roles in the enterprise and the home sphere and the principles of

Table 5.1 List of interview respondents (pseudonyms only)

Couple	Pseudonyms	Age	Number and age of children	Number of employees	Role in entrepreneurship	Business type	Region
1	Krištof Katarina	18–34	1 (0–5 years old)	Less than 10	Equal	Creative product/sales	Rural
2	Lubica	50 and up	2 (both 25 and up)	From 10 to 20	Man is head	Service	Urban
3	Paulina Pavol	18–34	1 (0–5 years old)	Less than 10	Woman is head	Sales	Urban
4	Juraj Justína	35–50	3 (15–19, two others 25 and up)	Less than 10	Woman is head	Sales	Urban
5	Zdenko Zlatica	18–34	2 (both 0–5 years old)	Less than 10	Equal	Creative product/sales	Rural
6	Vratko Viera	50 and up	3 (20–24, two others 25 and up)	Less than 10	Man is head	Service	Urban
7	Danica Dušan	50 and up	2 (both 25 and up)	Less than 10	Man is head	Sales	Urban
8	Antónia Andrej	35–50	2 (15–19 and 20–24 years old)	Less than 10	Equal	Sales/Service	Rural
9	Ivo Ivica	50 and up	3 (15–19, two others 25 and up)	Less than 10	Equal	Sales	Urban
10	Belo Bea	18–34	0	Less than 10	Woman is head	Sales	Urban
11	Matúš Mária	50 and up	3 (all three 20–25 years old)	From 10 to 20	Man is head	Service	Urban

their division. This was an open coding phase. This produced several dozen codes. In the second step, we compared them and searched for similarities and differences among them (similarly to the axial coding of Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This produced several dozen first-order concepts – the first level of analysis; examples are mentioned in Table 5.2. In the next step, we followed the methodology of Gioia et al. (2012, p.20) to search for a structure inside these codes. Strauss and Corbin (1998) refer to an analogous step as theoretical sampling. This resulted in second-order themes, shown in Table 5.2. The repertoires were then compiled as the next step, as an aggregated dimension of the themes in the second level. This produced a total of five repertoires, used in the interviews in division of responsibilities and roles in both the work and home spheres. Table 5.2 illustrates the three levels of analysis.

In the final step, we created the structure and relationships among these categories (second-order themes and aggregated dimensions), which establish the structure of arguments and point at the interconnectedness of the repertoires and themes contained in them. This was the phase where we focused on praxis of using repertoires. Those relationships are described in the analysis part. Among other things, it highlights the fact that repertoires used in the work sphere may or may not be related to those used in the domestic sphere. It must also be noted that the different repertoires were not used exactly in this form and on their own. The repertoires used often mingled, or only parts were used, or they were used in slightly different ways. These differences will be indicated in the findings from the analysis.

FINDINGS

As already mentioned, the analysis revealed five repertoires used in talking about dividing roles and responsibilities in the home and work spheres. These were the traditional, function-based, responsibility, collective and competence-based repertoires. Each of the below paragraphs will describe one of the repertoires. First we will introduce the form of the repertoire in the work sphere, followed by the form in the domestic sphere. Afterwards, we will deal with if and how the repertoires were connected between the work and home spheres. Each repertoire description will be coupled with a description of situations in which it was used and in which it is of importance. For each repertoire, we will also point out how they exhibited the ‘partnership element’ and how it connects the work and home spheres, which is specific for copreneurship. The last two repertoires were less mentioned in the interviews, so we give them less space in the analysis. The analysis outcomes are accompanied by quotes that illustrate

Table 5.2 Data analysis by Gioia (2012) – from concepts to themes to aggregate dimensions

First-order concepts (examples)	Second-order themes	Aggregate dimensions
If a woman worked more in the firm she would be a bad mother Trying to achieve a compromise Childcare is the woman's task Career is more important for men because they are ambitious Work of partner at home is financial benefit for family ...	Home as symbolically women's and work as men's domain 'Typical' man's and woman's tasks Man as breadwinner, woman as caretaker Argument of 'natural' division Appreciation of partner's work Importance of consensus Trust, reliance on partner	Traditional repertoire
Doing housework because of interest in it (mainly women) Men don't do work at home because they don't like it Orientation of business based on skills of one of the partners ...	Division of tasks based on skills, will and interest Delegation of tasks to someone else (in case of lack of interest) Respect for partner's will in final decision (at work)	Competence-based repertoire
Leading role means responsibility for final decision Partner is a good leader Partner needs his/her space in his/her domain ...	Position in family/at work determines responsibility in this domain Admiration of the leader's competences (at work)	Functional repertoire

Entrepreneurship means that you have to do everything on your own	Responsibility based on ownership	Responsibility repertoire
No choice to do/not to do something	Impossibility to delegate some tasks to someone else	
Partner is working hard because she/he does what no one else wants to do	Doing partner's responsibilities in case of necessity	
...	Appreciation of doing hard work (at work)	
Everyone does everything	Collective responsibility for collectively owned (home/firm)	Collective repertoire
There are not precisely defined functions	Unspecified tasks, equal division as natural	
Making main decisions exclusively with partner	Partnership as a place of trust and reliance (at work)	
...		

the arguments. Pseudonyms appear in the quotes (see Table 5.1 for more detailed couple characteristics); those of partners in the same couple start with the same letter.

Traditional Repertoire

The first repertoire to be revealed based on the analysis was the traditional repertoire. The underlying logic is the woman's caretaker role and the man's breadwinner role. The primary responsibility of men was seen in securing finances for the family, and its place was seen in the work sphere. The women's primary role was understood in the home sphere. This might not apply only to the division of primary roles in the home and work spheres, but also the division of tasks in the business based on what are 'typically female' and 'typically male' activities. The typically male ones included manual work as well as decision making in the company, while the typically female activities were things such as communication and administration. The division was based on the argument of 'naturalness' or 'obviousness' of differences between male and female actions, determined by the different dispositions of men and women, which are given 'by nature':

I realize that men are more demanding on themselves, more ambitious, which is probably natural and normal. And we women . . . Well, now that I have a young child, I have this feeling that I should rather care for the family. (Katarína)

The argument of male and female jobs was often not based on abilities; for example, Antónia mentioned the following: 'I can also do those hard jobs, I can manage them, but I don't do them. That's his place, it's divided like that, and it's right.'

The traditional repertoire was not necessarily associated with breadwinning. There were cases of women not applying the traditional repertoire in the work area (they saw themselves as equal partners in business, for example) but also considered their role in the household as primary, with the justification that they are women. At the same time, this repertoire involved greater appreciation for the man's work, that is work that brings economic profit. The female entrepreneurs emphasized that they cannot 'disturb' or 'task' their male partners at work with care for the household: 'My husband's relaxation is more important to me than insisting that he empty the bin' (Maria).

In cases where the male partner also had a conventional employment in addition, the female partner played the main role in the enterprise. However, there was an emphasis on the male partner's breadwinning role (the family was dependent on the male's income in all the cases). An enter-

prise in which the female partner played the main role was described as her 'distraction'. In such cases, the female partners frequently used different repertoires and did not describe their roles as secondary. The relationship that the repertoire establishes between the family and work sphere is evident at first sight. The partnership element that appeared in this repertoire in some cases was the element of mutual agreement on women's greater involvement at home and men's at work. In one case, the male partner took the traditional division of roles for granted, but also perceived the value of the female partner's contribution in the housework sphere as equal to his economic contribution. In this repertoire, the partnership element manifested itself, for example, when men spoke about their primary role in the enterprise (described as breadwinning) and when they involved their female partner in their enterprise. To them, their female partner stood for more than an ordinary associate – they felt certain that confidential corporate information would 'stay in the family'; they knew that this is a person they can 'rely on' and who in fact cannot leave the company.

Competence-based Repertoire

The second repertoire that we identified based on the analysis was one based on individual competences (competence-based repertoire). In the work sphere, the argumentation behind the division of responsibilities and roles here was based on individual abilities, will and enthusiasm. Within this repertoire, partners mentioned that they hold the roles in the business because they 'like' them, that it is an area that they 'know', are 'good at', and so on. If neither partner liked some activities or found them outside their competencies, they delegated such work to employees or someone else involved in the enterprise. Difficulties appeared where these areas not popular with anyone could not be delegated, mostly due to lack of finance or human resources. Household roles were described in a similar fashion: Andrej mentioned he liked cooking, and Pavol's partner said the same about him. However, the competence-based repertoire was gendered. The women said much more often that they like the everyday household jobs (unlike their male partners) or that (unlike their male partners) they 'do not mind' doing them. On the other hand, men were mostly in favour of more technical and one-off household jobs. There was also a problem in the households with jobs that neither felt like doing or dedicating so much time to (cleaning, childcare). Some then considered external arrangements, whether through family networks (which were preferred) or paid services (childminders, kindergartens). Paid services were generally dismissed for financial reasons or due to a general mistrust in such services or due to their unavailability: 'Of course there's only a kindergarten in the village, he's too

young for that, he'd have to go to a nursery. But it's quite difficult with nurseries in Slovakia, I don't think they have enough room' (Katarína).

It was in cases of unavailability of external help that some female entrepreneurs mentioned having 'brought down the standards' – for example, tidiness at home. The competence-based repertoire was admittedly used in both the spheres – home and work – but independently of one another, and it was not typically associated with any of the other repertoires. What was specific, however, was the connection between the traditional and competence-based repertoires among women who had a young child in the family. They understood their role as a caring one and said that they were satisfied with it, but they were also used to applying their talents in the work sphere. The conflict between the repertoires was described by their male partners. Some of the women said that they were satisfied with their role, but their male partners then emphasized their partner's dissatisfaction with being associated only with the carer's role. Competence-based division was not mentioned as a clear and simple division (interests overlapped or there was no one to assume them in certain areas). An element specific for partnership was respect for the other and mutual agreement, which was mentioned in the final division of roles in both spheres. In the case of Zolo and Zlatica, the roles were divided based on competences, but they had to take care that 'neither of us felt humiliated or harmed' (Zlatica).

Functional Repertoire

It follows from the analysis that the communication partners also described their entrepreneurial roles very functionally: they utilized a functional repertoire. This repertoire was based on formal functions, roles held by the entrepreneurs. In some cases, roles in the business were also attributed based on the moral 'ownership' of the founding idea of the enterprise. This was particularly the case of businesses where women held the primary position. Here, the functional repertoire was used by men when describing their own and their female partners' roles in the business. The men understood the female owner's function, their female partner's leading role (idea) in the enterprise as forming their position of 'advisors'. This secondary position meant to them not making decisions in the company. But Pavol, for instance, stated that he directed his female partner in her decisions inconspicuously. The functions in the enterprise based on which roles were attributed did not need to be hierarchical. An example is the repertoire use by Krištof and Katarína. In this case, according to what they said, the division of roles consisted in each having their own specialization in the shared company for which they were responsible. The competence-based repertoire was also applied in the household. The one who made the most

decisions in an area was attributed the leading role in that area. Acceptance of a leading role and all decisions became a precondition for the partnership: 'So he knew from the start that if we wanted to be together, he would be forced to move with me' (Bea).

The interlinkage of the functional repertoire could be seen in this example of Bea and Belo, who had the work and family environments very closely interlinked. The female partner's position as one defining the direction and the derivation of other roles from that position was present both at home and in the enterprise. Although, as already mentioned, the female partner's position in the enterprises collided with the man's breadwinning repertoire; her role was not always only underplayed. The value of the leading role was supported by an element originating from the partnership. The males spoke of their female partners with admiration, as did Pavol about Paulína: 'Paulína is able to feel many things with her intuition; 99 per cent of the time she hits what these people need. She just does a great job' (Pavol).

Yet this notion was gendered. Admiration of hard work in the business sphere was connected with less work in the home sphere only for men.

Responsibility Repertoire

Another, fourth repertoire was labelled the responsibility repertoire. In this repertoire, there was a strong sense of responsibility for a partners' own enterprise. The link between the company ownership and the necessity to do a given task was perceived here. For example, some of the entrepreneurs, such as Ivo, mentioned the fact that they do some tasks in the business because: 'I don't want to have anyone else do it because I know it would only bother others, maybe even discourage them' (Ivo).

They used this repertoire similarly in situations where they mentioned having to do some jobs when their partner is not at home. They used the necessity repertoire to explain why then women, for example, do typically 'male' work (such as physically demanding jobs). The necessity repertoire occurred in the household in analogous cases – for example when the female partner was not at home. Some male entrepreneurs thus said that, when needed, they can cook or run the household, but it was conditioned by the necessity principle. In that case, interlinkage between the repertoires or linkage with other repertoires was not clear. Similarly to the preceding repertoires, there was also a specific feature here in recognition of the other person's work. If a partner was seen as doing some tasks only because the business could not work without them, and because no one else would do them, they were regarded as selfless and deserving of appreciation. As mentioned in functional repertoire, this recognition of the other partner's work was not connected with less work at home for women.

Collective Repertoire

The final repertoire was the collective one, based on the notion of the enterprise as a complete whole involving both the partners (and other people, if any). The argument was that the enterprise is shared so everyone has to participate. A typical feature was the application of this principle to other family members involved in the enterprise. Work in the enterprise was seen as a collective task that has to be done collectively (not necessarily together simultaneously; the jobs might be divided). Since the enterprise was interpreted as a joint project in the collective repertoire, the decision making and overview of the business was also seen as naturally inherent to both partners. It is interesting that this repertoire did not occur as often in the home sphere. Partnership (or family) was thus rather understood as a collective unit in the work area, while responsibilities in the household were based more often on the traditional repertoire. An example of using the collective repertoire is Lubica's family, where 'we've always had everyone cooking, including the kids and my husband'. The declared reason was that they all shared the same household so they each had to pull their own weight. For the copreneurs, partnership was an opportunity for trust and reliance on which they can depend, and therefore they make decisions together. They typically did not allow the broader family to make decisions, because as Pavol put it: 'There's nothing worse than having to argue with someone. You have an idea, he has an idea, and you should try to agree' (Pavol).

Agreeing with a female partner did not pose such pitfalls.

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

The research identified five different repertoires that were utilized in the division of both work and family responsibilities. The research results reveal not only the form of the repertoires but also their gendered nature. The second step of the analysis, looking into usage of repertoires, also reveals how this gendered nature is reproduced ('done') (West and Zimmerman, 1987) or challenged. The repertoires were largely gendered. The traditional repertoire not only attributed to women and men 'naturally' different positions in business and in the household, but also very often indicated different values of the male and female contributions (for details see Connell, 2005; Williams, 2001). A strong embeddedness in the traditional internalized values of Slovak society (Bútorová, 2008; Výrost, 2011) manifested itself here. The traditional repertoire was so strong that it justified the women's role in the household even in cases where the men were not the breadwinners. For example, the man regarded her as

dependent on his decisions. Here we can see a connection with the fact that Slovak men more often see their work contribution as unsubstitutable with women's work (Bútorová, 2008). The gendered nature of the repertoires was also manifested in the fact that the man perceived the woman's contribution as less important than she perceived it herself (similarly to McAdam and Marlow, 2012). Thus women are also contributing to the symbolically less valuable position of women in business. The repertoire concept also showed that their use between the domestic and work spheres may build on similar arguments, which nonetheless serve a different division of roles. The same repertoire – competence-based – led to a different level of work participation of men in the enterprise and the household. In the household, this repertoire almost exclusively explained the men's lower level of participation in housework. This brings us back to the fact that in the Slovak setting, the division of men's and women's roles in the household setting is based on arguments of different biological dispositions (Bútorová, 2008). Not all the repertoires were necessarily gendered. For example, the competence-based one might lead partners to divide work based on their individual interests. However, it was shown that this method of division comes against the barriers of there being no one to whom to delegate the remaining activities that the partners do not or cannot do. Limiting factors typically voiced were the lack or unavailability (financial or spatial) of services that would cover these areas (for details, see for example Bodnárová et al., 2005). The setting conditions – particularly the perception of conditions for small and medium-sized enterprises as unfavourable, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter (GEM, 2014) – formed the foundation for the necessity-based repertoire, which struggled with the state-imposed burden.

In some cases the combination of used repertoires caused conflicts, such as in cases where women used competence-based repertoire in the work sphere (they did a lot of work just because they wanted to) and at the same time traditional repertoire at home (they did household tasks because they were women). The conflict appeared either because they felt they did not devote enough time to one of the two spheres or because they were overworked (they experienced double burden) (True, 2003, p.39). Conflicts were not perceived just by women; men faced similar situations when they understood their role traditionally, as breadwinners, and worked outside the business and at the same time had a role in the business based on their interest. Those conflicts were mainly in cases where the gendered nature of repertoires met with more equal ways of justifying role division. The gendered nature of repertoires need not necessarily cause conflicts, for example in couples where both partners were identified with traditional roles. Those findings show the most problematic areas leading to conflicts

in entrepreneurial couples. As copreneurs are the most important unit of many small and medium-sized businesses, avoiding those conflicts can help them function better.

One aspect specific to copreneurship was the ‘partnership element’, which was shown to be gendered, but also erasing gender boundaries. The partnership element was present in the repertoires in the form of expressed respect for the partner, appreciation of their contribution to interconnected spheres – enterprise and the household. At the same time, the partnership embodied an environment of mutual trust and discretion, which was seen as an advantage for the enterprise. However, the appreciation and respect for the other partner’s role in business did not automatically mean that their contribution would be appreciated in the home sphere. Things appreciated included the male partner’s equalist attitude in the household as something exceptional, while the woman’s work in the household was mostly ‘invisible’. Conversely, in cases where the woman’s work in the household was appreciated, it was valued as equal to the man’s work. On those results we can see how gender is done (West and Zimmerman, 1987) in copreneurial couples through talking about division of roles. Not only were the repertoires copreneurs used for arguing about division of roles gendered, but also the way they used them. Research also showed ways in which gendered structures are challenged.

The conclusions presented in this chapter give some insight into an issue not very much studied in the Slovak Republic. It has to be pointed out that due to the qualitative nature of the research, this may not be the finite form of all the repertoires used by copreneurs. At the same time, one has to bear in mind while reading the results that the use of repertoires overlapped in the entrepreneurs’ testimonials, and that not everyone used a repertoire in the same way. Future research could compare copreneurs with conventional entrepreneurs to reveal the specificity and role of the ‘partnership’ element. It would also be appropriate to compare the results from the Slovak setting with analogous research from a different setting, which might reveal which characteristics are specific for this setting and which are shared interculturally. This could reveal interesting features or differences not only in cultural repertoires themselves, but also in differences in how they are used.

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NOTES

1. Reasons for starting a business are divided into necessity-driven and opportunity-driven.
2. Ethnographic research has been conducted on ongoing negotiation of gender and other roles in everyday interaction (Bruni et al., 2004).

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