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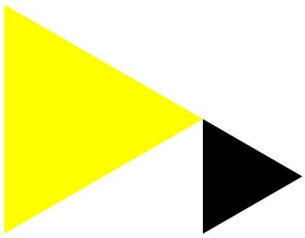

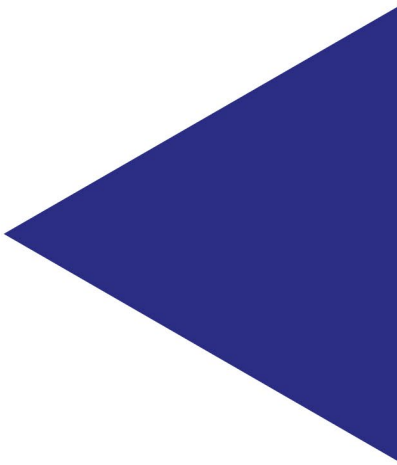

Title: I'm not your stereotype: gendering entrepreneurial education (EE)

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Key words: Entrepreneurial education (EE), Social Role Theory (SRT), incongruity, gender bias and gender stereotypes.

Abstract

Questions we care about (objectives)
This study contributes to the body of knowledge of entrepreneurial educators' strategies to work towards gender inclusion in entrepreneurial education (EE). By illustrating how *gender stereotypes* and *gender bias* are constructed and reconstructed in EE. An important insight is taken from the study by (Jones, 2014), this author shows that entrepreneurs are presented in EE as a homogeneous group with similar character traits and an equal 'entrepreneurial mindset' (p. 244). This description portraits a right way to be an entrepreneur which is traditionally been associated with a white western man, masculine behaviour and masculine abilities (Jones, 2014). As a consequence, a paradox in EE appears; training and education reduces the gender gap on the one hand (Cheraghi and Schøtt, 2015), but at the same time it is also the place where the gender gap is maintained because these *gender stereotypes* are intertwined in this training and education (Korhonen, Komulainen and Räty, 2012). The aim of this paper is to use Social Role Theory in order to better understand the dynamics of gender in EE. This leads to the following research questions: what are the main mechanisms that contribute to gender-inclusive entrepreneurship education (EE) and how are the different mechanisms that contribute to gender inclusive entrepreneurship education (EE) integrated into the current curriculum?
Approach
In-depth interviews with 12 lecturers that teach/coach in the field of EE from across various faculties in a large University for Applied Sciences combined with newsletters created by one of largest EE programs at this institution (267 pages in 2020) is carried out. A semi-structured questionnaire was used to guide the in-depth interviews. Subsequently, discourse analysis gives insight into gendering in EE at the investigated institution.
Results
The main findings suggests that when questioned about the topic all respondents stressed the importance of gender equally, only a few seem to be aware of the need to address the issue in their classroom(s) while none of the programs currently adopt a gender perspective while coaching their potential entrepreneurs or when addressing how the entrepreneurial ecosystem functions.
Implications
These findings and perspectives point to the importance of recognizing that a "one size fits all" approach to curricula may not be appropriate, and that gender-sensitive programming, especially related to dealing with these gender stereotypes and gender bias, are needed. This means that in educational development there are opportunities to create better education and create equal opportunities for male and female students.
Value/originality
Women still form the minority amongst the population of (potential) entrepreneurs and find it more difficult to grow their venture due to a range of (institutional) barriers. This study shows that, thus far, EE insufficiently addresses this topic and points to opportunities for interventions for increasing the gender inclusiveness of the entrepreneurial ecosystem, especially for female ones, instilling in them the awareness and knowledge that as a female entrepreneur starting a business isn't without gendered challenges. This research therefore adds to the body of knowledge on the construction and reconstruction of gender stereotypes and gender bias in the field of EE.

Introduction

Previous studies have shown that the impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions is more positive (or less negative) for men than for women (Oosterbeek, van Praag, and Ijsselstein 2010; Westhead and Solesvik 2016) though other studies do not report any significant difference across the two groups (Bae et al. 2014). Yet, entrepreneurial education can help to develop growth-oriented entrepreneurs so therefore, this research is analyzing how gendered the teaching of entrepreneurship is and answers the question(s) which kind of gendered barriers do potential female entrepreneurs experience in their education?

An important insight is taken from the study by (Jones, 2014) who shows that entrepreneurs are presented in entrepreneurship education (EE) as a homogeneous group with similar character traits and an equal 'entrepreneurial mindset' (p. 244). This description portraits a 'right' way to be an entrepreneur which is traditionally been associated with a white western man, masculine behaviour and masculine abilities (Jones, 2014). This image of entrepreneurship in which men are seen as the ideal type entrepreneur influences the intentions of man and woman for a career in entrepreneurship. In fact, various studies have shown that there is a relationship between these types of *gender stereotypes* and entrepreneurial intentions (Gupta, Goktan and Gunay, 2014; Stedham and Wieland, 2017; Gupta, Wieland and Turban, 2019; Barnir, 2020). As a consequence, a paradox in EE appears; training and education reduces the gender gap on the one hand (Cheraghi and Schøtt, 2015), but on the other hand, it is also the place where these gender stereotypes are intertwined in training and education and consequently maintained (Korhonen, Komulainen and Räty, 2012).

The theory on gender related stereotype threat suggests that in contexts where women are stereotyped as less likely to succeed than men, they will experience doubts regarding their abilities and likelihood of success, which ultimately could have a negative effect on their performance and demotivate them from further engaging in the domain (Barnir, 2020). The effects of gender stereotyped threat go beyond just lowering entrepreneurial aspirations but also extend to disrupting the effects entrepreneurial self-efficacy. In addition, Barnir argues in her article that having women as role models and in one's work unit can disrupt the effects of stereotype threat are important and can be used to devise intervention programs to mitigate and manage perceived gender stereotyped threats (2020, p. 12). Overall, females feel less confident and capable of initiating entrepreneurial activity than males, even when receiving the same education and coming from different backgrounds (Petridou, Sarri and Kyrgidou, 2009). It makes it clear that gender related stereotypes in entrepreneurial education is both part of the problem and part of the solution to reduce gender inequality. As research by (Petridou, Sarri and Kyrgidou, 2009, p. 305) indicates, entrepreneurship education can function as a trigger to entrepreneurial activity initiation, by enhancing students' entrepreneurial mindset and actions (2009, p. 305).

Gender inequality is not only something that takes place between students, educators or within curricula. The governance of the institute plays an important role in this as well (Union, 2008, p. 8). The ESU calls in its policy paper that there must be equal participation between men and women in places where institutional decision-making takes place within higher education, because most governance structures are dominated by men (European Student Union, 2008, p. 8). Yet, in this paper, we will focus specifically on the (role of) educators and use Social Role Theory (SRT) in order to better understand the dynamics of intertwined gender stereotypes in entrepreneurial training and higher education. Specially, the aim of this exploratory research is to give an insight of how gender-inclusive the current EE is

and thus to find out what impact this has on the intentions of women as (potential) entrepreneurs. This leads to the following two research questions: namely, how do educators perceive gender differences in EE and how do educators contribute to gender-inclusive EE and by what mechanisms is this affected?

This study contributes to the body of knowledge of entrepreneurial educators' strategies to work towards gender inclusion in entrepreneurial education (EE) and answers to the call for further research (Barnir, 2020) whether gender stereotyping has similar effects in other settings and decision contexts, such as career choices (p. 12) by illustrating how gender stereotypes and gender bias are constructed and reconstructed in EE. The first findings suggests that when questioned about the topic most of educators stressed the importance of gender equally in the sense that they recognize gender is insufficiently an issue in entrepreneurship education. Yet, they are unaware of the current gender biases intertwined in their education. Only a few seem to be aware of the need to address the issue in their classroom(s) while none of the programs currently adopt a gender perspective while coaching their potential entrepreneurs or when addressing how the entrepreneurial ecosystem functions.

This study is organized as follows: after the introduction, the second section contains the theoretical background which gives insights into the role of gender stereotypes within EE and the possible incongruity that occurs for female entrepreneurial students participating in EE. Next, the research design and data are presented. After that we present the main findings of our analyses, which are consequently discussed. We end with a conclusion, recommendations and needs for further research.

Theoretical background

The terms gender and sex are often confused within the literature. But as Bird and Bush (2002) point out, there is a difference between gender and sex. The term sex refers to a biological difference between male or female where gender refers to masculine and feminine characteristics. In the literature a distinction that is made between different perspective of gender (Ahl, 2006). In recent years, there is a notable shift in gender and entrepreneurship literature towards a post-structural feminism as the main theoretical approach (Hendry, Foss, Ahl, 2016), which entails that the differences and similarities between men and women are seen as being socially constructed (Ahl, 2006, p. 597). This perspective is also used in Bird and Bush (2002), Ahl (2006), Jones (2014, 2015); Jones and Warhuus (2018) research on gender and entrepreneurship. From this perspective it is not interesting what women and men are, but how the feminine and masculine are constructed, and its impact on the social order. As such, post-structural feminism is about socialization: *"The process in which an individual learns to become a member of a society by internalizing the norms and values of that society and by learning her / his social roles."* (Ahl, 2006, p. 597). Following this perspective, in our study we use the term gender as a part of a gender role socialization which describes masculine and feminine characteristics and is therefore a social construct.

Social Role Theory

To better understand the origin of gender roles and their implications for the formation of entrepreneurial intentions Social Role Theory (SRT) was developed. According to Eagly (1987) SRT postulates that human behavior is predictable and can be defined by specific roles that are based on an individual's social positions. More precisely, an individual's behavior is dependent on the specific role they hold within their social and or professional community. Accordingly, people have stereotypical expectations about women's and men's communal and agentic characteristics and behaviors (Eagly, 1987). Wood and Eagly (2002) further

argued that gender roles can be both of a descriptive and injunctive nature. Women are expected to convey friendliness, as well as be caring, self-sacrificing, submissive, and compassionate, while their male counterparts are categorized as aggressive, dominant, ambitious, decisive, and independent. These authors elaborated on their initial work (Eagly, 1987) in regard to social role theory and found a distinct alignment between the perceived necessary skillset of a leader and the male gender role, ultimately creating a mismatch with the female gender role. Role congruity theory's adaptation of social role theory states that individuals would be exposed to scrutiny should they not behave in accordance too what their social gender-roles dictate. An interesting insight into the occurrence of these gender stereotype comes from the article of Gupta, Goktan and Gunay (2014) that shows that both men and women evaluate business opportunities equally as entrepreneurs are described by gender-neutral attributes. These gender-neutral attributes to describe entrepreneurs could for instance be 'creative', 'well-informed', 'steady', and 'generous'. The gender stereotypes come into play when the information is linked to masculine stereotypes such as 'aggressive', 'risk taking', and 'autonomous' or feminine stereotypes 'caring', 'making relationships', and 'humble'. Gender differences get worse when the business is linked to masculine stereotypes, and vice versa when entrepreneurship is linked to feminine stereotypes (2014). When a stereotyped group member and an incongruent social role become joined in the mind of the perceiver (in this study: the mind of the educator), this inconsistency lowers the evaluation of the group member as an actual or potential occupant of the role. In general, prejudice toward female leaders follows from the incongruity that many people perceive between the characteristics of women and the requirements of leader roles (Eagly and Karau, 2002). For this study this implies that it is assumed that prejudice toward female entrepreneurial student follows from the incongruity that educators perceive between the characteristics of women and the requirements of entrepreneurial roles.

Gender in entrepreneurship education and the role of the educator

Within the literature on entrepreneurship education, the role of gender has been addressed by a number of authors (Wilson, Kickul and Marlino, 2007; Petridou, Sarri and Kyrgidou, 2009; Johansen, 2015; Orser, Riding and Li, 2019). To date, most of these studies are addressing the issue from the students' perspective. For instance, in a study of Greek HEI's, Petridou, et al. (2009), found that EE enrollment rates of males are significantly higher than females. Also, they showed that male and female student displayed different attitudes towards participation in entrepreneurial educational programs, with females showing for instance more interest in acquiring knowledge, and networking with local business and considered these to be more important for achieving entrepreneurial success. Furthermore, studies have shown that actual participation in EE affects male and female students in a different way. For instance, Johansen (2015) showed that male participants in a specific EE (Company) Program were more likely to start their own venture later as adults, while similar results were shown by (Dabic *et al.*, 2012). Furthermore, Wilson, Kickul and Marlino (2007) point to that fact that EE is critically important to raise entrepreneurial self-efficacy amongst female students but that this is not enough to increase their actual entrepreneurial intensions and behaviors later on. In this respect the authors both point to the notion that perceptions about career options may be instilled at a very young age and may be hard to change later on during education careers, while also indicating that gender-sensitive programs may be necessary to remedy this issue. Thus far, the number of studies that focus on the role of the educators and management rather than on the student, is very limited. In fact, the role of the educator has been generally overlooked in the literature on EE. This is surprising as the educator's attitudes and prior experiences, affect how they interpret entrepreneurship and how they choose to teach the subject (Bennett, 2006). One of the few exceptions concerns the work of Jones (2015) who

explored the role of educator attitudes about gender and entrepreneurship as well as the (female) students' respondents to that. As conveniently summarized by Tegtmeier and Mitra (2015), building on a series of qualitative case studies, Jones "*unveils an "invisible" level of interpretation and decision making of educators. They translate traditionally masculinized drivers and assumptions into ideas about entrepreneurship that they present to students in the classroom, and thus reveal its symbolic repercussions*" (p. 266). In a more recent study, Jones and Warhuus (2018) examined 86 entrepreneurship course manuals from 21 countries in terms of gender and found that course descriptions are predominantly, albeit not exclusively, masculine in terms of language. Dominant examples how entrepreneurs are portrayed in masculine terms would include "entrepreneurs are involved in activities that are "risky and very hard work," they need to be resourceful with "innovative, pro-active and risk seeking behavior." (p. 189), while feminine descriptions describing entrepreneurship as "an inherently social, collaborative process" (p. 189) were less common. Course manuals are generally produced and hence a reflection of their own views and biases, by the educators who are directly involved in the teaching process and by using such masculine language they are at least implicit biased about female students and communicate that they are less welcome in their course. Following the above, we formulate three propositions to guide the empirical investigation. Specifically, it is proposed that:

Proposition 1. prejudice toward female entrepreneurial student follows from the incongruity that educators perceive between the characteristics of women and the requirements of entrepreneurial roles

Proposition 2. Educators describe a gender-biased view of entrepreneurship with a masculine underpinning of skills

Proposition 3. Educators integrate lowered expectations of women as potential entrepreneurs in their education

Method

The theoretical background gives an insight in the dynamics of gender bias effects a certain stereotype threat in entrepreneurial education and the entrepreneurial intentions of potential (female) entrepreneurs. Subsequently, a discourse analysis examines how meaning is given by educators to these mechanisms in entrepreneurship education. Discourse analysis is a textual analysis and is used to investigate how language functions and how meaning is given in different social contexts. Or as defined by Blackburn (2016) it is the "*social and linguistic description of norms governing such productions [conversations, narratives, arguments, speeches], and may include [...] focus upon the social and political determinants of the form discourse takes; for instance, the hidden presuppositions that the persons addressed are of a certain class, race, or gender" (p. 137).* Discourse analysis helps in research to find implicit assumptions in thinking. This means that this discourse analysis, as positioned by Michèl Foucault (Diaz-Bone *et. al.*, 2008), ultimately leads to an insight into the impact these mechanisms have on the position of (female) students as potential entrepreneurs, after which it is advised to what extent a gender-sensitive diversity policy can be developed in EE in order to promote equal entrepreneurship opportunities for all students. A dominant discourse of women as primarily suited for childcare, for example, means that society's institutions are likely to follow that narrative and favor a social arrangement in which the man is the breadwinner and the woman the caregiver (Ahl, 2006). A discourse of men and women as equally fit for careers and childcare would result in different arrangements, with for instance,

public, subsidized childcare so that both parents can work. Such discourses have implications for the life of individual women or men, whether they agree with them or not (Ahl, 2006).

Table 1: Information about the respondents.

Entrepreneurial Educators Respondents	**Respondent's role within the organization**	**Gender (F / M / X)**
1	Educator	F
2	Coordinator / Educator	F
3	Educator	F
4	Coordinator / Educator	M
5	Educator	M
6	Coordinator / Educator	M
7	Educator	M
8	Educator	F
9	Manager / Educator	M
10	Educator	M
11	Coordinator / Educator	F
12	(Program) Manager	M

Research on the role of women in entrepreneurship education holds certain assumptions of business, gender, family, society, the economy and the individual, all of which influence the research questions asked, the methods chosen, and the answers received. The assumptions also include what is excluded, i.e., factors or circumstances that are not perceived as relevant for entrepreneurship education research (Ahl, 2006). This article analyses the discourse used by educators in entrepreneurship and which discourse prepares entrepreneurship students for the future professional field. This method of data analysis exposes the various mechanisms that are part of the structures in entrepreneurship education.

Data and sample

For this study data were collected at a large, public institute of higher education in the Netherlands. Specifically, in-depth interviews were with 12 entrepreneurship educators on the basis of a convenience sample from amongst a group of 70 entrepreneurship educators active at seven different faculties ranging from Business and Economics to Health care, and from Technology to Creative Industries. The interviewees were selected so we would obtain a balanced division in terms of gender and position (managerial, teaching or both) as well as a spread across the different faculties *(see table 1).* Interviews were conducted in the fall of 2020, in a face-to-face setting (despite the corona situation). All interviews were taped for transcription. In one case, background noise affected the quality of the audiotape and in this case extra care was given to note taking and immediate organizing of data right after the interview. All interviews were guided by an interview protocol which included semi-structured questions and interview topics to facilitate cross-interview comparisons. The questions pertained to the nature of course taught by the educators as well as of the student-population participating in the course. Also, questions were asked about the respondents' views of the ideal entrepreneur as well as the ideal (entrepreneurship) student and about the coverage of gender within the curricula (or lack of attention thereof).

In addition to collecting data via interviews, course descriptions were also collected as well as a set of newsletters that were published by one of the largest entrepreneurship educational

courses over a period over x years. These materials were used predominantly for triangulation purposes and allowed for checking consistency of what was mentioned by the educators. Together, these materials enabled use to form a picture of 1) how educators perceive gender differences in EE and 2) how the educators contribute to gender-inclusive EE and by what mechanisms this is affected.

Findings

Discursive practice 1: the used definition of entrepreneurship

Within the literature, entrepreneurship is defined in a variety of ways which can broadly be classified as have a vocational or career perspective or as having a more behavioral perspective. Within the first set of definitions emphasis is placed on the notion of owning and managing your own firm and entrepreneurs are portrayed as individuals who are starting and running a venture of their own risk and account (Carree *et.al.*, 2007). The behavioral definitions include both those which view entrepreneurship as a process of pursuing opportunities to create value (regardless of whether that is within the context of your own (new) firm or in existing organizations) (Roberts *et.al.*, 2006; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000) and those that take an even broader perspective and include all kinds of entrepreneurial behaviors such as taking initiative, being innovative and creative either in a professional context or even in other more personal domains of life (i.e. Littunen, 2000, Gruber and MacMillan, 2017). This variation of perspectives is also observed between our respondents. For instance, some view entrepreneurship as an individual characteristic. Or as one of the respondents framed it: "*Entrepreneurship is an attitude, as a quality, as someone who is enterprising, it just benefits you a lot, no matter where you end up. Whether you have an office job, are going to teach, are going to be an entrepreneur" (respondent 11)*. Alternatively, another one who seemed to have adopted the second (process oriented) perspective pointed to: *"Inspiring students for innovative, sustainable and inclusive entrepreneurship" (respondent 12).* A third respondent furthermore was taken the career oriented approached and said: *"Not all students want to set up an organization that is growing, some simply want to rent out themselves as an entrepreneur and can organize a very nice life for themselves" (respondent 8).* Often a combination of these different perspectives on entrepreneurship are used throughout the process. In fact, it seems that while many respondents emphasize the behavioral aspect of entrepreneurship when explicitly asked, but when they talk about entrepreneurs, they generally do so in terms of people who are starting and running their own venture. And in fact, as is also shown from the course descriptions, the actual business creation or startup process is typically the focus point of the actual courses that are offered by these educators.

Furthermore, from the interviews there appears to be a general consensus among the respondents that entrepreneurship is a group process, and preferably even a group process of diverse characters, or a so-called multidisciplinary group. As this quote makes clear: *"Collaboration becomes successful if you put together a mix of knowledge and a mix of personalities" (respondent 2).* This means that preferably lots of differences exist between the group members. One of the respondents framed it as: "*Diversity consists first of all of insights into what skills, knowledge and networks do I need. But also, diversity in all other variables. We try to convince the students of that. We also know that if a founding team has female founders on board, the chance of success is greater" (respondent 12)*. There are a number of reasons mentioned for the value of inclusive entrepreneurship such as innovation, but above all different perspectives and views on various parts of the process. Or as one of the respondents puts it nicely*: "In fact, a good entrepreneur surrounds him or herself with people who are very unlike themselves", in addition the respondent argued: "no one can ask their*

self a surprising question" (respondent 10). What is striking is that in the interviews with EE educators within the feminine domains the definition “intrapreneurship” is used (by independently of the sex of the respondent). This are also the locations within the entrepreneurial education where a relatively large number of women participate in entrepreneurship education.

Discursive practice 2: a masculine definition of entrepreneurship and incongruity

Entrepreneurship is often described and explained within a masculine gender framework (Jones, 2014, 2015; Jones and Warhuus, 2018). All the interviews confirm, just as Fältholm, Abrahamsson and Källhammer (2010) found in their research is that the concept

Table 2: overview of the entrepreneurial skills mentioned for students, for entrepreneurs compared with masculine and feminine skills based on (Ahl, 2006).

	Skills mentions for (potential) entrepreneurs (student)	Skills mentions for entrepreneurs	Masculine entrepreneurial skills based on (Ahl, 2006)	Feminine entrepreneurial skills based on (Ahl, 2006)
1. Able to see opportunities	◆	◆	◆	
2. Drive / motivation (intrinsic) / Passion / ambition	◆		◆	
3. Involved	◆			◆
4. Curiosity	◆	◆		
5. Showing guts	◆	◆	◆	
6. Decision making		◆	◆	
7. Perseverance	◆	◆		
8. Creativity	◆			
9. Inquisitiveness	◆	◆		
10. Willing to work (hard) / willing to walk the extra mile	◆	◆		
11. Taking risks (and having the guts to make mistakes)	◆	◆	◆	
12. Self-reliant	◆	◆	◆	
13. Viable	◆		◆	
14. Networking (social person)	◆	◆		
15. Pro-active	◆			
16. Resilience		◆	◆	
17. Receive feedback	◆			◆
18. Stubbornness / self-determination	◆		◆	
19. Entrepreneurial attitude (knowing what you want)	◆	◆	◆	

The use if the marks (u) in the second and third column mean that the skill is mentioned during the interview(s) at least once. The fourth and fifth column are based on the literature (Ahl, 2006)

´entrepreneur´ has strong links to men and masculinity (Fältholm, Abrahamsson and Källhammer, 2010). As said by one of the respondents: *“Entrepreneurship is still such a*

macho / masculine culture" (respondent 2). Skills mentioned as necessary for entrepreneurs are for instance entrepreneurial attitude, perseverance, curiosity, inquisitiveness and/or self-reliant and correspond with the skills described by educators for student entrepreneurs (as shown in table 2 above). One respondent was rather explicit about what (s)he observed. First, (s)he suggested noted that "those *men simply display that drive more prominently, while the women are just less driven….*" *(respondent 4).* (S)he furthermore suggested this may not be all together a negative factor… "*And that man has that ambition, he might want to turn it into a multimillion-dollar business. And there's much less of a sense of reality in that, I think. With that woman, the sense of reality is much more in it* " *(respondent 4).*

Table 2 presents an overview of all the entrepreneurial skills required to be a successful entrepreneurial student, and a successful entrepreneur as mentioned by the respondents, and compared with the description of required masculine and feminine entrepreneurial skills in the (Ahl, 2006).The described skills necessary for a (potential) entrepreneur are corresponding with the described skills required for an entrepreneurship student (see table 2) in most of the mentioned skills. Only two feminine entrepreneurial skills are mentioned as needed for student entrepreneurs to have, namely, 'being able to receive feedback' and 'involvement' (see table 2), though it is not recognized as a required entrepreneurial characteristic by the educators. In addition, conversation amongst colleagues about implicit or explicit bias is barely mentioned. *"Explicitly address prejudices, I do not know whether we do that very often" (respondent 12).* This shows not only how educators talk about entrepreneurship (skills), but also how they subsequently - if they are addressed about the (implicit or explicit) bias - reflect on it.

It is mentioned that female student entrepreneurs do well, sometimes even better in entrepreneurship education compared to male students. An interesting insight is shown in the data however that female entrepreneurial students behave differently, and therefore have different skills, compared to the male entrepreneurial students. The behavior and skills of female students are more in line with what is considered good student behavior but not necessarily considered required entrepreneurial skills as mentioned in table 2 as becomes clear in the quote from this respondent 12: *"….if you look grosso modo and ask the teachers, then they probably say the female students are further in terms of discipline than the male students. In my experience too".* Though explicit bias is sometimes intertwined in these statements too: *"Beautiful reports are made by women. So, there is a girl in the group, the reporting will be fine. But I have to say, this happens not much" (respondent 11).* A certain incongruity is mentioned by a few respondents describing the attitude that female students have as unfit for this type of carrier path, or as one of the respondents framed it *"Perhaps men have more guts, and of course entrepreneurship also requires investments. And that men are more willing to invest" (respondent 3).*

Discursive practice 3: Gender bias

An important insight identified from the article by Barnir (2020) is that the negative effects of gender stereotypes on ventures are removed when women are present either in the workplace or as role models (p. 12). In the entrepreneurial education most of the role models are recognized as for instance guest lectures. But the use of role models beyond guest lectures used within the curricula are not chosen consciously, and in case of guest lectures often chosen on the basis of availability. Because of that, mostly alumni and the educators' network are used to invite guest lectures. *"There are a number of guest lectures from students, alumni, who have already taken the program, or from other entrepreneurs, from start-up entrepreneurs." (respondent 4).* As a result, the guest lectures and examples in EE are male dominated but not exclusively man. Or as is mentioned: *"It's not that I first go looking for a female entrepreneur and think 'oh you can do something for us'. It's more what you come*

across someone on LinkedIn or a network event. " (respondent 8). Several educators stress the importance of different role models and try to integrate more female founders in the curricula. *"We have consciously chosen for her to also set an example for women" (respondent 1).* However, these initiatives depend on access to a female founder's network and an educator's individual initiative, an effort and awareness mentioned predominantly by the female respondents. *"The pool of enterprising men, so to speak to male entrepreneurs, is easier to access than the pool of female entrepreneurs" (respondent 1).* Or as it is also said*: "That was a private initiative [1]. We actually don't do enough with female founders as guest lectures" (respondent 10).* In addition, something that is remarkable is that most of the teachers do see themselves as part of the role model process. This is especially stressed by some of the female respondents working the field of entrepreneurial education. As some of the respondents added: "*There are still more male coaches than female coaches, but we try to add more female coaches every year" (respondent 2).*

In addition, none of the respondents mention that gender diversity or inclusion are an important part of the curriculum within entrepreneurship education at the moment, and in addition it seems that their current view of their curricula is that it is gender neutral presented. Or as one of the respondents phrases it*: "Actually, gender is not discussed at all. It's a non-topic" (respondent 10)*.

In fact, most educators aren't aware that gender inequality is a problem that still occurs in the entrepreneurial ecosystem. As one respondent mentioned: "*I just treat everyone without difference. I don't care. Woman, man, who how or what. And I think that, I do not want to mention indifference, equal treatment from our teachers, and therefore my colleagues, should just be possible*." *(respondent 11)*.

The previous results show an interesting insight, namely that the curricula are based on a masculine gendered view. As also mentioned by one of the respondents: *"I have to say, we may not pay enough attention to gender. Maybe that's the problem too. Maybe if we did, we would attract more women" (respondent 11).* At the same time, the respondents do recognize that female entrepreneurs are less likely to be awarded funding compared to men when apply for venture (Malmström *et al.*, 2018). However, it is regularly mentioned by the respondents that these unequal funding opportunities for female entrepreneurs, is something that female students do not have to deal with (not yet) due to the current size of the venture, nature of the venture and/or type of product of the venture. *"I know I'm telling maybe a tenth of a percent of what's actually there. There are so many things that I don't say, don't mention because there just isn't enough room for that" (respondent 4).* Or as another respondent frames it: *"That's not what my work is, I don't actually do that. The students aren't at that level that students hit the(glass) ceiling" (respondent 7).* Thereby, unequal funding options are not even acknowledged as a problem in some of the responses made by the interviewee*: "if a man presents a good idea and that same good idea is presented with the same presentation in the same form by a woman, I cannot imagine that the man will get the money and the woman will not" (respondent 4).*

Discussion

In our study we explored gender from a broader perspective than sex differences and sought to develop insight into the apparent gap between the number of female students at institutions for higher education and the number of female entrepreneurs in the eco-system. The themes described above give an insight into complexity of gender in entrepreneurship education, with its issues of the educator's gender bias and the gender stereotypes. The analysis and

[1] That refers to the invite of a female founder as a guest lecture.

discussion of this data bridges the gap between theory and practice and illustrates how gendered perspectives are brought into the classroom of students.
From our findings it seems that educators select their guest lecturers and coaches both of whom are potential role models on the basis of convenience, and without paying a lot of attention to gender balance. Typically, they are chosen on the basis of accessibility and availability and thus far this leads to an over-representation of men as role models in entrepreneurial curricula. While some educators mentioned this might not be ideal, no efforts seem to be made to change this situation.

In addition to not paying more attention to a balanced gender representation in the classroom, in the curriculum, educators also neglect to address potential differences in entrepreneurial opportunities and access to support in the wider entrepreneurial ecosystem. For instance, while educators are aware that female entrepreneurs experience more difficulty in obtaining external funding compared to their male counterparts, this issue is not addressed when teaching about funding. When addressing topics such as venture capital educators think it is not yet necessary to prepare female students for dealing with biases against them, while when addressing crowdfunding or borrowing money from acquaintances they do not mention that female entrepreneurs might actually have an advantage according to the research. For instance Moleskis, Alegre and Canela (2018) found that crowdfunding projects led by women have a higher probability of funding than do projects led by men. Although the data provide limited insights into the reason for this, a few remarks may offer a first indication of what is going on. First, when female students are considered to be 'less driven' while men 'might want to turn it into a multimillion-dollar business' (respondent 4) this may be an indication that the educators (unconsciously) expect women will be less likely to seek external funding anyway, thus making it less necessary to address the issue of gender bias in funding. Also, the remark that s*tudents aren't at that level that students hit the(glass) ceiling,* suggests that educators feel more responsible for preparing students for early career situations rather than for mid- or late career situations. Whereas previous studies have indeed suggested that discrimination against women is indeed more prevalent in mid-career compared to early-stage careers (Schneer and Reitman, 1994), other studies suggest that female entrepreneurs are already experiencing more barriers compared to their male counterparts in early stages of their career (Markussen and Røed, 2017) which may suggest the educators are insufficiently aware of what awaits young female entrepreneurs just out of university. Irrespectively, we would have expected the educators to take a longer-term perspective. The educators do not feel the urge to inform the (female) students anything about the gender biases in the entrepreneurial ecosystem the prevent them from dropping out prematurely. In conclusion, there is no attention in the current entrepreneurial education for the barriers and as a result possible failure of female entrepreneurs in an entrepreneurial ecosystem that is not inclusive.

When it comes to entrepreneurial skills and gender roles, our findings seem to confirm the results also found in the articles by Eagly and Karau (2016) & Barnir (2020) who found the incongruity as a result of a mismatch between gender roles and entrepreneurial role which results in a gender bias. In addition, the described skills necessary for a (potential) entrepreneur are corresponding with the described skills required for an entrepreneurship student (see table 2) in most of the mentioned skills. Only two feminine entrepreneurial skills are mentioned as needed for student entrepreneurs to have, namely, 'being able to receive feedback' and 'involvement' (see table 2), though it is not recognized as a required entrepreneurial characteristic by the educators. In addition, conversation amongst colleagues about implicit or explicit bias is barely mentioned. These results follow the insights provided by (Jones, 2014) qualitative study that explored the view that EE is gender-biased towards

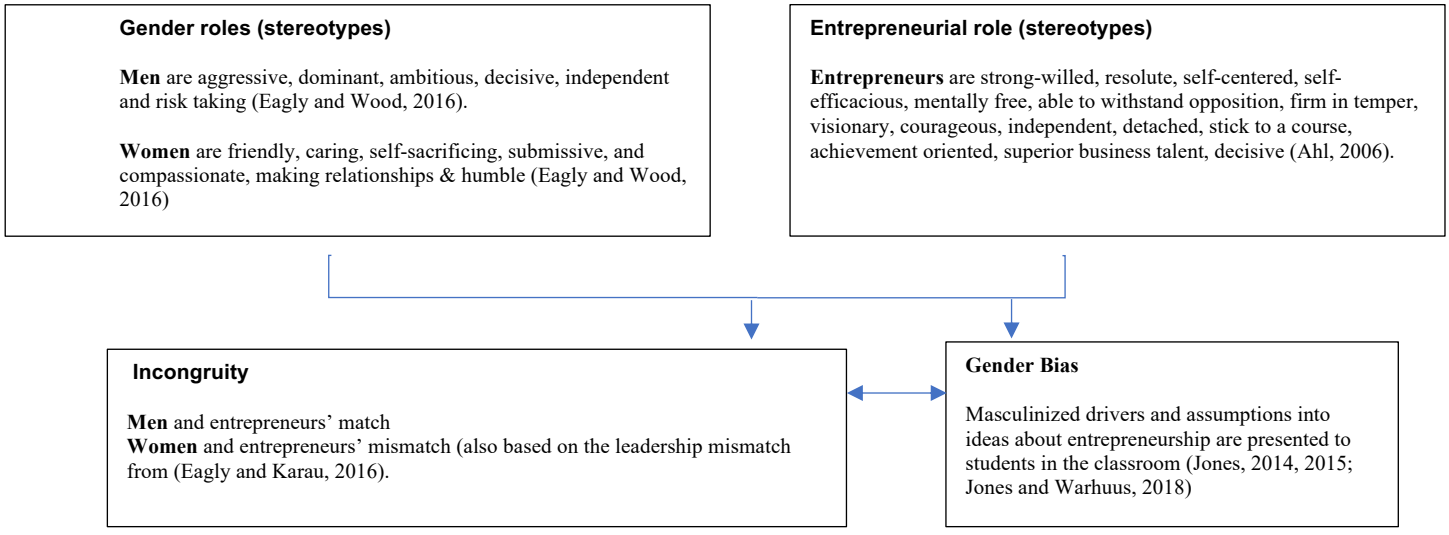
masculinity and EE may generate negative outcomes for female students. In the findings, entrepreneurship as a potential carrier is presented in curricula with a masculine gendered view though considered by the educators as gender neutral. Therefore, the second proposition "Entrepreneurial education is gender-biased with a masculine underpinning of skills" is considered to be verified. It is mentioned that female student entrepreneurs do well, sometimes even better in entrepreneurship education compared to male students. An interesting insight is shown in the data however that female entrepreneurial students behave differently, and therefore have different skills, compared to the male entrepreneurial students. The behavior and skills of female students are more in line with what is considered good student behavior but not necessarily considered required entrepreneurial skills. Interestingly enough, such comments about women are made by male and female educators. Yet, the incongruity between the skills of female students and their attitude towards the necessary entrepreneurial skills become clear. Indeed, the educator's own incongruity between the characteristics of women and the requirements of entrepreneurial roles (proposition 1) may also explain why there seems to be a lack of urgency when it comes to dealing with the lack of a balance gender representation in the classroom as was describe above. This incongruity may cause them to unconsciously and unintentionally disadvantage female students by not explicitly pushing for a more balanced representation amongst guest lecturers and coaches.

Furthermore, with respect to the influence of the educators' attitude towards the female student, the proposition that they would have lowered expectations of women as potential entrepreneurs, proposition three, could not be verified, although the previously mentioned remarks about a lack of drive may be an indication that such biases do persist. Based upon the study a reformulation is suggested to the following proposition: "Educators do not integrate feminine entrepreneurial skills into their education".

Having reviewed each of the three propositions in the findings separately this study now brings together several key findings while bearing in mind that what we are looking at here are the dynamics of gender and the role of the entrepreneurship educator within it.

Below is a summarized overview the results in a conceptual framework (figure 2).

Figure 2: gendered framework based on (Wood and Eagly, 2002; Ahl, 2006; Jones, 2014, 2015; Eagly and Karau, 2016, Eagly and Wood, 2016; Jones and Warhuus, 2018).



This conceptual framework (see figure 2) is based upon the results in combination with the insights provides by (Ahl, 2006; Jones, 2014, 2015; Eagly and Karau, 2016, Eagly and Wood, 2016; Jones and Warhuus, 2018). According to the social role theory (Wood and Eagly, 2002; Eagly and Wood, 2016), the incongruity as a result of a mismatch between gender roles and entrepreneurial role results in a gender bias (Jones, 2014, 2015; Jones and Warhuus, 2018) i.e., a prejudiced attitude towards female students and can possibly result in a stereotype threat (Barnir, 2020) which moderators this positive influence between EE and entrepreneurial intentions. Or as Jones argues "this leaves little space for those who do not fit this template" (2018). In addition, Jones's qualitative study explored the relatively neglected view that EE is gender-biased towards masculinity and EE may generate negative outcomes for female students. Could that explain perhaps why there are fewer female students that pursue a carrier in entrepreneurship?

These mechanisms, gender bias and incongruity, are show in the discourse analysis based on the insights from the theoretical background. The most important insight identified from the findings is the masculine gendered view of entrepreneurship and the incongruity between the entrepreneurial role and female student. In the research by Petridou, Sarri and Kyrgidou (2009)is argued that the EE curriculum should become more focused on encouraging potential female entrepreneurs by designing courses that will be tailored to their particular needs and by considering their misgivings and concerns associated with starting a new venture. This positively influences the perception of female students about entrepreneurship as potential career choice and indirectly influence the opportunities (in)equality of entrepreneurship students.

Conclusions

While exploratory in nature, this study illustrates how gender stereotypes and gender bias are constructed and reconstructed by educators in entrepreneurial education and answers the two formulated research questions what the educator's perspective in gendering entrepreneurial education is and by what mechanisms is this perspective affected. It has been argued here that entrepreneurial education has failed to give attention to the masculinity of entrepreneurial education and has largely ignored the implications of these masculinist skills for men and women as aspiring and existing entrepreneurs. Above all, educators are unaware of the current gender biases intertwined in their education. Therefore, gender is insufficiently an issue in entrepreneurship education. Due to the lack of institutional anchoring, a gender perspective now remains completely dependent on individual teachers. Integration of this gender perspective requires a cultural change in disciplines, whereby gender is no longer regarded as a (marginal) specialization, but as part of the disciplinary basic training (Roggeband and Bonjour, 2016) in EE. This study addressed this gender gap by highlighting some ways in which masculine discourses have infiltrated the mindset of entrepreneurial educators and the (gendered) performance of entrepreneurship as a carrier. As such, this study makes a contribution to the growing body of knowledge on entrepreneurial education and helps position an agenda for future research. Specific empirical investigation, for example, which effects this masculine gendered view within entrepreneurial education has on for instance entrepreneurial intentions of female students, and if a gender stereotype threat occurs must be an outcome to substantiate some of the conclusions drawn in this article. Hence following Barnir (2020) we conclude that having women as role models and in one's work unit can disrupt the effects of gender stereotypes and that such insights should be implemented in EE. In conclusion, when questioned about the topic all respondents stressed the importance of gender equally, only a few seem to be aware of the need to address the issue in their classroom(s) while none of the programs currently adopt a gender perspective

while coaching their potential entrepreneurs or when addressing how the entrepreneurial ecosystem functions.

Recommendations and future research

This study, as any, is not without a few limitations. First, for the current study, data was only collected from a single albeit major public University for Applied Sciences in one country. Since perceptions of gender, gender equality and inclusion in entrepreneurship are socially constructed differences in culture(s) could be important on this subject. From this perspective, future research should reproduce current research in various countries. Secondly, since the current research only takes educators perspectives into account, it is not possible to draw direct conclusions with respect to the effect of gender bias and stereotype threat on female entrepreneurial intentions. Stereotype threat occurs when one is concerned about being judged or evaluated in terms of group stereotypes and possibly confirming those stereotypes (Cheryan and Plaut (2010) as mentioned in Barnir, 2020). Since these threats can have behavioral implications such as performance goals, performance expectations or reduced interest in the domain (Barnir, 2020), further research in which the experiences of the students are included as well would be required in order to develop insights into such effects and the underlying mechanisms. Finally, various studies have shown that gender stereotypical thinking of both men and women is part of a larger societal problem in the entrepreneurship climate (both in the general image of investors, governance of the educational institute and co-entrepreneurs) (Wilson, Kickul and Marlino, 2007; European Student Union, 2008; Muntean and Ozkazanc-Pan, 2015; Malmström *et al.*, 2018). Accordingly, if we want to resolve gender biases within entrepreneurship education, future studies should incorporate not just the views of directly involved actors like educators and students but rather include other actors within this broader entrepreneurial ecosystem. As suggested by European Student Union (2008) the integration of perceptions on gender equality and female empowerment in the different entrepreneurial courses and curricula should have the attention of educations and policy makers.

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